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on 02 July, 2018

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General History
OF THE
REFORMATION
OF THE
CHURCH,
From the Errors and Corruptions of the
Church of ROME:
Begun in *GERMANY*
By Martin Luther,
With the Progress thereof in all Parts of *Christendom*, From the Year 1517, to the Year 1556.

Written in LATIN
By **John Sleidan**, L. L. D.
And faithfully Englished.

To which is Added,
A CONTINUATION
To the End of the Council of Trent, in the Year 1562.

By EDMUND BOHUN, *Esq;*

LONDON, 1689
Printed by *Edw. Jones*, for Abel Swall at the *Unicorn*, and Henry Bonwicke at the *Red Lion*, in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard. MDCLXXXIX.

The Teſtimony of the Reverend and Learned Doctor **Burnet**, in the Preface of his *Celebrated Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of* England, *Pag.* 1. wherein he gives an Honourable Character, not only of *Sleidan*, but alſo of *Thuanus*, and Father *Paul*, two of the Authors Cited below.

THE Changes that were made in Religion in the laſt Century have produced ſuch Effects every where, that it is no wonder if all perſons deſire to ſee a clear Account of the ſeveral Steps in which they advanced, of the Counſels that directed them, and the Motives, both Religious and Political, that inclined Men of all Conditions to concur in them. Germany *produced a* Sleidan, France *a* Thuanus, *and* Italy *a* Frier Paul, *who have given the World as full ſatisfaction in what was done beyond Sea, as they could deſire. And though the two laſt lived and died in the Communion of the Church of* Rome, *yet they have delivered things to Poſterity, with ſo much Candour and Evenneſs, that their Authority is diſputed by none, but thoſe of their own Party.*

Jac. Aug. Thuanus, Hiſtoriar. Lib. xvii. pag. 542.

Sub Exitum Octobris, *&c. The laſt day of* October, *in the year* 1556, John Sleidan; *when he had brought down his Hiſtory to that time, with an* Exact Faith and Diligence, *died of the Plague at* Strasburg, *in the One and Fifieth year of his Age. He was born at* Sleidan, *a Town in the Dukedom of* Juliers *near* Duren, *and from thence he took his Name; He was a Perſon, who for his Learning and great Experience in Affairs, was much eſteemed by that Age: He had ſpent the greateſt part of his Youth in* France; *and being entertained in the Family of* Bellay, *had both Learned and done great things in the Service of Cardinal* John Du Bellay; *but a ſharp Perſecution ariſing in* France *againſt thoſe who were ſuſpected of* Lutheraniſme, *he went and lived at* Strasburg, *and ſerved that Free City, and being, by his own publick Employments, well informed of the Carriage of Affairs, he added to what he had ſeen, what he had learned from Men worthy of Credit, and Wrote his Commentaries.*

Joannes Bodinus Method. Ad facilem Hiſtoriar. Cognitionem, pag. 66, 67.

Sleidanus Franciſcum Regem, *&c.* John Sleidan *greatly and truely commends* Francis I. *King of* France, *the Duke of* Saxony, Bellay, *and* Alenzon; *and yet declin'd all odious Compariſons. And if he at any time was forced to ſet down any thing which tended to the Diſhonour of any Man, he either proved it by good Arguments, or put it in the Number of the Rumors or Reports. He notwithſtanding Imitated* Guicciardin, Plutarch, Machiavel, Tacitus, *and many others in the diſcloſing the Counſels and Conceal'd Frauds of Men; for* Sleidan *was* Interpreter *to* Francis I. *and was Employed in many Embaſſies for the City of* Strasburg; *after which, reſolving to Write the Hiſtory of Religion (as he was a Pious and Religious Man,) he has compriſed in it not only a vaſt number of Speeches and Letters, but has alſo ſome times abridged the Books which were written on both ſides; which, though it may ſeem very tedious to ſome* Men, *yet, on the contrary, thoſe that are true Lovers of Antiquity, and deſirous to be throughly informed concerning the great Changes which then happened in* Chriſtendom, *think nothing the leſs honourably of him on that Account.*

Pietro Soave Polano Hiſt. del Concilio Tridentino, *pag.* 1.

Il Proponimento mio, *&c. My purpoſe is to Write the Hiſtory of the* Council of Trent, *for though many famous Hiſtorians of our Age have made mention in their Writings of ſome particular Accidents that happened therein, and* John Sleidan, *a moſt* Diligent Author, *hath related with* Exquiſite Induſtry *the Cauſes that went before, yet notwithſtanding, all theſe things put together would not ſuffice for an intire Narrative. This Author ſuppoſeth his Reader well Acquainted with* Sleidan's *Hiſtory, and on that account, gives a very ſhort and imperfect Relation of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Controverſies which neceſſitated the calling of that Council; ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible, throughly to underſtand that Hiſtory without having firſt Read* Sleidan's

TO THE

QUEEN

MADAM,

THIS Work was deſign'd and begun when Our Church was in the *Loweſt* degree of *Danger,* out of a belief that it might contribute ſomething to her Preſervation, in that Storm which lay ſo heavy upon her; the Duration of which could then be known to none but God.

I thought That a ſeaſonable time to Imitate the Divine Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews,* and to ſet before us that *Cloud* of Illuſtrious Perſons who had with an Heroick Courage bafflʼd the Rages of former Perſecutions by their *Faith* and *Patience.*

The Reflections I had, in private made to my ſelf, on the many Deliverances the Holy God has, in theſe laſt Ages, ſo often wrought for his diſtreſſed Church, when ſhe ſeem'd ready to be ſwallowed up by *Popiſh* Fury and Fraud, was ſo great a ſupport and comfort to me, in thoſe Melancholy days, that I paſſionately wiſhed I had had ſome means of communicating them to others.

To that End was undertaken the Tranſlating this Excellent Hiſtory, as the beſt means I could think of to raiſe the ſame Thoughts in others: And as Your Majeſty was ever in our Minds, I wiſh'd I might have ſome favourable opportunity of laying it at Your Feet, tho' I could then have no proſpect of that Happineſs.

Since then the late Wonderful Revolution has put ſo ſudden and unexpected an End to our Sufferings and our Sorrows, and brought Your Majeſty back to *England*, to be the Defender of our Holy Faith, and the Deliverer of our oppreſſed Church; I humbly beg Your Gracious acceptance of this Hiſtory, which is due to Your Majeſty, as the chief Patroneſs of the Reformation.

That God would, for many years, continue us under Your moſt Auſpicious Government, and at laſt reward Your Piety and Virtues with a more Glorious Crown in Heaven, is, and ever ſhall be, one of the moſt fervent Prayers of

Madam,

Your Majeſties moſt

Dutiful, Loyal, Faithful

and moſt Devoted

Subject

Feb. XX. $168\frac{8}{9}$.

Edmund Bohun.

The Author of the Continuation to the Reader, containing an account of the Life of the Learned John Sleidan, *and of the Reception of his Hiſtory.*

John Sleidan, the Author of this Hiſtory, was born in the Year 1506. at Sleidan, or Sleiden, a ſmall Town in the Dukedom of *Juliers*, ſeated upon the River Roer, which paſſing by Duren and Gulick at Roermont falls into the *Maes*. I have not been able to find of what quality and condition his Parents were, but it is certain he was ſent to Study in the Univerſity of *Paris*, when he was Twenty years of Age; and that he was taken into the Service of *John* Cardinal *Du Bellay*, a Great, Learned, and Wiſe Prelate of the *French* Church, and one that very earneſtly deſired a Reformation, as the Great *Thuanus* tells us. *The Life of John Sleidan.*

By him he was imployed in affairs of great conſequence; and he having by his fidelity, induſtry and prudence, gain'd a great ſhare in the Cardinals affection, he was Recommended to *Francis* I. King of *France*, who imployed him as his *Interpreter* for the *German* Tongue, as *Bodinus* ſaith: He himſelf tells us, he continued nine years in *France*. But in *November* 1534. a ſharp Perſecution ariſing in that Kingdom againſt the *Lutherans*, which, he ſaith, he ſaw with his own Eyes; he became ſo far diſguſted or affrighted at it, that he left *France* and retired to *Strasburg*, which was probably in the Year 1635: our Author being then about Thirty years of Age; ſo that by that computation he was about Twenty years of Age when he travailed into *France*.

The Reputation he had acquired in *France*, prepared the way to a good reception in that Free City; and he was entertain'd by *James Sturmius*, who was their principal Miniſter or *Stateholder*, with great kindneſs. About the Year 1540. he firſt took up the deſign of Writing the Hiſtory of the Reformation, at the requeſt of this great States-man and many others, but very unwillingly. In the Year 1545. he ſent the firſt Book to the Diet at *Worms*, where it was read, and ſo well approved, that he was ſent as one of the Ambaſſadors to *Henry* VIII. into *England*, by the whole Body of the Proteſtants; which Embaſſie is mentioned by him in his Sixteenth Book.

In the Year 1551. he was again ſent Ambaſſador, for the City of *Strasburg*, to the Council of *Trent*, where he arrived the 21 of *November*, as he informs us in his Twenty third Book.

He continued at *Trent* till the 27*th* of *March* 1552. and then deſired leave to return, which at firſt was granted, but then the next day they recall'd this permiſſion, and forced him to ſtay till the 6*th* of *April*, when the News coming to *Trent*, that the Elector of *Saxony* had taken *Ausburg* three days before, the Fathers fell into ſuch a Conſternation, that the Council broke up in an hurry, and ſoon after the Emperor himſelf was forced to paſs the Alpes, from *Inſpruck* where he then was, by Torch-light, in the Night; which gave our Author the opportunity to return to *Strasburg*, at his own leiſure, well ſatisfied that he was eſcaped out of that Den of wild Beaſts.

The third of *May*, of the ſame year, he was ſent by the City of *Strasburg* to Sarbruk, a Town about ſeven miles from that City, to the Weſt, to the French King, who being then entred into a War againſt the Emperor, was come thither, in perſon, with an Army; he having thereupon demanded Supplies of the City of *Strasburg*, our Author with two others was ſent as a *Deputy* to that Prince, as he ſets forth in the Twenty fourth Book. After this I do not find he was any more imployed abroad, but fell ſeriouſly to the compoſing of his Hiſtory, in which Work, he ſaith, he intirely imployed the three following years; and the 23 of *April* 1555. he dedicated the firſt Twenty five Books to the Elector of *Saxony*. The Twenty ſixth Book was Publiſhed after his Death, being found amongſt his Papers.

This Work was no ſooner ſent into the World than our Author found cauſe to complain; for whereas he had imployed one *Rihely*, a Printer of *Strasburg*, to Publiſh it; there was preſently Publiſhed, without the Authors knowledge or conſent, a *German* Verſion very ill done; and ſoon after that the ſame perſon preſumed to Print it in Latin too, to the great damage of *Rihely*, which *Sleidan* took very ill, and in the next Edition complained of it to the World. *The fate of this Hiſtory in the Life of the Author.*

The *Roman Catholicks*, on the contrary, preſently ſet up a cry againſt this Hiſtory, and imploy'd all the intereſt they had in the World to run down the Credit of the Author; not by making any Objection againſt any parts of it, but by general Slanders and miſrepreſentations of the whole Work in a lump; to which kind of Defamations they knew it was very hard to make any Anſwer; but however our Author put out an *Apology* in his own Vindication.

The

And in after times.

The laſt part of our Authors Life was imployed in Writing his Twenty ſixth Book, which I believe was never finiſhed by him, that which we now have being only his firſt Rough Draught, unpoliſhed and uncorrected; Death ſuddenly ſurprizing him, the laſt day of *October* in the Year 1556. He died of a Plague or *Epidemick* acute Diſeaſe, in the Fifty firſt year of his Age begun, to the great Regret of all Learned and Pious Men, who might juſtly have expected great things from ſo Learned, ſo Modeſt, ſo Honeſt, and Candid a Pen.

The Roman Catholicks could not bury their Reſentments againſt this noble Hiſtory, in the Grave of its Author, but fell to invent and ſpread abroad ſeveral made Stories to defame him; amongſt which none is more frequently inſiſted on than that *Charles* the V. ſhould always call this Book his Lyar, and never ask for it by any other Name; for which we have the Faith of *Surius*, and ſome other of that ſtamp; but none is ſo outragious againſt him as *Florimond de Remond*, who tells us that there was found in this Book *Eleven thouſand Lyes and Falſities*. Not that they were ſo exact as to tell the miſtakes, but this was a good round Sum, and if the Reader would but believe there was half the number, it was all he deſired; but then he has quite ſpoil'd his own deſign, by telling his Reader, that *the variety of the Subjects he treats of, which are imbelliſhed with great Art, and the great quantity of Memorials which the* Lutherans *put into his hands, when he was fit to compoſe it, give ſo great an entertainment to the Reader, that it is not poſſible he ſhould ever be weary of it, but will ever end with a good guſt and a great deſire to purſue the thread of this Hiſtory, and ſee the end of it.* Now this is plainly to give himſelf the Lye for that great quantity of *Memorials* which were put into his hands, the greateſt part of which were from time to time Publiſhed in Print, as he tells us in his Preface, and which our Author only Tranſcribes, or at moſt Tranſlates or Abridgeth, will not leave Room for 11000 *Lyes*, eſpecially when he rarely makes any the leaſt remark of his own; and if after all there had been but one thouſand Lyes, the Reader muſt have been very Ignorant, and very Dull, that ſhould not have ſtumbled on enow of them to have diſguſted him long before he had reached the end of the Book: But *Florimond* was a true *Jeſuite*, and remembred the old Rule, *Slander ſtoutly and ſomething will ſtick.*

La naiſſance de l' Hereſie, l. 1. Sect. 4. p. 4.

Chap. 4. Sect. 1.

Palavicino, another Jeſuite, in his *Apparatus* to his Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent* lets looſe at the ſame rate againſt our Author, with an *Aſſurance* which becomes that Society he was of, only becauſe the Author of the former Hiſtory of that Council had commended his Fidelity and Induſtry: And thus he beſpeaks his good Roman Catholick Reader, *You muſt know* (ſaith he) *that* Sleidan *did ſo openly profeſs himſelf a Favourer of Hereticks, and an Enemy of the See of* Rome; *That he Dedicated his Book to* Auguſtus *Elector of* Saxony, *and he commends that Prince too, becauſe the Sect of the* Lutherans *firſt found ſhelter in his Country.* After this he ſets down the three firſt Lines of his Hiſtory, and then tells us, that *Sleidan acknowledgeth that* James Sturmius *furniſhed him with materials. Now* (ſaith he) *this* Sturmius *was in great eſteem among the Calviniſts*; and then he concludes, *That no body would believe Father* Paul, *as to thoſe things which went before the Council, and which were the foundations of that Hiſtory, but ſuch as had ſome Faith for* Sleidan; and that he was ſure none of the good Sons of the *Infallible Church* would be guilty of: But however to make all ſure, he tells us *Surius*, *Fontanus*, *Poſſevinus* and *Spondanus* have all charged him for a *great Lyer*: and ſince that *Maimbourg* and *Varillas* have tranſcribed all this over again, and by pure Number, and *dint of Impudence*, they are, or at leaſt ſeem, well reſolved to Ruin *Sleidans* reputation forever. But when all is done, the very Papers out of which *Sleidan* tranſcribed the main of his Hiſtory, are ſtill, for the moſt part, extant, and prove the veracity of our Author; the conſequence of which is, that all theſe godly Fathers are found to be meer Defamers, and not worthy of any credit.

Seckendorf

In the interim the Book ſpread at an incredible rate; and tho *Ribely*, the firſt Publiſher had it Reprinted upon him, within the firſt year in *German* and *Latin*, yet he Reprinted it again in 1561, and in 1566 in *Octavo*, and in 1572 in *Folio*, and in the year 1560 it was Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, by one *John Daws*, and Dedicated to the Earl of Bedford; and I have ſeen very ancient Verſions of it in *Italian* and *French*: ſo that no Book ever had a more general Reception in the World than this, nor was better approved by the candid Writers of the Church of *Rome* it ſelf, as will appear by the Teſtimonies by me cited in the beginning of it.

And ſo far has his Enviers been from convicting him of that falſhood and diſingenuity which they have ſo falſly charged him with, that moſt of their Books, like Images which the Pagans Worſhiped, are long ſince caſt to the *Bats* and to the *Moles*, and the very memory of them almoſt periſhed from off the Earth: So that his Defamers have been forced to Tranſcribe from him the choiceſt of the Memorials they needed to fill up the Hiſtory of thoſe times.

Brietius

An account of the Authors Life.

Brietius a Jeſuite, in his Annals, ſaith, *He was call'd* Sleidan, *from the Place of his birth, because he was a* Baſtard, *and ſo had no Sirname; that he had but one Eye, and was brought up by the Cardinal* du Bellay; *that becoming a* Lutheran *or a* Calviniſt *he fled to* Strasbourg, *where he wrote his Hiſtory*: Sed ea fide humana, quam expectare debes ab eo qui divinam ejurarat; *but with that humane faith which one would expect from one who had abjured the Divine faith.* The bitterneſs of which confutes the Slander; the taking Names from the Place of their birth being uſual then and now too in *Germany*: The eaſie Admiſſion he found into the family of *Bellay* ſhews more probably that he was a perſon of good Birth, and well deſcended; and as for his being Blind there is no mention of it any where elſe. *In An* 1556.

Lewis a Seckengdorf, a Privy Counſellor to the late Dukes of *Saxony*, in an Anſwer, Publiſhed this year, to *Maimbourgs* Hiſtory of *Lutheraniſme*, thus Apologizeth for our Author. *It is certain that* John Sleidan *has ſo very well written the Hiſtory of the Reformation, that all impartial men ought to be ſatisfied with it, he having very much excell'd all the reſt who have written on that Subject. And yet they of the Church of* Rome *charge him with falſhood, pretending a Proverb of* Charles *the* V. *to that purpoſe; how truly cited I know not, but as I verily believe, out of pure Envy and Malice. For if ever they ſhould attempt to prove, what they ſo often pretend, they would certainly fall ſhort and be able to produce nothing to that purpoſe, but a few light things, and ſilly reports, which are not worth relating.* On the otherſide, without the Aſſiſtance of *Sleidan*, very few Men have or ever will be able to Write any thing of thoſe times worth the Reading. *For how, I pray, was it poſſible for him to Lye, who hath ſpent the greateſt part of his Hiſtory of the Reformation in meer Tranſcripts, out of the Publick Records word for word, to the wearying of many of his Readers who are in too much haſte to ſee the event; and he every where appeals to Acts and Writings*, which for the moſt part are ſtill extant, and render the Faith of this great Man unqueſtionable? *Nor is there any other Hiſtorian almoſt to be found (as I believe) who ſo very rarely paſſeth any cenſure upon what he Writes. Nor is it poſſible for Envy it ſelf to deprive him intirely of the Honour of this Work, which, I believe, will laſt till the General Conflagration of the World.* *Præloquio.* p. 8.

The ſame Author informs us, in his Additions, *page* the 7*th*, That one *Frederick Hortelder*, a Counſeller of the Duke of *Saxony Weymar*, in the year 1618 Publiſhed a very large Vindication of the Veracity of *Sleidans* Hiſtory in the *German* Tongue, which he Printed in the Preface of his Hiſtory of the *Smalcaldick War*, &c. which was after Reprinted in the year 1646. and in the Concluſion of that Section, *Seckendorf* adds, *Sleidan lived but one year after he had finiſhed his Hiſtory, in which, and all the times which have ſince followed, he has not (to my knowledge) been convicted of any one ſingle falſhood which hath been ſhewn and made good againſt him. And in Oppoſition to thoſe few who have traduced him, there is no end of the Number of thoſe who have approved this Work, and amongſt them* John Bodinus *and* Thuanus, *who ought not to be named without Honour: And they alone in my Judgment are worth a Thouſand* Maimbourgs *and* Varillaſſes. To theſe I may add the Judgment of *Monſuer Wickfort*, a great Man of this preſent Age, who ſaith, that *Sleidans Hiſtory is very Good.* *Memoires Touchant les Ambaſſadeurs.* p. 442. 8°. part. I.

It will, I ſuppoſe, be expected that I ſhould give an account of this Tranſlation. That the *Original* deſerved to be read in more Languages than one, is I believe unqueſtionable: and that favourable Reception it has already met with in the *German*, *French* and *Italian* Languages, beſides that univerſal Applauſe with which it has been Celebrated, by the Learned in all the Countries of *Europe*, did beſpeak ſuch a Tranſlation into *Engliſh*, as might in ſome meaſure anſwer the native Beauties of this noble Work; of which I ſhall only ſay, that in this all imaginable care hath been taken to keep up that truly great ſimplicity, which is the diſtinguiſhing character of this Hiſtory; how far this hath been performed is left to the Judgment of the judicious Reader. What I have to ſay of my Continuation, is already ſet down in my Introduction before it. *An account of this Verſion.*

To the most Illustrious Prince

AUGUSTUS

Elector and Duke of *SAXONY*,

Landt-grave of *THURINGE*, Marquis of *MISNIA*, and Lord High Marshal of the EMPIRE; His most Gracious Master and Lord, *John Sleidan* wisheth much Health and Happiness.

Illustrious Sir,

DIvers Authors have discovered to us the manifold and various Accidents which attend humane affairs, and the changes in States and Kingdoms: And God himself has been pleased heretofore to instruct us, and with his Own voice, as it were to foretel us what should happen of this Nature, many Ages before it came to pass. And as to the first four Great Empires *of the World, He has been pleased by* Daniel *the Prophet to inform us, of their Order, Changes and Successions: The greatest part of whose excellent Predictions are now (by the event) exposed and made very plain to us, and afford us a knowledge which is both very sweet and full of Consolation. The same holy Prophet has also foretold the changes of Religion, and the contests concerning its Doctrines; and the Apostle St.* Paul *who followed him, has clearly also discovered before-hand many things of that Nature. And the accomplishment of these Predictions has been delivered down to us, and explain'd by various Writers who have lived in the intermediate Ages. But then that change which has hapned in our times, is one of the most Illustrious Events which has come to pass.*

The Prophet has foretold that the Roman Empire should be the last, and the most powerful, and that it should be divided; and accordingly it is reduced to the lowest degree of weakness, tho it was once of an immense Bulk and vast extent, so that now it only subsists within the Confines of Germany; *and its Fortunes have been very various and unsteady, partly by reason of its Intestine Divisions, and partly on the account of Foraign Combinations against it. Yet after all, God has at last given us the most Potent Emperor that has reigned in many Ages: For in the Person of this Prince are united the Succession of many Rich and Powerful Kingdoms and Inheritances, which by reason of their Situations have afforded him the opportunity of performing great things, by Sea and Land, above any other of our Princes. And as his Power has very much exceeded all the Emperors of* Germany *which have Reigned since* Charles *the* Great: *So the things which have happen'd in his time, and under his Government, have rendred him the most Conspicuous and Memorable of all our Princes.*

And amongst these, the Reformation of Religion, *doth justly challenge the first Place, which began with his Reign. For this Controversie had not been moved above* XIV *months, when* Maximilian *the Emperor (his* Grandfather *and immediate Predecessor in the Empire) died: And when he was chosen by the* VII *Electors,* Luther *being at the self same time provoked by his Adversaries, entred the Lists, and maintain'd a publick Disputation against* Eckius *at* Leipsick; *by which the minds of both the contending Parties were put into a great Commotion. The Reign therefore of this great Prince is diligently to be considered, and for the better understanding of it, ought to be compared with those of the former times. For God has ever used to raise up Illustrious and great Princes, when the Ecclesiastical or Civil State were to be changed: such were* Cyrus, Alexander *the* Macedonian, C. Julius Cæsar, Constantine, Charles *the* Great, *and the* Otho's *of* Saxony, *and now in our times at last,* CHARLES *the* V.

That change I have here in this Story unfolded, is such that no man who does clearly understand it, can think of it without astonishment, and the utmost degree of Admiration and Wonder.

Its

Its beginning was ſmall and almoſt contemptible; and one man alone, a while, bore the hatred and violence of the whole World: And even he too might eaſily, at firſt, have been quieted and laid to ſleep, if the condition he ſo often offered his Adverſaries, had been accepted by them. For he Promiſed he would hold his Peace, if they would do ſo too: *But when they refuſed this, and would force him to recant, and ſtood ſtiffly in this Reſolution that he ſhould do it: And he on the otherſide as ſtoutly replied, That he could not retract what he had Advanced, till they had ſhewn him wherein he had err'd; The debate between them improved and grew greater, and the buſineſs was brought before the Dyet of* Germany, *by which means it dilated it ſelf to that degree we now ſee it in.*

But then upon what reaſons it was done; What ſhare the Popes of Rome, *the Univerſities, and the Kings, Princes, and States of Chriſtendom had in this Affair; How* Luther *defended his Cauſe before the Emperor and the Princes of* Germany *in the Dyet; How many men of great Learning joyned themſelves with him; How this buſineſs was from time to time agitated and debated in the Dyets; What ways were propoſed for an Accommodation; How the Popes ſolicited the Emperor and other Chriſtian Princes; How they frequently promiſed a* Reformation *and a* General Council; *What Perſecutions and Slaughters were in ſeveral Places were ſtir'd up againſt thoſe who imbraced this Doctrine; What Conſpiracies and Leagues were ſet on foot to the ſame end, not only in* Germany *but in other Countries, as this Religion ſpread it ſelf; How ſome forſook it, and others perſevered conſtantly in it; What Tumults, Contentions and Wars were occaſioned by it; Theſe thing, in my judgment are ſo great, and ſo full of Variety, that I think it were a ſin to ſuffer them to periſh in ſilence, and not commit them to writing.*

To this I may add, that I think it very reaſonable to give an account what the ſtate of the Empire of Germany *has been during the Reign of this Prince, by the ſpace of* XXXVI *years; what Wars he has mannaged; What Commotions and Diſturbances have happned; And what has been the fortune of the Neighbour Kingdoms and Provinces in theſe times: (But then I ſhall ſhew hereafter the* method *I have followed in this Work.) For as this Princes Dominions are of great Extent, ſo he has been attack'd by very Potent Adverſaries. The things therefore that have happen'd during his Reign, and in our Memory, are ſtrangely great. Some years ſince, many men of eminent Learning and Virtue, when theſe things happen'd to be accidentally mention'd, began to be earneſt with me that I ſhould commit to Writing the Affairs of our times, eſpecially what related to Religion;* And this they did, not out of an opinion that I was better able to do it than another, or becauſe there were not abler men to be found for that purpoſe; but *becauſe they ſaw* me particularly fancy and love theſe Compoſures; and thence they concluded *that I being by Nature deſign'd to this* imployment, and by her powerfully excited *to it,* might perhaps not altogether loſe or miſpend my time in the attempt. On the other ſide, I who knew what a large Sea of Matter I was to enter into, and that this deſign needed a man of greater Ingenuity and Eloquence than I could pretend to, and therefore I almoſt deſpaired of ever being able to accompliſh it; yet being at laſt overcome by the Authority of thoſe who had made this motion to me, I reſolved to make a trial of it: *And accordingly beginning with the time when* Luther *firſt oppoſed the* Venal Indulgences, *and bringing the Relation down to the Diſputation appointed by* George *Duke of* Saxony *at* Leipſick, *I ſent what I had Compoſed, as a kind of* Specimen, *to thoſe who had ſolicited me to undertake it, about ten years ſince, to* Worms; *there being then a Dyet of the Empire in that City, to the end they might read and judge of it. They thereupon became more earneſt with me than before, both by their Letters and Perſonal applications that I ſhould go on with it: But about that time* Germany *was involved in a Calamitous War, which as it gave great hinderances to all the Learning and Arts of our Country, ſo it diſcompoſed my deſign, and for ſome time forced me to delay it. For neither was it poſſible for me to go on as I deſired, and beſides I met frequently with ſtops and interruptions. But then as ſoon as ever this ſtorm blew over, and eſpecially in the three laſt years, I applied all my Study and Labour to this Work; nor would I give my ſelf any reſt till I had arrived at that period of time I intended.*

The main and principal ſcope of my deſign is to ſet forth the Affairs of Religion; but then I thought it needful for Order ſake to ſet down alſo the Civil Tranſactions. As to the nature of the Story every man that reads it will very eaſily ſee what it is.

Candor *and* Truth *are the two moſt becoming Ornaments of an Hiſtory; and in truth, I have taken the utmoſt care that neither of them might be wanting here: To that end I have taken up nothing upon ſurmiſe or light report, but I have ſtudiouſly collected what I have here written from the Publick Records and Papers; the Faith of which can juſtly be call'd in queſtion by no man.*

Beſides, I had great aſſiſtances from James Sturmius, *a Perſon of Noble Birth and great reputation, who was imploy'd for above* XXX *years in the Publick and moſt difficult Affairs of his Country, which he at all times managed with much commendation; He having been pleaſed to admit me (ſuch was his Goodneſs) into his Acquaintance and Friendſhip, like a good Governour*

very

very often ſhew'd me the right and even way, when I was at a loſs, and doubtful which way to turn me, and at other times ſtuck on the Rocks and Shallows; and after all, read over, at my requeſt, the greateſt part of this Work before his laſt Sickneſs, which took him from us in the year 1553, *and with great induſtry and care admoniſhed me of what he thought was needful.*

The Reader will meet frequent mention of Foraign affairs, eſpecially the French *and* Engliſh, *and in theſe I have purſued the ſame method, and I have inſerted nothing but what I had good Authority for. And as to the* French *tranſactions, I ſaw many of them in the* IX *years I lived in that Kingdom. So that the greateſt part of the Perſecutions and Burnings, and the Royal Edicts againſt the Profeſſors of the Reformed Religion, which I have mention'd; the Diſputation undertaken by the Divines of* Paris *againſt ſome of their Miniſters; the Confeſſion of their Faith which was Publiſhed in Print ſoon after, and the Court Factions which then were on foot, do all of them fall within that time alſo. As to Military actions, and what paſs'd in the Wars, I have not wholly paſs'd them over, nor indeed could I, and yet I have not made them any principal part of my buſineſs, becauſe that of Religion was my main deſign. And therefore when my Reader falls upon any thing of that Nature, I would have him know before-hand, he is not to expect an exact and large account: That being contrary to my undertaking, and which may eaſily be found in other Authors who have made thoſe things their principal care, tho I have not.*

The ſecond Ornament which I mention'd of Hiſtory, is Candor *or Impartiality, which is ever to be obſerved to prevent the Writers being drawn from Truth by his affections, which ſeems the more difficult, becauſe it is ſo rarely to be found in Hiſtorians. Now tho perhaps I ſhall not be able to perſwade all my Readers that I have uſed more than an ordinary diligence, as far as it was poſſible for me, as to this: Yet I do with repeated earneſtneſs conjure them not to load me with an unjuſt ſuſpicion before-hand. This whole Work, as I ſaid above, is extracted out of Publick Acts, Papers, or Records; collected together with great diligence, and a great part of which have been already Printed, partly in Latin, and partly in the Vulgar Tongues,* viz. *the* German, Italian, *and* French. *It contains many Orations, Petitions, and Anſwers; very many Accuſations and their Anſwers; in all theſe I nakedly, ſimply, and with good Faith, recite all things as they were particularly acted. For here I do not add any thing of my own, nor do I make any Judgment on them; but willingly and freely leave it to my Reader. I make no Rhetorical Flouriſhes, nor do I write any thing out of Favour or Envy to any man. No, I only furniſh the Style, and uſe my own words, that the tenor of my Language may be equal, and always alike; and digeſt every thing, and fix it in its proper place, as it happen'd to be done in order and time.*

In the firſt years Leo *the* X, *and* Adrian *the* VI, *Popes of* Rome, *wrote many things with great Bitterneſs againſt* Luther. *Now as I take nothing from their Words, ſo I add nothing to* Luther's *Anſwers; nor do I make their complaints worſe than they were, or his Defences and Replies better. The two Popes that followed theſe,* Clement VII, *and* Paul III, *and eſpecially the latter, when* Luther's *Doctrine was ſpread very much abroad, turning from his perſon, did very odiouſly accuſe and reproach ſome Princes and Free-Cities: Here I go on in the ſame manner, and indeed throughout the whole Work. Therefore I beſeech my Reader to lay aſide all prejudice, and that he would firſt conſider the things propoſed, and my Labour, which was very great, and then beſtow his good will and favour on it. For it is certain, that if thoſe motives which induced me to begin to Write, had not ſpurr'd me to go on, notwithſtanding all the trouble, I had long ſince deſerted, and left this very difficult undertaking, when I found by experience the variety and extent of it. But my mind and ſtrength were very much ſupported, firſt, When I conſidered that it was for the glory of God, who was thus pleaſed to diſcover his Almighty Power, and admirable Counſel in our times: Next that the common Good and Advantage, which would reſult from it, very much wrought upon me. For even here in* Germany *very few clearly underſtand in what order every thing was done; and Foreign Nations know nothing at all of them: but the far greateſt part of men being prepoſſeſs'd with prejudices, judged of the greateſt part of the things quite otherwiſe than they ought. To all this, I may add, I have had ſome conſideration for Poſterity,* if yet theſe my Writings will bear the Light, and laſt any long time. *Beſides it rarely happens that things of this Nature are by others related with any degree of* Truth *and* Moderation: *And there is a Book (on this Subject) Printed above ſix years ſince at* Mentz, *Written by a* German, *and ſtuffed with Accuſations, Slaunders, Triſles and Reproaches: And within the ſpace of a few years paſt there were two Volumes publiſhed at* Florence, *the Author of which has very largely handled, in them, the Hiſtory of his own Times; but whereſoever he ſpeaks of the Affairs of* Germany, *and eſpecially of what concerns Religion, there he will certainly diſcover the ſickneſs of his Mind: The greateſt part of what he writes, being not well known to him, Falſe and Slanderous, as might very clearly be ſhewn. Beſides, whereas theſe two Writers have occaſion frequently to mention ſome Orations, Letters and Prefaces of Books, which have been Publiſhed from the Preſs, yet even here they preſume to Treat all theſe things not only with great Enmity and Envy, but they go very far alſo from the Truth.*

Theſe

The Authors Preface and Dedication.

Theſe Conſiderations, I ſay, prevail'd upon me, ſo that I thought I was obliged to go on, and not to ſuffer the Story of this Revolution to be falſly delivered to this or the ſucceeding Age. For what can poſſibly be more baſe and inſufferable, in this kind of Writing, than to ſuffer that which ought to make men wiſer, by falſe relations to be depraved and turn'd to a contrary end? The greateſt part of the Hiſtorians of our times, by a fault too common in our days, ſeek to gratifie and pleaſe ſome one perſon, but in the mean time this makes them injurious to many more, whom they thus deceive and cauſe to err. As to my ſelf I do aſſure my Reader, without any boaſting, that I am ready, and well diſpoſed, if I have ſet down any thing in this Work which is not exactly true, to blot it out, and give the World a caution not to believe it too. But then I am very confident that nothing of vanity can here be charged upon me; becauſe there are many good men who can teſtifie what great ſtudy and induſtry I have imployed, for ſome years now paſt, to gain an exact Knowledge of every thing; and beſides I truſt the Work it ſelf will prove it.

Now tho I Write the Hiſtory of thoſe things which have happen'd during the Reign of Charles *V. who is yet living, and at the Helm of our State, and ſo many other great Actions may perhaps follow in his times; yet becauſe thoſe that are paſt muſt of neceſſity be the firſt, principal and greateſt part of the events of it: Therefore I would not delay this Work any longer, wherein I have gratified many Learned Men, not only of* Germany, *but alſo of other* Countries, *who deſired to ſee it. Without doubt there are great Commotions and ſtrange and wonderful changes coming on; and the* S. Scriptures *ſeem clearly and plainly to foretel as much; and the preſent ſtate of Affairs intimate the ſame; ſo that thoſe who are diſpoſed to Write, are not like to be deſtitute of Matter. But in the interim, as the Publick good inclin'd me to undertake this task; ſo it has now at laſt prevail'd with me to Publiſh theſe* XXV *Books.*

Illuſtrious Sir,

I deſire to Dedicate unto Your Highneſs *this my Labour and Work; becauſe you are deſcended of that Family which was firſt pleaſed to give entertainment and Protection to this Doctrine: Your Father readily imbrac'd it, Your Brother hath ſetled a conſiderable Eſtate for the Education of Children in Learning and Piety, and Your Father in Law (the King of* Denmark) *is a famous Defender of it alſo; and laſtly, becauſe You too,* Great Sir, *purſuing with much Glory their Example, I cannot but be confident, this Work, which I hope will be profitable to many, will be therefore acceptable to You. May God Preſerve Your Highneſs.*

Given the 23 of
March 1555.

John Sleidan's *Apology for his Hiſtory.*

BEing inform'd that many ſpeak very unfriendly of my Hiſtory, and as I clearly ſee, reward my great Labour very ill, I am thereby enforced to Publiſh this *Apology* in my own Defence. I have already in my Preface ſet forth the cauſes that induced me to Write, the methods I purſu'd in it, and that I deſigned no mans diſrepute, or favour; that I was very deſirous of ſetting down nothing but what was exactly true, and diſpoſed beforehand, in caſe I were ſhewn I had any where miſtaken, to correct and blot out what was amiſs, and to caution my Readers not to believe my Errors. I thought this would ſatisfie all mankind, and the rather, becauſe the very peruſal of what I had Written would clear my reputation and create a firm belief of my fidelity: but being on all hands inform'd, to my great diſſatisfaction and ſorrow, that it has happen'd quite otherwiſe, I am neceſſitated to add what follows to that Preface.

I ſay then, that from the beginning of the World, it has ever been the cuſtom of Men to Write the *Civil* and *Sacred Hiſtory* of their times: That this uſage (as appears by their Books) has moſt flouriſhed in the moſt free and illuſtrious Nations, eſpecially amongſt the *Greeks* and *Romans*. That the principal Law and Ornament of Hiſtory is *Truth and Sincerity*, and therefore it was that *Cicero* ſtil'd it, *The Witneſs of Times, the Light of Truth, the Life of Memory, and the Miſtreſs of Life.* By theſe Words the great Orator hath given a noble commendation of Hiſtory, and an excellent deſcription of what ought to be aim'd at in the Compoſing of it. Now there having happen'd, in our Times, ſuch a *change* in Religion, as is not to be parallell'd in any age ſince the Apoſtles; and there having followed it a great Commotion in the Civil State, as is uſual. Tho I was not the fitteſt perſon to undertake this Work, yet at the requeſt of many good Men, I entred upon it, for the glory of God, and with great fidelity and diligence have brought it down to our own Times: And I have ſome hope, that all who are not highly prejudiced, will confeſs that I have not given the Reins to my Paſſions, in any thing in this affair; and that I have behaved my ſelf, perhaps, with more Moderation than any other Writer.

For though I willingly profeſs that Doctrine of the Goſpel, which by the mercy of God was now reſtored, and rejoyce exceedingly that I am a Member of the Reformed Church; yet I have carefully abſtained from all exaſperating Language, and ſimply delivered every thing as it came to paſs. I call God to Witneſs alſo, that I never deſigned to injure or hurt any mans reputation falſly; for what a madneſs would it have been to have delivered any thing otherwiſe than it was, in an affair which is freſh in all mens memory? And, I hope, thoſe who are intimately acquainted with me, have never yet diſcovered any ſuch vanity in me: And yet if after all, I have by chance committed any Error or Miſtake, I will readily confeſs it, when ever I ſhall be ſhewn it, and alſo caution my Reader openly, that he may not be miſlead by me, as I have ſaid in my Preface. As to the pains I have taken, and the diligence I have uſed in this Work, no man could poſſibly have done more to find out the Truth, as many men can bear me Witneſs, and the very Work it ſelf will in great part ſhew.

In this Hiſtory of Religion, I could not omit what concerned the Civil Government, becauſe, as I have already ſaid, they are interwoven each with th'other, eſpecially in our times, ſo that it was not poſſible to ſeparate them. This union of the Sacred and Civil State, is ſufficiently diſcovered in the Scriptures, and is the cauſe that the change of Religion, in any Nation, is always attended preſently with offences, diſtractions, contentions, ſtrifes, tumults, factions and wars. *For this cauſe*, Chriſt ſaith, *the Son ſhall be againſt the Father, and the Daughter againſt the Mother, and that his Doctrine would not bring Peace, but a Sword, and raiſe a fiery contention amongſt the neareſt relations.* And that this has ever been the ſtate of affairs ſince the beginning of the World, cannot be denied, and is alſo very manifeſt from the thing it ſelf. For in our Times no ſooner did this benefit, vouchſafed us by God and the Doctrine of the Goſpel, begin to be preached againſt the *Papal Indulgences* and *the Traditions of Men*, but preſently all the World, but eſpecially the *Clergy*, became tumultuous and unquiet. This occaſioned the bringing this affair before the *Dyet*, or Publick Convention of the States of *Germany*; and when thereupon ſome Princes and free Cities imbraced this Doctrine, this fire ſpread it ſelf, and the cauſe was exagitated with great variety, till at laſt it burſt out into a War.

Now in the Deſcription, I have made of it, will appear what care and diligence the

Emperor

Emperor imployed to put a ſtop to this diſſention; what the *Proteſtants* alſo from time to time Anſwered, and what Conditions they frequently offered. And when it came to a War, the event was various and perplexed; as for inſtance, the Emperor (to give one Example out of many) wrote to ſome of the Princes and Cities, and afterwards Publiſhed in Print, a Declaration of his intentions and deſigns. This Declaration was the foundation of the Emperors cauſe, and by the Laws of Hiſtory was to be repreſented, together with the Anſwer of the Adverſe Party. For, without this, what kind of Hiſtory would it be thought which ſhould only repreſent what one party ſaid? And yet in this, how I behaved my ſelf, how I managed my Style and tempered it, may be eaſily ſeen, by comparing my Latin Verſion of that Declaration with the *German* Edition of it, to which I refer my ſelf. When the War was prolonged till the Winter came on; the Emperor at laſt prevail'd upon the return of his Enemies into their Countries. Theſe his Victories and Triumphs, firſt, in the Upper *Germany*, and then the Electorate of *Saxony*, are related by me with great Truth: And I obſerve the ſame method every where. For I neither take from, nor add to any mans Actions, more than the truth of the thing requires and allows: And in truth it is apparent this has been done by few: For the greateſt part of the Writers give their own Judgments both of the things and perſons they mention in their Hiſtories.

To omit the more Ancient Hiſtorians, we know how *Platina* has Written the Lives of the Popes, and *Philip Comines*, a Knight, has in our Memory publiſhed an Illuſtrious Hiſtory of his own Times, and among other things which he there delivers, tells us, that after *Charles* the *Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*, was ſlain before *Nancy* in Battel; *Lewis* XII King of *France* raviſhed from his Daughter, and Heir, *Artois* and both the *Burgundies*; and altho *Comines* was a ſworn Subject of *France*, and a Counſeller to that Prince, *yet he ſaith this was ill done.* About XXIV years ſince *Peter Bembus* was imployed by the Senate of *Venice*, to Write the Story of the War between that State, and *Maximilian* the Firſt, Emperor of *Germany*, *Lewis* King of *France*, and *Julius* II Pope of *Rome*, and ſome others, which he hath done in twelve Books: And he too tells us how *Lewis* XII denounced War againſt the *Venetians*, and that his Herald appearing before the Senate, and the Duke, ſpoke theſe Words, Luredano *Duke of* Venice, *and ye reſt of the Citizens of* Venice; Lewis *King of* France, *my Maſter, has commanded me to tell you, that he is coming with an Army againſt you, becauſe like a parcel of perfidious men, yea have poſſeſſed your ſelves by force and fraud of the Towns belonging to the Pope, and other Princes, and are reſtleſly endeavouring by crafty means to Ravage, and ſubject under your Dominion, all that belongs to your Neighbours, which he is now reſolved to require at your hands.* Perhaps ſome may think that *Bembus* ought to have taken no notice of theſe Words, becauſe they reflect ſo bitterly upon his Country-men; but he thought otherwiſe, and tranſcrib'd them from the Publick Records into his Hiſtory, adding the Anſwer which was given with equal ſharpneſs to the Herald; and this Work was after Printed with the Privilege of the Senate at *Venice*. *Paulus Jovius*, beſides his Lives of the Illuſtrious Men, has lately Publiſhed two Tomes of the Hiſtory of our Time; how freely he Writes will appear to any one who reads them; and although he treats the *Germans* very injuriouſly, yet his Work comes forth with many Privileges to defend it. He that pleaſeth may examine what he ſaith, *Tom.* II. *Fol.* 9. and in the Life of *Leo* X. *Fol.* 93, 94. and in the Life of *Alfonſo* Duke of *Ferrara*, *Fol.* 42. and in truth the Works of all good Authors have many Examples of this Nature.

Comines is chiefly commended becauſe he Wrote ſo equally, but then he ever purſues this Method, as I have ſaid already, that he not only ſets down what was done, but alſo gives his own Judgment of it, and tells us what every one did, well or ill; and although I would not have done this, yet it is the moſt uſual practice of Hiſtorians. But then, that what was done or ſaid by both Parties ſhould be exactly related, is not only juſt and equal, and the conſtant uſage from the moſt Ancient times, but alſo abſolutely neceſſary; for without it, it is impoſſible to Write an Hiſtory. Where ever there are Factions, Wars and Seditions, be ſure there are Complaints, Accuſations and Anſwers, and all places are fill'd with oppoſite and contradictory Papers: Now he that truly relates theſe as they are, doth neither of the Parties any injury, but follows the Laws of an Hiſtorian. For in theſe Brawls and Contentions, every thing which the Parties object againſt each other is not preſently true and certain. Where there is Contention, Hatred and Enmity, it is very well known and experienced how things are managed for the moſt part on both ſides: If what the Popes, and their Adherents, have within thirty ſix years laſt paſt belched out againſt the Proteſtants were all true, there could be found nothing more wicked and impious than they.

Paul

John Sleidan's *Apology for his Hiſtory.*

Paul III. Pope of *Rome* ſent the Cardinal of *Farneſe* his Son, in the year 1540. to the Emperor, into the *Low Countries*; He gave ſome Advices againſt the Proteſtants, which were afterwards Printed and are recited in the thirteenth Book of my Hiſtory. After many other reproachful expreſſions, he ſaith, *the Proteſtants fight as much againſt Chriſt as the very Turks do, for they only kill their Bodies, but the Proteſtants bring their Souls too to eternal deſtruction:* Here then I make a ſtand, and deſire to know what could poſſibly have been ſpoken more grievous and horrible than this? Now if theſe things had not been related, certainly the Proteſtants would have had juſt cauſe of complaint againſt me. But the thing is quite otherwiſe, for neither is it true becauſe the Cardinal ſaid it, and if I had paſſed it by, I might juſtly have been ſuſpected as one that was too much addicted to a Party, and ſo would not tell the Truth,

I do not doubt but all impartial men will yield that I have in this, which I have ſaid, clearly given the true Laws of Hiſtory; and I can as little think they will judge that I have broke thoſe Laws; the far greateſt part of my Hiſtory being extracted out of Pieces which were Printed before. They act therefore very unfriendly, or rather injuriouſly with me, who traduce and defame my Writings, and the more are they guilty if they underſtand the Laws of Hiſtory: but if they know them not, then I deſire they would learn them from what I have written and from other Hiſtorians. But then when I mention *other Hiſtorians*, I do not mean thoſe of our times, whoſe only buſineſs it is to extol their own Party with immoderate praiſes and wonderful commendations, and to overwhelm the other Party with ſlaunders and reproaches; for theſe men are not worthy of the Title of Hiſtorians.

Above ſix years ſince *John Cochleus* Publiſhed ſome Commentaries, containing an Hiſtory of the ſame nature with mine, but then he has ſtuffed them with horrible, unheard of, and invented ſlaunders. *Cardinal Pole*, in a Book which he lately Printed, calls the Proteſtant Religion, lately eſtabliſhed in *Germany*, a *Turkiſh Seed:* And their Books are generally full of ſuch reflections. But what is there like this in my Work? In truth I have made it my buſineſs to Write in order, and as truly as I could, the Story of that wonderful bleſſing God has been pleaſed to beſtow upon the men of this Age: And to that purpoſe, about ſixteen years ſince, I Collected all that I thought neceſſary to that Work: nor have I ſince made any headlong haſte in the Writing of it, but gone leiſurely on with a ſteady Judgment. The labour I have taken, in this great Work, is known to none but God and my ſelf: and I had reſpect to nothing but the glory of *God in it*; and laying aſide the Study of the Civil Law, which is my profeſſion, I accordingly almoſt ſpent my whole time upon it: ſo that all things conſidered, I think, I may aver that I was drawn to it by an *Impulſe* from God, and I will commend my cauſe to him, ſeeing I have met ſo ill a recompence from ſome men, for my great labour and pains; it being his cauſe I have defended, and I am fully aſſured he will look upon that Work as a moſt pleaſing and acceptable Sacrifice; the conſcience of which ſuſtains and comforts me; and the more, becauſe I ſee many Learned Men approve and applaud my Work, paying me their thanks for it, and acknowledging the benefit they have reaped by it. Therefore I deſire all thoſe who are the hearty Lovers of Truth, that they would not believe the ſlaunders of ill men, but kindly entertain my Work, and approve my faith and diligence, without admitting any ſuſpition of me. Laſtly, I profeſs that I acknowledge *Charles* the V. now Emperor of *Germany*, and *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* his Brother, to be the ſupreme Magiſtrates appointed by God, whom I ought in all things to Obey, as Chriſt and his Apoſtles have commanded, excepting only thoſe things which are forbidden by God.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church, BEGUN IN GERMANY BY Martin Luther, &c.

BOOK I.

The CONTENTS.

Martin Luther *bravely withſtands the Venal Indulgences, diſperſed abroad by* Leo X, *Pope of* Rome; *not only in his Publick Sermons, but alſo in ſome Theſes and Poſitions, which he offered to defend, and which he ſent to the Archbiſhop of* Mentz. *The firſt that oppoſed them were* Tetzel, Eckius, Silveſter, Prierias *and* Hogoſtrat. *In the mean time the Pope ſends* Cajetane *Legat to the Emperour* Maximilian. Luther *is Cited to appear at* Rome: *By means of* Frederick *Elector of* Saxony, *he Anſwers* Cajetane *in the Diet of* Ausburg. Cajetane *by Menaces, and the Thunder of the Canons, endeavours to maintain the Papal Power and Tyranny. After the departure of* Luther, Cajetane *ſollicites Duke* Frederick *by Letters, but in vain. By a new Bull, the Pope confirms and publiſhes the Indulgences in* Germany. *To draw in Duke* Frederick, *he preſents him with a Golden Roſe. The Emperour* Maximilian, *in the mean while dies. Many Heads at work about the Succeſſion to the Empire. At length,* Charles *Archduke of* Auſtria *is choſen Emperour; the News whereof is brought to him in* Spain. *An account of the* Bulla Aurea, *the* Golden Bull, *and Laws of the Empire.* Eraſmus *his Teſtimony of* Luther. *Whileſt they were Diſputing at* Leipſick, Ulrick Zuinglius *began to teach at* Zurich, *and manfully oppoſed one that preached up Indulgences.*

1517. Pope *Leo* ſends out Indulgences.

POPE *Leo* X, a *Florentine*, of the Family of *Medices*, making uſe of that Power, which his Predeceſſors, the Popes of *Rome*, had Uſurped, and he himſelf thought he had, over all Chriſtian Churches, ſent abroad into all Kingdoms his Letters and *Bulls*, with ample Promiſes of the full Pardon of Sins, and of Eternal Salvation to ſuch as would purchaſe the ſame with Money; and the Collectors, and thoſe who were ſent out, to Preach up the Value of this ſo great a Favour, not only defended their Doctrins in Books they publiſhed, particularly in *Germany*; but alſo ſetled publick Offices in all Provinces for the Receipt of the Money, that was raiſed this way, and by the Licences which

1517. they likewiſe ſold, for eating Eggs, Milk, Cheeſe and Fleſh, on Faſting Days. Now this Remiſſion and Pardon of Sins, they named an *Indulgence*, a Word of their own coyning, which had been of a long time in uſe among them.

Luther Preaches againſt Indulgences;

There lived at that time, in *Wittemberg* upon the *Elbe*, a City of *Saxony*, one *Martin Luther*, a Doctor of Divinity, and an *Auguſtine* Fryer; who being excited by the Sermons and Books of theſe Collectors, and perceiving that their Doctrin was believed, and paſt current among the People, began to adviſe Men to be Wiſe, and not to purchaſe ſuch Commodities at ſo dear a Rate: Becauſe what they laid out that way, might be far better employed. And this happened in the Year of our Lord one thouſand five hundred and ſeventeen.

And writes about them to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*.

That he might, therefore, proceed in his Deſign with better Succeſs, on the laſt of *October*, he wrote to *Albert* of *Brandenburg* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, acquainting him with what they Taught; and Complaining that the People were ſo perſuaded, as that having purchaſed theſe Indulgences by Money, they needed no more doubt of Salvation, *as if no Crime could be committed which* was not by that means Pardoned; and as if the Souls which were Tormented *in* the Fire of Purgatory, ſo ſoon as the Money was caſt into the Box, were preſently diſcharged of their Pains, and took their Flight ſtreight up to Heaven. He tells him, That *Chriſt* commanded the Goſpel to be Preached; and that it was the proper Office of Biſhops, to inſtruct the People in the Right Way: Wherefore he puts him in Mind of his Duty, and prays him that he would uſe his Authority in ſuppreſſing thoſe Books, and enjoyning the Preachers to teach better Doctrin, leſt it might give Occaſion to ſome more grievous Diſſenſion, which would undoubtedly happen, if they were not reſtrained. The Reaſon why he wrote to him, was, Becauſe he being alſo Biſhop of *Magdeburg*, it belonged to him to take care of theſe things. With this Letter, he alſo ſent the *Theſes*, which for Diſputation ſake, he had lately publiſhed at *Wittemberg*, to the number of ninety five, wherein he fully handled the Doctrin of Purgatory, true Penance, and the Office of Charity, and cenſured the extravagant Preachings of the Collectors; but only for diſcovering the Truth, as has been ſaid. For he invited all Men, not only to come to the Diſputation, and object what they had to ſay; but begged alſo, That ſuch as would not be preſent, might ſend their Opinions in Writing, proteſting that he affirmed *nothing poſitively*, but referred all to the Judgment of the Holy Church; *nevertheleſs*, that he admitted not of the Doctrins of *Thomas Aquinas*, and ſuch like Writers, unleſs they were found to agree with the Holy Scriptures, and the Decrees of the Ancient Fathers.

Luther's Theſes concerning Indulgences.

Tetzel the Dominican oppoſes *Luther*.

The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* made no anſwer to theſe things; but not long after, *John Tetzel*, a Dominican Frier, at *Frankford* upon the *Oder*, a Town within the Territories of *Brandenburg*, publiſhed ſome Poſitions, quite contrary to thoſe of *Luther*, wherein he mightily extolled the Authority of the Pope, the Benefit of Indulgences, and that Wooden Croſs, which then, by the Command of the Pope, was ſet up in all Churches, inſomuch that he compared *Leo* X, to the Apoſtle St. *Peter*, and that Popiſh Croſs, with the true Croſs, whereon Chriſt ſuffered for us.

Luther publiſhed an Explication of his Poſitions,

But when no Man of the contrary Part came to the Diſputation propoſed at *Wittemberg*, and that the *Theſes* we mentioned, were read by many with great Applauſe, *Luther* wrote a very large Explication of them, and ſent it, firſt to *Jerome* Biſhop of *Brandenburg*, to whoſe Juriſdiction he belonged, and, then to *John Stupitz* Provincial of the *Auguſtine* Friers, praying him to have it tranſmitted to the Pope: Nay in the Month of *June*, he wrote to Pope *Leo* himſelf,

1518.

And wrote to the Biſhop of *Brandenburg*, to *John Stupitz* and Pope *Leo*.

informing him, That theſe Collectors, relying upon, or abuſing his Authority, taught very raſhly, and behaved themſelves covetouſly: That he made no doubt but heavy Accuſations were brought againſt him; but that therein he was wronged, ſince he had been forced by the Sermons and idle Books of the Collectors, to publiſh ſome things, only for Diſputation ſake, which now he more fully explained; that therefore he prayed his Holineſs, Not to give Credit to thoſe Accuſations, becauſe *Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, was ſo Religious a Prince, and of ſo great Prudence and Integrity, that if thoſe things were true, which his Adverſaries reported of him, he would not ſuffer his Province to be in ſuch a manner Profaned; neither would the Univerſity of *Wittemberg* connive at it: That in ſhort, he ſubmitted all his Writings, nay his Life and Safety to his Authority and Diſpoſal; that he would look upon what proceeded from his Holineſs, as if it flowed from Chriſt, and were delivered by an Oracle; nor did he refuſe to lay down his Life, if ſo it ſeemed good to him.

Beſides

1518.

Eckius writes aganſt *Luther*, and he anſwers;

Beſides others who oppugned his *Theſes*, and the Explication annexed to the ſame, *John Eckius*, a Divine, wrote alſo againſt him; whom *Luther* anſwered, affirming, That he alledged nothing from Scripture, nor the Authority of the Fathers, but only ſome Dreams of his own, ſuch as by bad Cuſtom had now long prevailed in the Schools.

So alſo does *Silveſter Prierias*:

After *Eckius*, *Silveſter Prierias*, a Dominican, Maſter of the Sacred Palace, as they call it, wrote againſt him alſo, and ſet out a Dialogue, with a Preface to Pope *Leo*; and that in a very Huffing and Confident Stile, boaſting, That he would make a Tryal, if *Luther* were ſo Strong and Invincible, as that there was no Worſting, nor overcoming of him; and that if he anſwered that firſt Eſſay, he would then ply him with far Stronger and more Elaborate Arguments. He alſo addreſſed himſelf to *Luther*, telling him, That though he was now ſtricken in Years, and had not of a long Time entred into any ſuch Liſts, yet he would do *all that was in his* Power for the Roman Papacy, praying him withal, *to* return into the right Way. Before *he* enters into Diſputation, he lays *down* ſome general Poſitions, as the Ground-work of *his* Opinion; as that the Pope of *Rome*, is head of the Univerſal Church, That the Church of *Rome* is the Chief of all others, and that in Matters relating to Faith and Religion, it cannot err, no more than a Council, where the Pope is preſent; That the Holy Scripture receives all its Force and Authority from the Church, and Pope of *Rome*, as from a moſt certain Rule; and that they who think otherwiſe, who follow not the Doctrins of the Church of *Rome*, or queſtion its Authority, are without doubt, Hereticks. Having laid down this for a Ground, he comes to debate the Matter.

And lays down the Heads he is to inſiſt upon

Luthers Anſwer to *Silveſter Prierias.*

To this Writing *Luther* afterwards made Anſwer, and in his Preface to *Silveſter*, told him, That he admired, more than underſtood, his Poſitions; and then following his Example, in his own Defence, laid down ſome Poſitions alſo, but ſuch as were drawn from Holy Scripture: Wherein he affirmed, That we are not to believe the Doctrins of all Sorts of Men, but prudently to weigh all Things, and embrace that which is agreeable to the Word of God: And that no Doctrin was to be received, though never ſo Specious, beſides that which was left us by the Prophets and Apoſtles: That the Writers who came neareſt to them, were to be admitted; *but that we were to judge of the reſt*: And that as to Indulgences, the Collectors ought not to forge any Novelties, *but therein follow the Direction* of the Canon Law. Afterwards he objects againſt him, That he alledged no Text of Scripture, and only quoted the Opinion of *Thomas*, who himſelf had handled moſt things, according to his own Fancy, without the Authority of Scripture; wherefore he rejects both, and for ſo doing, gives for his Warrant, not only the Injunction of S. *Paul*, but alſo the Example of S. *Auſtin*: That it is an uſual thing with Lawyers, to ſay, That nothing was to be aſſerted, but what was clearly grounded on the Law; and that in Divinity it was far leſs tolerable to admit of any Allegation, without the Authority and Teſtimony of Scripture: That S. *Paul* commands, That they who teach the People, ſhould be furniſhed, not with Syllogiſms, or the various Devices of Men, but with ſound Doctrin, left to us by Divine Inſpiration; but that, becauſe moſt part ſlighted that Command, thick Darkneſs had overſpread the Church, and jangling about frivolous and needleſs Queſtions had broke into it. Having thus made Way for himſelf, he comes to the Refutation, and towards the End, ſays, That he was not at all moved at his Threats, nor his lofty and ſwelling Expreſſions, for that, though he might be put to Death, yet Chriſt ſtill lived, and was Immortal, to whom all Glory and Honour ought to be given: That if afterwards he intended to have another Bruſh, he muſt make uſe of other Weapons, and that elſe he would come but ſorrily off with his old Friend *Thomas.*

Silveſter's Reply.

Silveſter makes his Reply, That he was exceedingly pleaſed, That he ſubmitted to the Determination of the Pope of *Rome*, and wiſhed that therein he might have ſpoken truly, and from his Heart. *Luther* had twitted him with Ambition and Flattery, which he altogether diſowned, but ſtrongly defended *Thomas Aquinas*, affirming, That his whole Doctrin was ſo well Received, and Approved of by the Church of *Rome*, that it was even preferred before all other Writings: He therefore rebuked him for ſpeaking with ſo little Reverence of ſo great a Man; and told him, That he looked upon it as an Honour, to be called a *Thomiſt*: But that nevertheleſs, he was alſo acquainted with the Writings of other Men, which ſometime or other he would make appear. To this Preface he ſubjoyned a

1518. Short Book, wherein he ſtrangely commended the Power of the Pope of *Rome*, ſo that he raiſed him above Councils, and all the Canons, and affirmed, That the Force of Scripture, depended wholly on his Authority.

Who *Thomas Aquinas* was. *Thomas Aquinas*, being nobly deſcended, gave himſelf altogether to the Study of Learning, and leaving *Italy*, came firſt to *Cologn*, and then to *Paris*, where he attained to the chief Place amongſt the Learned Men of his Age, and publiſhed many Books, both in Philoſophy and Divinity: He had been a Fryer of the Dominican Order, and the Scholar of *Albertus Magnus*, and about fifty Years after his Death, was Canonized a Saint, by Pope *John* XXII. He had, indeed, been a rare Champion for the Papal Dignity, for he gave him Power, not only over all Biſhops, the Univerſal Church, and Kings; but alſo both Spiritual and Civil Juriſdiction, affirming it to be neceſſary to Salvation, That all Men ſhould be Subject unto him, and that he had full Power in the Church, both to call Councils, and to confirm the Decrees of the ſame: Nay, and *that from National* or Provincial Synods, Appeals might lawfully be made unto him. *In ſhort, he attributed all* things unto him, ſave only, that he could not make new Articles of Faith, nor abrogate thoſe which were handed down to us from the Apoſtles and Fathers. He wrote alſo largely of Indulgences, and made the Pope an abſolute Monarch, in diſpenſing them. He is ſaid to have died in the Year one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy four; and becauſe of the ſharpneſs of his Wit, he is commonly called the *Angelical Doctor*.

Luther anſwers *Silveſters* Reply. To *Silveſter*'s Reply, *Luther* made Anſwer, only by an Epiſtle to the Reader, wherein he affirms, That little Book of his to be ſo ſtuffed with Lies and Horrid Blaſphemies againſt God, that the Devil himſelf appeared to be the Author of it; That if the Pope and Cardinals were of the ſame Judgment, and that if that was the Doctrin taught at *Rome*, it was no more to be doubted, but that *Rome* was the very Seat of Antichriſt; and that happy was *Greece*, *Bohemia*, and all the reſt who had ſeparated from it: That if the Pope did not reſtrain him, and force him to retract his Writings, he proteſted that he Diſſented from him, and not only acknowledged not the Church of *Rome*, but would look upon it for the Future, as an Impure Sink of Errours, wholly Devoted to Impiety: That new and unheard of Elogies, of the Pope of *Rome*, were cunningly and craftily deviſed daily, with intent that there might be no place for a *Lawful Council*; ſince his Flatteries raiſed him above a Council, and affirmed, That the true Senſe and Meaning of the Scriptures was to be ſought from him, as from an Infallible Judge: That if they went on in this Madneſs, and Impoſed ſo upon the World with their Juggles, there remained no other Remedy, but that the Magiſtrates ſhould Puniſh them: That Thieves, Robbers, and ſuch like Malefactors, were put to Death; but that it was more Reaſonable, That all Men ſhould joyn, in repreſſing theſe moſt pernicious Enemies of the Commonwealth of Chriſtendom: That their Pope was no more than other Men, and no leſs obliged by the Laws of God than the Meaneſt Perſon whatſoever; and that they who taught otherwiſe, offered the higheſt Injury to the Divine Majeſty.

James Hogoſtrate writes againſt *Luther*, whom he anſwers. At that time *James Hogoſtrate*, a Dominican, wrote bitterly alſo againſt *Luther*, exhorting the Pope to proſecute him with Fire and Faggot. *Luther* gave him a ſhort Anſwer, upbraided him with Cruelty and Blood-thirſtineſs, and ſharply plaid upon the Ignorance of the Man, adviſing him to go on in his Courſe; for that to be Cenſured by Unlearned and Vitious Men, was a ready Way to attain to Honour and Reputation: However, he ſaid, He hoped for better things at the Hands of Pope *Leo*.

A Diet at *Ausburg*. Whilſt theſe things were in a Scholaſtick manner managed and debated by Writing on both Sides, the Emperour *Maximilian* held a Diet at *Ausburg*, whither Pope *Leo* X ſent his Legat, Cardinal *Thomas Cajetane*. All the ſeven Princes, who becauſe of their Right of Chuſing the Emperour, are called Electors, were preſent at this Diet, to conſult about a Turkiſh War; for *Selym* the Emperour of the *Turks*, having lately ſubdued the Sultan of *Egypt*, had reduced *Syria* and *Egypt* under his Obedience; and Cardinal *Cajetane*, having made an Hortatory Speech, and in the Pope's Name offered the Treaſures of the Church, implored Aid of the Emperour *Maximilian*, as being the Protector and Defender of the Church.

The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* made Cardinal. At this Time Pope *Leo* X, made *Albert* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, a Cardinal, and ordered him to be inſtalled at this Diet, by *Cajetane*, with the uſual Rites and Ceremonies. The Emperour afterwards waited upon the new Cardinal from the Church home to his Houſe, and ſent him Preſents, a Royal Litter, with Horſes, Carpets, and a great deal of very Rich Furniture: But the Pope made

him a Preſent of a Cap, embroidered with Gold, Pearls, and precious Stones; and of a Sword with a gilt Scabbard: For generally all the Biſhops of *Germany* have a Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. Now it was thought, That *Leo* conferred this Honour upon him, That the Church of *Rome* might have a Champion in *Germany*, conſpicuous both for Nobility of Extraction and Dignity; for though all Biſhops are bound by an Oath to the Pope of *Rome*, yet they who are called Cardinals, are much more obliged unto him: Beſides he was not Ignorant, how great a Stroak this Man had in the Affairs of the Empire, as being, by Ancient Cuſtom, the Firſt of the Princes, and, as it were, perpetual Preſident of the Electoral Colledge. 1518.

Maximilian being informed of the Controverſie raiſed by *Luther*, in the Month of *Auguſt*, wrote to Pope *Leo*, That he had learned, that *Luther* had vented many things in his Diſputes and Sermons, which for the moſt part ſeemed to be Heretical; that he was the more grieved at it, the more obſtinately he maintained his Doctrin, and had the more Approvers of his Errours, and amongſt thoſe, ſome alſo of great Quality: That he exhorted his Holineſs, that by Virtue of the Chief Authority, which he had, he would cut off all Idle and Uſeleſs Queſtions, and put a Stop to all Sophiſtry and Contention about Words; for that they who gave their Minds that Way, did a great deal of Miſchief to Chriſtianity; ſince all their Scope was, That what they themſelves had learn'd, ſhould be approved and imbraced by all Men: That care had been, indeed, taken in the former Age, That able Preachers ſhould be appointed to teach the People, and avoid all Idle and Sophiſtical Nicities, but that that Decree, was by degrees brought into Contempt, ſo that, it ought not, indeed, to ſeem ſtrange, if they who ſhould be the Guides of others, themſelves miſtook the Way: That it was long of theſe, That the Writings of the Ancient Fathers and Interpreters of Holy Scripture, had lain now long neglected, and were become Faulty and Corrupted: That it was alſo to be imputed to them, That in theſe our Times many Controverſies were broached in the Schools, and amongſt the reſt, that this dangerous Debate about Indulgences was ſtarted: That this, indeed, was a Matter of ſo great Moment, as that it required a preſent Remedy to be applyed to the growing Evil, before it ſhould propagate its Contagion, and ſpread further; for that *Delays were dangerous*: That for his part, he was ready to approve whatever his Holineſs *ſhould Determine, and take care to have it received throughout all* the Provinces of *Germany*.

Maximilian's Letter to Pope *Leo*, about *Luther* and his Doctrin.

We told you before of the Claſhings and contrary Writings of *Luther* and *Silveſter*: Now ſince this Man having a publick Place in *Rome*, eagerly purſued the Cauſe, Pope *Leo* Cites *Luther* under a Penalty, to appear at *Rome*; and then, *Auguſt* 23, wrote to Cardinal *Cajetane*, his Legat in *Germany*, to this purpoſe. That whereas being informed, That not only in Univerſities, but alſo amongſt the People, and in Books publiſhed and diſperſed over *Germany*, *Luther* maintained ſome Impious Opinions, contrary to the Doctrin of the Church of *Rome*, the Miſtriſs of Faith and Religion: He, who out of a Paternal Care and Affection, deſired to put a Stop to his Raſhneſs, had commanded *Jerome* Biſhop of *Aſcoli*, to whom the Matter properly belonged, to Summon him to appear at *Rome*, to anſwer the Accuſations brought againſt him, and give a Confeſſion of his Faith. That the Biſhop of *Aſcoli* had, indeed, done as he was enjoyned, but that he was ſo far from being thereby Reclaimed, that obſtinately perſiſting in his Hereſie, he had publiſhed Writings far more Dangerous, to his great Grief and Trouble: That, he ſhould therefore endeavour to have him brought to *Ausburg*, by means of the Emperour and Princes of *Germany*, whoſe Aſſiſtance he ſhould crave herein; and that being come, he ſhould put him in ſafe Cuſtody, that he might be ſent afterwards to *Rome*: But that if he repented of his own accord, and begged Pardon for his Fault, he might receive him into Favour, and reſtore him to the Communion of the Church, which never uſes to exclude Penitents; but if not, that then he ſhould Excommunicate him; commanding all Men alſo to obey this Bull, under the Penalty, if they be Church-men, of the loſs of all the Church Livings they poſſeſſed, and of being incapable of enjoying any for the future; but if Lay-men, and in Civil Office, under the Pain of being declared Infamous, degraded from all Honours, deprived of Chriſtian Burial, and the Forfeiture of all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, which they held of him, or of others alſo: But to thoſe who ſhould perform faithful Service therein, he orders either that Plenary Indulgences and Remiſſion of Sins, or elſe ſome Place and Reward ſhould be given; and to this Bull he ſubjects all

Luther Cited by the Pope to appear at *Rome*.

1518. all Men (the Emperour only excepted,) notwithſtanding any Priviledge or Diſpenſation they might have to the contrary.

Pope *Leo* writes to *Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*

The ſame Day, alſo, he wrote to *Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, who then was at *Ausburg*: That among the other Ornaments of the Houſe of *Saxony*, it had been always peculiar to it, to be moſt zealous for Religon; that therefore it was not probable, that any of that Family would ſo far degenerate from their Anceſtors, as to protect and defend a Man, who entertained Erroneous Thoughts as to the Chriſtian Religion: That nevertheleſs, to the great Grief of his Heart, he daily heard many and grievous Complaints of *Luther*, a profligate Wretch, who forgetting his own Order and Profeſſion, acted many things ſawcily, and with great Confidence, againſt the Church of God, bragging, That being ſupported by the Favour and Protection of the Prince, he ſtood in awe of the Authority of no Man; That he made no doubt, but that was falſey given out by him, but that nevertheleſs, he was willing to write theſe few things unto his Highneſs, and to adviſe him, That being always mindful of the Splendour and Dignity of himſelf and his Anceſtors, he would not only avoid giving any Offence, but even all Suſpicion of offending: That he knew for a certain, That *Luther* taught moſt Impious and Heretical Doctrines, which both he and the Maſter of his Palace, had carefully obſerved and marked down; That that was the Reaſon why he had both Cited him to Appear, and alſo ſent his Inſtructions to Cardinal *Cajetane*, his Legat, as to what further he would have done in the Matter; and that ſeeing this was an Affair of Religion, and that it properly belonged to the Church of *Rome*, to enquire into the Faith and Belief of all Men, he exhorted and charged his Highneſs, That being thereunto required, by his Legate, he would uſe his beſt Endeavours to have *Luther* delivered up into his Hands, which would be both acceptable Service to God, and very Honourable to himſelf and Family; that if upon Tryal he were found Innocent at *Rome*, he ſhould return Home Safe and Sound; but that if he proved Guilty, then would his Highneſs be Blameleſs, in no longer protecting a Criminal; and that he himſelf was ſo mercifully inclined, as that neither he would oppreſs an Innocent Man, nor deny a Penitent his Pardon. And thus he left no Way uneſſayed, that he might undo *Luther*.

Pope *Leo* writes to the Provincial of the *Auguſtine* Fryers.

The ſame Year, alſo, he wrote to *Gabriel Venize*, the Provincial of the *Auguſtine* Fryers, exhorting him, That by the Authority of his Charge, he would put a ſtop to *Luther*, a Fryer of his Order, who attempted Innovations, and taught new Doctrins in *Germany*, and ſolicitouſly ply him both by Letters, and Learned Agents: But that Expedition was to be uſed in the Matter, for ſo it would not be difficult to quench the Flame newly broken out, ſince things in their Infancy and Commencement, could not reſiſt Attempts that were any thing brisk; but ſhould it be deferred till the Evil had gathered Strength, it was to be feared, that the Conflagration might afterwards carry all before it; for that it was a Contagion that ſpread more and more daily, ſo that nothing ſeemed more to be feared than Delay: That therefore he ſhould ſet about the Affair with all Pains, Diligence and Induſtry, ſeeing he had Authority over him.

Luther deſired his Cauſe might be tryed in *Germany*. And the Univerſity of *Wittemberg* write to the Pope in his behalf;

When *Luther* perceived that he was cited to appear at *Rome*, he was very ſolicitous to have his Cauſe tryed before Competent and Unſuſpected Judges, in ſome Place of *Germany*, ſecure from Violence. But when that could not be obtained, the Univerſity of *Wittemberg* ſent a Letter to Pope *Leo*, dated *September* 25, wherein they gave *Luther* an ample Teſtimony both of a Pious Life and Learning; that ſeeing he was for ſome Poſitions propoſed, Cited to *Rome*, and could not, being a Sickly Man, without endangering his Life, make an Appearance; they prayed his Holineſs not to think otherwiſe of him, than of an Honeſt Man; that he had only for Diſputation ſake, offered ſome things to be argued, which were miſinterpreted and highly exaggerated by his Adverſaries; that for their parts, they would not ſuffer any thing to be aſſerted in Oppoſition to the Church, and that at *Luther*'s Requeſt, they could not but give him this Teſtimony, which they earneſtly entreated his Holineſs to give Credit to.

And alſo to one of the Popes Bedchamber, that *Luthers* Cauſe may be heard in *Germany*.

With this Letter, they ſent another to *Charles Miltitz*, a *German*, and Bedchamber Man to Pope *Leo*: Wherein they repreſent to him, That *Luther* was undeſervedly expoſed to the Anger and Hatred of the Pope, inſomuch, that being Cited to appear at *Rome*, he could not as yet obtain, That his Cauſe might be tryed ſomewhere in *Germany*: That for their own Parts, they were ſo zealous, not only for Religion, but alſo for the Holy Church of *Rome*, That if *Luther* were guilty of any Impious Crime or Errour, they would not bear with him: But that he was a Man

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ſo Learned, of ſo upright a Life and Converſation, and had deſerved ſo well of the whole Univerſity, that as Affairs ſtood, they could not but ſtand by him: That Duke *Frederick* alſo, ſo Religious and Prudent a Prince, would not ſo long have ſuffered him to go unpuniſhed, if he had not thought him to be a good Man: That therefore he would uſe his Intereſt and Familiarity he had with the Pope, that Impartial Judges might be aſſigned him, not at *Rome*, but in *Germany*: That they did not doubt, but that he would act as became a Chriſtian and Divine, and make it appear that he did not Wantonly and without a Cauſe hunt after an Occaſion of Contention: That they begged this the more earneſtly of him, in that they had the greater Hopes, that he who was himſelf a *German*, would not, in ſo juſt a Cauſe, be wanting to a Country-Man, who was born down by Calumnies, and in danger of his Life. 1518.

Beſides the Interceſſion of theſe Friends, *Frederick* Prince Elector, ſpoke alſo to Cardinal *Cajetane* at *Ausburg*, and ſo far prevailed, that *Luther* being excuſed from going to *Rome*, ſhould plead his Cauſe before the Emperour at *Ausburg*. Being come thither, in the Month of *October*, it was three Days before he was admitted to the Speech of *Cajetane*; for they to whom Duke *Frederick*, (who upon diſſolution of the Diet, was gone Home,) had recommended him, forbad him to go to him, before he had obtained a Safe Conduct from the Emperour *Maximilian*; but that being, at length, granted, he came; and the Cardinal having civilly received him, told him, That he would not enter into any Diſpute with him, but end the Controverſie amicably; and at the ſame Time propoſed to him two Commands in Name of the Pope; Firſt, That he would repent what he had done, and retract the Errours which he had publiſhed: And next, That for the Future, he would abſtain from ſuch Writings, as diſturbed the Peace and Tranquility of the Church. *Luther* makes Anſwer, That he was not Conſcious to himſelf of any Errour; and deſires, That if he had erred, it might be proved againſt him. With that *Cajetane* objects, That in his *Theſes* he had affirmed, That the Merits of our Saviour Chriſt, were not the Treaſure of *Indulgences*, which Opinion was repugnant to the Decretal of Pope *Clement* VI. Again, That it was neceſſary that they who come to receive the Sacrament, ſhould have a firm Belief that their Sins were forgiven them. *Luther* replies, That that was not ſo, telling him withal, That he had read the Pope's Decree, and gave his Judgment of it; but mention being made of S. *Thomas*, he ſaid, The Authority of Holy Scripture was to be preferred far before his.

Duke *Frederick* deals with Cardinal *Cajetane* at *Ausburg*.

Cajetane's conference with *Luther*.

The Cardinal then extolling the Dignity of the Pope, prefers him before all Scriptures and Councils, and quotes the abrogation of the Council of *Baſil*, which had decreed otherwiſe; condemning alſo *Gerſon* the *Pariſian* Doctor, and the reſt who approved that Opinion. On the other hand, *Luther* denies the Authority of the Pope to be greater than that of a Council, and quotes the *Pariſian* Divines, as the Approvers of his Judgment. When after much Debate, they could not agree, *Luther* deſired Time to conſider; and coming again next Day, in preſence of a Notary and Witneſſes, and ſome of the Emperours Counſellers alſo, he profeſſed, That he Reverenced and Submitted to the Holy Church of *Rome*; that if he had ſaid any thing to the contrary, he diſowned it; but that ſince he was admoniſhed and commanded, To Renounce his Errour, and meddle no more for the future, he was of the Opinion, that he had aſſerted nothing, that diſagreed with the Scripture, the Judgment of the Fathers, the Decretals of the Popes, or right Reaſon it ſelf; that he did not deny, indeed, but that he might err and be deceived, that being incident to Man; and that therefore he ſubmitted to the Judgment of a Lawful and Holy Church; and referred his Cauſe to be tryed thereby: Nay more, That he was ready, in any Place, to give an account of his Doctrin; that if he was not pleaſed with this, he would anſwer his Arguments in Writing, and ſubmit to the Judgment of the Univerſities of *Germany* and *Paris*. *Cajetane* urged again, as he had done the Day before, that Decretal of *Clement*, as making for him; and at length allowed him to exhibit his Mind in Writing; which was to this purpoſe: That at the Time he publiſhed his *Theſes*, and when after, he wrote the Explication of them, he had read the Decretal of *Clement*, but that it had not ſatisfied him; for that though it be made a Rule, That the Decretals of the Pope of *Rome* are no leſs to be received than the Words of the Apoſtle S. *Peter*, yet that ought ſo to be underſtood, provided they agree with Holy Scripture, and deviate not from the Decretals of the Ancients; that S. *Peter*'s Voice was, indeed, Sacred and Holy, and yet he had been ſharply rebuked by S. *Paul*.

1518. St. *Paul*, and his Doctrin not received till the Church, which then was at *Jeruſalem*, conſented to it. That the Sayings of Men were to be heard, but that every thing ſhould be referred to the Voice of Chriſt, who alone could not be deceived: That that Decretal was repugnant to many places of Holy Scripture, which was the Reaſon that at that time he Publiſhed his Poſition, and afterwards Commented upon the ſame: That from that time forward, he had reſolved to diſpute no more about it, and rather to liſten to the Opinions of others; but that now, though he had rather be inſtructed by others, and eſpecially the Pope of *Rome*, yet ſince there lay a neceſſity upon him of defending his own Aſſertion, he would eſſay, and uſe his endeavours to reconcile his Poſitions to that Decretal, if by any means it could be done. Having thus addreſſed to the Cardinal in a Preface, he falls to the handling of the matter it ſelf, and explaining the Decretal, affirms, That it made for him, yet ſo, that he did not thereby derogate from the dignity either of the Pope or him. Then he comes to the other branch of the Accuſation, and by many Texts of Scripture, fully proves, That it is Faith which *Juſtifies* us before God: And therefore he prays him to deal kindly with *him*, and ſhew him his Errour; for that the Texts of Scripture which he had alledged, were of ſo great force, that he believed them to be Self-evident; wherefore he could not forſake that Truth, ſince it was better to Obey God than Men. That therefore he deſired to be excuſed from that over-hard condition of Retracting, and to be Reconciled to the Pope: That it was not out of Arrogance, or any deſire of Vain-glory, that he had entred the Liſts, and that he wiſhed for nothing more than that the Truth might be diſcovered by any more Learned and Pious than himſelf; ſo that he beg'd, he might not be compell'd to wound his own Conſcience. *Cajetane* took this Writing from him, and upon reading, made ſlight of it, but promiſed however to ſend it to the Pope. In the mean time he urged him to retract, elſe he threatned him with the Puniſhment appointed by the Pope, and with that bid him be gone, and ſee his face no more, unleſs he changed his mind

Three days after *Luther* had been thus threatned, *October* the Seventeenth, he wrote a very humble and ſubmiſſive Letter to the Legate; for after that the Legate had chid him, as we ſaid, and ſent him away, he had dealt privately with *John Stupitz*, Provincial of the *Auguſtine* Fryars, that he might incline him to make a voluntary Recantation. Now in that Letter, *Luther* gives him an account of what paſs'd betwixt *Stupitz* and him, who had omitted nothing that could be expected from an honeſt Man, and faithful Friend. He thanked him for his Good-will and Kindneſs towards him, which he had underſtood from *Stupit*'s diſcourſe, whereby he had been ſo much comforted, that there was no Man living he would more willingly gratifie, than His *Eminence*. He confeſſes that he had been too ſharp, and had not behaved himſelf with the reſpect and reverence that was due to the Papal Dignity, but that all that was to be attributed to the impertinence of the Collectors: He begs Pardon for what he had done, and promiſes greater modeſty for the future, and that he would hereafter do his Holineſs Right in his Sermons: That he would not mention the *Indulgences* in time to come, provided his Adverſaries were enjoyned to do the like; but that he ſhould retract the Opinions which he had divulged, and hitherto defended, he could not with a ſafe Conſcience, ſo long as he was not convinced of Errour by clear Teſtimonies of Scripture. He therefore craves that the Tryal of the Cauſe might be referred to the Pope, for that nothing would be more pleaſant to him, than to hear the Voice of the Church about ſuch Controverſies.

Since Cardinal *Cajetane* made no Anſwer to this Letter, and had uttered ſome threatning Words, he took his Friends counſel, and two days after departed, leaving behind him a certain Appeal, which ſhould afterwards be publickly affixed; and about the time of his departure, he wrote again to the Legate, That he had omitted nothing which was his duty to do: That being a weak ſickly Man, he had made a long Journey on Foot and come to *Auſburg*, that he might manifeſt his Submiſſion to the Pope; but now that his Money was almoſt ſpent, and that he would not be any longer troubleſome to the *Carmelite* Fryers who had lodged and entertained him in their Convent, he would return home, eſpecially ſeeing His *Eminence* had diſcharged him to come any more into his preſence: That generally all his Friends had adviſed him to appeal from him to the Pope: That he would not indeed have done it of his own accord, as not thinking it to be very neceſſary; but that he could not but reſpect their Admonitions, and the rather that he

Luther writes to *Cajetane* when he was going home, and appeals from him to the Pope.

he beleived Duke *Frederick* inclined more to have that Appeal made, than that he should rashly and unadvisedly make any Retractation. 1518.

The Form of *Luther*'s Appeal.

The Appeal was conceived in Words much to this effect; That the Question about *Indulgences*, which had been variously handled by many, was never clearly determined; and that about such dubious Questions, it was lawful, especially for Divines, to dispute; that he had also done so at that time, when some Preachers, not only Wrote and Taught rashly and unadvisedly, but also used strange ways and Tricks to draw Money from the People; and that he did it, not as affirming any thing positively, but only that he might discover the Truth; that he had, in like manner submitted the whole Debate to the Determination of the Learned, and also of Pope *Leo*; but that these Men had devised many Calumnies against him, abused him grievously to the Pope, and at length prevailed so far, that the Cause was committed to the Bishop of *Ascoli*, and *Silvester Prierias*; that by them he had been cited to appear at *Rome*, but that because both of them were suspected, and one of them unfit to judge in such a Matter: Again, because no Man doubted of the unavoidable Danger, he would have been exposed to, if he had gone to *Rome*, and that he had been commanded by his own Magistrate, not to go: Upon these Considerations, and in such an Apprehension also, which might affect the Stoutest, and most resolute Man, he had prayed *Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, That he would procure his Cause to be Tryed by some fit and competent Persons, in a Place, secure from Violence, in *Germany*; that so, the Pope had referr'd the whole Matter to his Legate, Cardinal *Cajetane*, which doubtless was brought about by the Instigation of his Adversaries, who knew the Mind and Intentions of the Cardinal. And though the Legate himself might have justly been Suspected, yet he had obeyed. That the Cardinal had, at first Meeting, commanded him instantly to retract what he had written; to which he then made Answer, That he would give an account of what he had done, either in a Personal Disputation, or by Writing, and refer the whole Matter, not only to Universities, but also to the Decision of the Church of *Rome*; but that the Legate being wrought upon by none of these Things, had still enjoyned him a Retractation, and when he could not extort it, had threatned severe Punishments, both to him, and others also that were of his Opinion. That since then, he found himself lyable to such unjust *Prejudications*, he Appealed from the Pope, not rightly informed in the Cause, to the Pope to be better informed, and that he publickly protested.

Pope *Clement*'s Decree about Indulgences.

Now, that Decretal of Pope *Clement*, which hath been mentioned is extant, in that Part of the Canon-Law, which they call the *Extravagants*. There Pope *Clement* reduces that Time, they call the *Jubilee*, from an hundred Years, as it was appointed by *Boniface* VIII. to fifty; and speaking of the Blessing of our Saviour Christ, affirms, That one Drop of the Blood of Christ, was sufficient for the Redemption of all Mankind; but that seeing he shed so much Blood, that there was no sound Part left in his Body, nothing more Lamentable to be seen, he had left all that was over and above, as a vast Treasure, for the use of the Church, and commanded S. *Peter*, who keeps the Keys of Heaven's Gates, and after him, his Successors, to distribute that Treasure like good Stewards, amongst Men, who were truly Penitent, and confessed their Sins, pardoning the Temporal Punishment that was due unto them for their Trespasses: Besides, he says, That the Merits of the Virgin *Mary*, and all the Saints, were put into the same Treasure, so that there was an inexhaustible Stock for Indulgences. This was the Decretal then, upon which *Cajetane* grounded the Efficacy and Validity of Indulgences: But *Luther* affirmed, That there was nothing committed to S. *Peter* and his Successours, but the Keys and Ministry of the Word, whereby Christ impowers them to declare to Penitent Believers, who trust in him, the Remission of their Sins; that that was the true and genuine Sense of the Scripture: That if that was the Meaning of Pope *Clement*'s Decretal, he liked it; but if not, he could not approve the same: That what, moreover, it said of the Merits of Saints, was wholly repugnant to Scripture; for that the best of Men, were so far from doing more, that they could not do what they ought, and that we were not saved by their Merits, but only by the Mercy of God; since it ought to be our daily Prayer, That God would pardon our Sins and Trespasses, and not enter into Judgment with us, lest we should be condemned.

The Decrees of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* concerning the Power of the Pope.

As to what *Cajetane* alledged of the Pope's Power, the Case is this: It was decreed in the fourth and fifth Sessions of the Council of *Constance*, That the Pope himself should be subject to the Decrees of a Council. The same was also renewed

1518. renewed, and again Decreed, in the third and eighteenth Sessions of the Council of *Basil*. But *Eugenius* IV, refusing to go to that of *Basil*, though he had been often warned and cited to come, declared it null, and appointed another to meet at *Ferrara*, whither also came *John Paleologue*, the last Emperour of the *Greeks*, save one, with *Joseph* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and a great many Bishops, and that was in the Year 1438. From *Ferrara*, afterwards, they all removed to *Florence*, and there a Decree past, with consent of the *Greeks*, That the Church of *Rome* was the Chief of all Churches; and the Pope of *Rome*, the Successor of *Peter*, the Prince of the Apostles, the true Vicar of Christ, the Head of the Universal Church, the Father and Teacher of all Christians, and that full Power was given to him from Christ, of Feeding and Governing the Catholick Church. This Decree *Cajetane* now insisted upon, when he preferred the Pope before a Council. Nay, and six Years before, also, when he was not as yet Cardinal, but only General of the *Dominicans*, he made a Speech in the Second Session of the Council of *Lateran*, of which more hereafter; and having spoken many things against some Cardinals, who had made a Separation, he had a glance, by the by, at the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, because the Fathers at that time, had taken upon them Power and Authority over the Pope; that therefore it was well done by *Eugenius*, when he curbed that Faction, and suffered not his Power to be diminished. Pope *Julius* II, in whose Favour this Speech was made, commanded it afterwards to be entred amongst the Acts and Records of the Council; though *Cajetane* obtained not the Cardinals Cap, before the Pontificat of Pope *Leo*. *Gerson*, whom he mentioned, was a *Parisian* Divine of great Reputation, who wrote several things; he was present at the Council of *Constance*, and wrote much in Praise of that Decree, which subjects the Pope to a Council, saying, That it deserved to be hung up in all Churches, and publick Places, for perpetual Memory; for that they were most pernicious Flatterers, who introduced that Tyranny into the Church, as if the Pope ought not to obey a Council, nor be judged by it; as if a Council received all its Authority and Dignity from him, as if it could not be called without his Permission, and as if he were not obliged by any Laws, nor to be called to an account for his Doings; that these monstrous Words were utterly to be avoided, which were repugnant to the Laws, common Equity, and natural Reason; for that all the Power of the Church was in a Council, that *it was lawful to* Appeal from him to it; and that they who asked, Whether the Pope or a Council was the greater? did just, as if they should demand, Whether the whole were greater than a part? since a Council had Power of Making, Judging and Deposing the Pope, and had given a late Instance of it at *Constance*; for seeing some seemed to doubt of that, and attributed a little too much to the Pope, that Question had been decided, before Pope *John* XXIII was degraded. These things, and much more to the same purpose, *Gerson* writes, and was therefore now rejected by *Cajetane*. He dyed in the Year 1429. But the Doctors of the University of *Paris* were of the same Opinion, confining that vast Usurpation of the Popes within these very Limits, so that some Months before *Luther* published any thing of Indulgences, they appealed from Pope *Leo* X, to a Council, because of his abrogating the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which was very useful to the Students and Scholars of *France*, and opened a way also to Honour and Preferment.

An account of *Gerson*.

Cajetane's Letter to the Elector of *Saxony*.

After *Luther* was gone, Cardinal *Cajetane* wrote to Duke *Frederick*, *October* 25, That *Luther* had come to *Ausburg*, but had not spoken with him, 'till he had obtained a Safe Conduct from the Emperour; and that he wondred very much, That they put so little Confidence in him; that after much Discourse, he had admonished the Man, To come over and retract; and that though he had been somewhat obstinate, yet he had come to Terms of Reconciliation with *Stupitz* and some others, so that both the Dignity of the *Roman* Church, and his own Reputation were saved: But that when there had been a good Foundation of the Matter laid, *Stupitz* first, and then *Luther*, had departed privately; which happened quite contrary to his Expectation: That he pretended, indeed, as if all he had done, was only for Disputation sake, and to discover the Truth, but that in his Sermons to the People, he positively asserted all, which was not to be suffered, since his Doctrin was both different from that of the Church of *Rome*, and very pernicious also, as might be affirmed for a certain Truth: He therefore advises him, That he would consult his own Honour and Conscience, and either send *Luther* to *Rome*, or banish him his Country; that such a Pestilent Business could not long subsist, nor was it to be doubted, but a Sentence would pass at *Rome*, and that he himself,

ſelf, as in Duty bound, had acquainted the Pope with the whole Matter, and the crafty Trick that had been plaid him: That he prayed him not to give credit to thoſe who ſeemed to favour *Luther*'s Writings; and that he would not caſt ſuch a Blemiſh and Stain upon his moſt Noble Family, as he had often promiſed, he would not. 1518.

Duke *Frederick*, on the eighth of *December*, anſwered this Letter, which was delivered unto him *November* 19. to the Effect following. That he had promiſed to take Care, That *Luther* ſhould come to *Ausburg*; which being fulfilled, he could do no more: That he on the other Hand, had paſt his Word, That he, would in a friendly manner diſmiſs *Luther*; but that, in the mean Time, he would have had him to retract, without hearing his Arguments and Plea, or he having been fairly tryed, ſeemed very ſtrange unto him; for that there were a great many Learned and Good men, not only within his Territories, but in other Places alſo, who were far from condemning his Opinion: And that they who withſtood him, were moved to it through Covetouſneſs and Malice, becauſe he had ſpoiled their Trade, and leſſened their Profits: That if it had been plainly made appear that he had erred, he had ſo great regard to the Glory of God, and the Peace of his own Conſcience, as of his own accord, he would have long ago diſcharged the Duty of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate: That what he told him, then of continuing the Proceſs againſt *Luther*, at *Rome*, was a thing he did not ſo much as dream of; and that what he alſo demanded of him, that he ſhould either make him appear at *Rome*, or baniſh him his Country, he could not do it: Firſt, becauſe his Errour was not as yet demonſtrated, and then, becauſe it would be a great loſs to the Univerſity of *Wittemberg*, founded by himſelf; which being famous for many Learned and Studious Men, had a great eſteem for *Luther*, for his Merits and the good Services, he hath done there: That he had ſent him his Letter to read; and that he had proteſted, as he had often done before, That he was ready to maintain his Opinion by Diſputation, in any unſuſpected Place, and hearken to the Judgments of others, who could better inform him, or elſe to anſwer in Writing: That, indeed, it ſeemed Reaſonable, That he ſhould be allowed to do ſo, which he alſo deſired might be done, that it might, at length, appear, both, why he was to be accounted an Heretick, and alſo what he himſelf was to follow; for as *he could not* wittingly and willingly approve any Errour, or withdraw himſelf from the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*, ſo neither would he condemn *Luther*, before his Errour and Crime were detected. The Elector's Anſwer.

Duke *Frederick* had ſent *Luther Cajetane*'s Letter, as we ſaid juſt now; *Luther* therefore preſently made Anſwer to the Prince: That he had been adviſed by his Friends, not to appear before the Legate, till he had obtained a Safe Conduct from the Emperour; that he would have had him retract what he had written concerning Indulgences, and of the Neceſſity of Faith, in going to the Sacraments: That for the former, indeed, he was not much concerned; but that he ſhould deny the other, he could not do it, he ſaid, Since the Streſs of our Salvation reſted upon it: That the Texts of Scripture were depraved and wreſted by the Papiſts: He alſo gave a Relation of every Days Proceedings, and how Cardinal *Cajetane*, at length, fell to Threatnings: That in Reality, he deſired nothing more, than to be convinced, wherein he had erred; that he would willingly ſubmit to better Information: That if they would not be at ſo much Pains, for ſo mean and inconſiderable a Perſon, as he was, they ought, at leaſt, to write to his Highneſs, or to the Emperour, or elſe to ſome Eminent Biſhop of *Germany*, and appoint a free Diſputation to be held in ſome Place; that hitherto they had denyed him all theſe things; but that if they perſevered therein, it might eaſily be judged who were in the Fault, he or they: That ſince, therefore, they offered nothing but Severity and Cruelty, he ought not to be moved at their Words; for that it was far more eaſie for them, to mark down, what they thought to be Erroneous, and to publiſh them for ſuch through *Germany*, than for him to be at vaſt Charges, and endanger his Life, in going to *Rome*, to have his Errours examined and diſcuſſed there: That, after all, as to what he boaſted of, That the Cauſe ſhould be judicially tryed at *Rome*, unleſs he either went thither, or were baniſhed the Country; he did not refuſe Baniſhment, for that he very well knew, no Place could be ſafe for him, ſo long as he was purſued by the Malice and Treachery of his Adverſaries; that would be alſo a great Grief and Trouble to him, if any Man ſhould be brought into Danger for his ſake; that therefore to prevent their Enterprizes, he would leave the Country, and go whither God pleaſed to call him. At length, he concludes *Luther*'s Anſwer to the Elector of *Saxony*.

1518. cludes with hearty Thanks to his Highneſs, and prayes for his Welfare and Proſperity; rejoycing in himſelf, That God would think him worthy to ſuffer any thing for the Glory of the Name of Chriſt.

The University of *Wittemberg* interceeds with Duke *Frederick* for *Luther*.

Afterwards, the Univerſity of *Wittemberg*, on the 21 *November*, wrote to Duke *Frederick*, That they had been informed by *Luther* of *Cajetane*'s Letter, what it was he demanded, and what again *Luther* offered at *Ausburg*; that, therefore, ſince *Luther* deſired both that his Errour might be made appear to him, and that he ſubmitted to the Holy Church of *Rome*, they prayed his Highneſs, to endeavour that they might not take any Severe Courſe with him, but convince him of his Errour, by Arguments taken from Holy Scripture; that he, indeed, had great Confidence in the Courteous and Gracious Diſpoſition of Pope *Leo*; but was much afraid, leſt his Flattering Adverſaries might incenſe him, and abuſe the Name of the Church. Though the Elector *Frederick*, complied not with the Papiſts, and took ſpecial Care, that *Luther* ſhould not ſuffer any Injury, as may ſufficiently appear, from what hath been ſaid, yet to that very Day he had not read any of *Luther*'s Writtings, nor heard his Sermons, as he himſelf profeſſed, in a Letter, which at *Ausburg* he wrote to Cardinal *Raphael Riario*, who, upon account of Ancient Acquaintance, had friendly admoniſhed him, not to undertake the Protection of *Luther*.

Pope *Leo*'s Bull for the Indulgences.

In the mean time, during theſe Tranſactions, Pope *Leo* being apprehenſive of ſome defection, in that State of Affairs, on the eigth of *November*, publiſhed a Bull in confirmation of Indulgences; affirming it to be the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Mother and Miſtriſs of all other Churches; that the Pope, the Succeſſor of S. *Peter*, and Vicar of Chriſt, hath Power of granting that great Bleſſing, which availeth not only the Living, but the Dead alſo in Purgatory; that that Doctrine was to be embraced by all, if they would not be ſeparated from the Communion of the Church. This Bull he therefore ſent to his Legate Cardinal *Cajetane*, to be by him publiſhed. He in obedience to the Command, publiſhed it at *Lintz*, a Town of *Auſtria* upon the *Danube*, in preſence of ſome Publick Notaries and Witneſſes; and having cauſed many Copies of it to be written out, ſent them in the Month of *December* after, to the Biſhops throughout *Germany*, charging them in the Pope's Name, under ſevere Penalties, That they forthwith publiſh, and ſeriouſly recommend them to the People of their Dioceſſes.

Luther's Appeal from the Pope to a Council.

Becauſe *Luther* had underſtood by *Cajetane*'s Letter, That they would proceed to a Sentence, againſt him, at *Rome*, on the 28 of *November*, he made a new Appeal. In the beginning whereof, he profeſſes, That he would not impeach the Authority of the Pope of *Rome*, ſo long as he was found in his Judgment, and far leſs diſſent from the Church; that nevertheleſs, ſeeing the Pope was like other Men, it was poſſible he might err and do amiſs, and that it was not to be attributed to him, as if he alone could not err, nor be deceived. This he affirms by the Example of S. *Peter*, whom S. *Paul* rebuked openly and ſharply, becauſe he had erred in the Sound Doctrine: That ſeeing the Pope had ſo great Power and Wealth, that he both commanded what he pleaſed, and could not be reſtrained by the Authority of any Man, the only Remedy that remained for thoſe, who thought themſelves injured by him, was in Appeal: Then he relates, How that being forced by the too great Auſterity of Cardinal *Cajetane*, he had Appealed to the Pope, thinking he might have had ſome Protection in his goodneſs, ſeeing he had offered moſt reaſonable Conditions, and promiſed to do any thing, provided he were convinced of his Errour; but that now ſeeing he perceived that this Appeal being ſlighted, and the Conditions alſo rejected, there was no Hopes of Help or Relief from the Pope, as appeared by Cardinal *Cajetane*'s Letter to the Elector of *Saxony*; he was by extream Neceſſity brought to make his Appeal from the Pope to a future Council, which was every way to be preferred before him.

Afterwards, Pope *Leo* ſent *Charles Miltitz*, whom we mentioned before, into *Germany*, and preſented the Elector *Frederick*, with that Golden Roſe, which is yearly Conſecrated by the Pope, with great Pomp and many Ceremonies, and commonly preſented to ſome great Perſon, as a Mark of ſingular Good-will and Favour. He wrote alſo to *Degenart Pheffinger*, a Noblema[illegible], and one of Duke *Frederick*'s Council, intreating him to aſſiſt *Miltitz* in what he was to negotiate with the Elector in his Name, that *Luther*, the Son of *Satan*, might be reſtrained, and that the moſt Noble Family of *Saxony*, which had been always reckoned zealous for

for Religion, might not be ſullied by any Blot or Blemiſh. To the ſame Purpoſe, alſo, he wrote to *George Spalatiner*; and the more to perſuade him, told him, That he was wholly taken up in rooting the hurtful Weeds out of the Field of Chriſt. In like manner, his Vice-Chancellour writing to *Degenart*, prays him, That he would exhort Duke *Frederick* to imitate the Example of his Anceſtors, that he might not do any thing unworthy of their Memory. When *Miltitz* arrived in *Saxony*, he preſented the Roſe, and vigorouſly ſet about the Diſcharge of his Commiſſion: This coming to *Luther*'s Knowledge, on the third of *March*, he wrote a very ſubmiſſive Letter to the Pope; That he had been grievouſly accuſed to *Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, as if he behaved himſelf perverſly towards the Church of *Rome*; which troubled him not a little; for that it exceedingly grieved him to have fallen into his Holineſs's Diſpleaſure, and that nevertheleſs, he could not tell what he had to do, nor how to carry himſelf; that he was conſtantly urged to retract his Writings; that if that could any way contribute to the Advantage and Dignity of the Church of *Rome*, he would not refuſe to do ſo; but that there were a great many *ingenious* and learned Men, in *Germany*, who could rightly judge of the whole Controverſie; ſo that, though he ſhould retract, yet it would redound more to the Diſgrace and Detriment, than to the Dignity of the Church of *Rome*: That for his Part, he had done his Holineſs no Injury, but that it was rather thoſe Collectors and Preachers, who, put on by Covetouſneſs, and greedy of *Lucre*, had ſpoken foul and ignominious Things to the People; that by theſe he had been grievouſly accuſed and informed againſt; whereas he ſtood ſo well affected towards the Church of *Rome*, and his Holineſs himſelf, that he had no Thoughts of Attempting any thing againſt it; for that the Power and Authority of the Church was ſo great, that next to Chriſt, it was the moſt excellent thing in the World; that he prayed his Holineſs not to give credit to his Adverſaries: That he would never hereafter make mention of the Indulgences, provided, his Enemies, on the other Hand, were alſo enjoyned Silence; that he would alſo adviſe the People, in his Sermons, to entertain Reverent and Honourable Thoughts of the Church of *Rome*, not to impute to it the Boldneſs and Covetouſneſs of ſome of its Members, nor yet, imitate his Example, who being in ſome manner neceſſitated by his Adverſaries, had treated the Church ſomewhat irreverently and unbecomingly: In ſhort, *that he would* do any thing for Peace ſake. That in all his Proceedings he had had this conſtantly before his Eyes, That the Church of *Rome* ſhould not be aſperſed by the wickedneſs of ſome Men, nor the People impoſed upon by falſe Doctrine; and that this his Care and Diligence could not be lyable to any Cenſure. That he was not much concerned about Matters indifferent, provided no Errour nor erroneous Perſuaſion poſſeſſed Men's Minds.

1518.

1519. *Luther*'s Letter to Pope *Leo*.

Before *Miltitz* arrived in *Germany*, the Emperour *Maximilian* dyed in *Auſtria*, *January* 12. the Electors then were, *Albert* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, *Herman*, Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Treves*; *Ludovick* Prince Palatine, *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, *Joachim* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and *Lewis* King of *Bohemia*, who was alſo King of *Hungary*. Theſe being, according to the Cuſtome of the Empire, ſummoned by the Elector of *Mentz*, met in the Month of *June*, at *Frankford*, a City upon the River of *Main*, whither the King of *Bohemia* ſent his Deputy *Ladiſlaus Sterneberg*. The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* ſpoke firſt; and having ſaid much, of the greatneſs of the Affair, exhorted them to Unity and Concord; ſhewing by many Inſtances, in former times, how much miſchief the Diſſention of the Electors had done to *Germany*; and that they all ought to be the more unanimous now, that they were threatned with great Dangers from the *Turks*, and from others alſo, who ſought the Diviſion of *Germany*.

The Emperour *Maximilian* dies.

There were two Competitours that ſtood for the Imperial Dignity, *Charles* Archduke of *Auſtria*, who three Years before had ſucceeded to *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, his Grand-Father, by the Mother, and *Francis* King of *France*, who having defeated the *Switzers* four Years before at *Marignano*, was in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*. And the Ambaſſadours of *Charles*, about that time, were come as far as *Mentz*, four *German* Miles diſtant from *Frankford*; but the *French* Ambaſſadours ſtopt at *Coblentz*, a Town belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, upon the confluent of the *Rhine* and *Moſelle*. They ſeverally by Letters and Agents recommended their own Princes to the Electors, and uſed what Arguments they could to perſuade them; but eſpecially the *French*, who eaſily underſtood that their Pretenſions were not ſo acceptable, as differing from the *Germans* in Language, Cuſtoms and Manners. The *French* King, having overcome the *Switzers*, as we have ſaid, was in

Competitours for the Empire *Charles* King of *Spain*, and *Francis* King of *France*.

1519. in Poſſeſſion of *Lumbardy*; but ſeeing he lookt upon their Friendſhip to be in a manner neceſſary for the Safety of his own Kingdom, with high Promiſes and great Loſſes, he purchaſed it the next Year after. Now therefore, the Empire being void by the Death of *Maximilian*, he ſent Ambaſſadours, to acquaint them with the Reaſons why he deſired to be choſen Emperour, and withal, to crave their Aſſiſtance and Interceſſion for him with the Electors: Their Anſwer was, That when they had made Friendſhip, and entred into a League with him, they had excepted the Church of *Rome*, and the Empire: That it concerned the Majeſty of the Empire, that the Voices of the Electors ſhould be free, ſo that they could not foreſtal that Liberty, by making any previous Declaration of their Inclinations. Thus the Ambaſſadours being diſmiſſed, they wrote to the Electors, acquainting them with the Application the King had made unto them, and with their Anſwer thereunto; praying them, withal, that they would have no regard unto it, but chuſe ſome *German* Prince, and thereby infinitely oblige them. They wrote, beſides, to Pope *Leo*; and ſeeing it belonged to him, to confirm and inaugurate the Emperour elect, they beſought him, that he would beſtir himſelf, to hinder that that Dignity ſhould not be beſtowed upon any Foreign Prince. To this he made anſwer, That he heard, there was one who aſpired to that Honour, that could not lawfully do it; for that the Kings of *Naples* were the Vaſſals of the Pope of *Rome*; and had obliged themſelves of old, not to aim at the *Roman* Empire, but to reſt ſatisfied with one of the two; and that he had already given intimation of this to the Electors. By this he meant *Charles* Archduke of *Auſtria*; for after the Overthrow, which the *French* King gave the *Switzers*, *September* 13. 1515, when he carried with him *Maximilian Sforza* into *France*; Pope *Leo* following the Fortune of the Victorious, in the Month of *December*, came to *Bolonia*, and there having had an Interview, and long Conference with King *Francis*, he confirmed Friendſhip with him: And this, among others, was one Cauſe, why at this Time he favoured his Pretenſions. Now, as to what he ſaid of the Kingdom of *Naples*, this is the Caſe: When *Manfred*, natural Son to the Emperour, *Frederick* II, made War againſt the Church of *Rome*, Pope *Clement* IV, in the Year 1365, that he might repreſs him, took the Courſe, which his Predeceſſor *Urban* IV, was about to have taken, as it is reported, and having ſent for *Charles*, Count of *Provence* and *Anjou*, into *Italy*, declared him King of *Sicily* and *Naples*, but on Condition, Firſt, That he ſhould hold the ſame in Fee of the Church of *Rome*, and therefore pay the ſum of forty thouſand Crowns yearly; and then that he ſhould at no Time aſpire to the Dignity of the *Roman* Empire, nor accept of it, though freely offered unto him.

The Speech of the Elector of *Mentz* about the Election of the Emperour.

When the Matter was brought into Deliberation, the Arhbiſhop of *Mentz*, having firſt conſulted apart, with *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, who was of great Authority amongſt the Electors, opened the Caſe, and told them, That the whole Queſtion conſiſted in three Points, to wit; Whether *Francis* King of *France*, *Charles* King of *Spain*, or elſe ſome *German* was to be choſen? As to the *French* King, ſaith he, I think we are barred from chuſing him, by our Oath and Laws, whereby it is provided, That this Dignity of the Empire ſhould not be transferred to Strangers; and no Man doubts, I think, but that he is a Foreign Prince. Again, though his Country were no Hindrance, yet it is not for the Intereſt of the Publick, becauſe the *French* King will think of enlarging his Dominions, and make War againſt *Charles* King of *Spain*, whom he hateth, nay, and hath already denounced it, ſo that *Germany* will be involved in great Troubles: But we ought to take Care, That no Civil-War be raiſed among us. *Auſtria* belongs to the Dominion of *Charles*; If the *French* King invade this, as certainly he will, ſhall we leave it to his Mercy? Hath the Emperour *Maximilian* deſerved no better of us and the Empire? Do you think that our own Liberty will be long ſafe, if theſe Provinces be once ſubdued? He hath lately enlarged his Borders, by the acceſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, the ſame will he attempt to do in *Germany*. We ought not to be moved by their large and magnificent Promiſes, for Covetouſneſs and Ambition tranſports Men commonly, and makes them forget their Duty. There were many Princes heretofore in *France*; but now their Number is contracted within a very narrow Compaſs, for the King now is in a manner ſole Monarch; they ſay he is a Prince of great Courage, but that aims wholly at Monarchy; Ariſtocracy is the Goverment we ought chiefly to retain. They promiſe great Matters, of making War againſt the *Turks*, that were to be wiſhed, indeed, as a thing of greateſt Advantage to the State; nor am I ignorant of how great Moment a conjunction of *Germany*, *France*

France and *Italy*, would prove; but he will make the firſt Eſſay of all their Power and Proweſs, upon the Provinces of King *Charles*; He'll attempt the *Netherlands*, and ſet upon *Naples*, that he may recover it, as an Hereditary Kingdom, belonging unto him: And ſhall we Arm him for the accompliſhment of theſe things? Nor is it to be ſaid, that I am Prophecying of future and uncertain Contingences; for he is already raiſing an Army. Since therefore the Laws, our Oath, and the Love of our Country, lay an Obligation upon us, I declare it to be my Opinion, that we cannot chuſe him. Now will I proceed to the other parts: Some of you, I believe are againſt the Election of *Charles*, becauſe *Spain* lyes at a great diſtance from us, and that *Germany* will ſuffer by his Abſence, either through a Turkiſh War, or Civil Diſſenſions. For my own part, I not only acknowledge theſe things to be true, but when alſo I conſider them more attentively, I am ſtricken with horror and apprehenſion: For I think with my ſelf, that if the Emperour being any way provoked, ſhould come into *Germany* and bring *Spaniards* with him, our Liberty *would be in* great danger: Nay it runs in my mind too, that the *Spaniards will be* very loath to part with, or ever reſtore to us again this Imperial Dignity; but if they chance by their force and valour to recover *Milan*, will endeavour to keep it to themſelves. So that I am almoſt inclined to think it ſafeſt to chuſe a fit Perſon of our own Country, in Imitation of our Progenitors, who paſſing by Strangers, have been often content with Natives. I would not be thought to deny this; however the State of Affairs had another face then, and the Age was much happier. But now if we have an Emperour weak in Power, do ye think that thoſe of the *Netherlands* and *Auſtria*, the Subjects of *Charles* of *Spain*, will be Obedient unto him? Or ſhould the *French* King make War againſt *Charles*, as he certainly will either in *Flanders* or *Italy*, muſt he be an idle Spectator? And muſt this our new Emperour ſuffer a great part of the Empire to be diſmembred by Foreign Nations? Nay, as the Times are now, it is probable, that the Princes of *Germany*, deſpiſing their own Emperour, will make Alliances and Joyn, ſome with the *Auſtrians*, and others with the *French*. In the time of the Emperour *Frederick* III, *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, made War in *Germany*, as *Philip Maria* Duke of *Milan* did in *Italy*, without controul, and certainly much to our diſgrace: Nay, which was more ignominious, the Emperour was at that time blockt up in *Auſtria*, and driven out of his own Country by the *Hungarians*; and nevertheleſs the *Bohemians* were then joyned with him, as were alſo my Grand-father *Albert* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and *Albert* Duke of *Saxony*. If that happened then, you ſee what is to be expected at preſent, when ſome will be Penſioners to ſome, and others to other Princes; not to mention many cauſes that may intervene, why Princes and Cities will refuſe to give obedience. Grievous Troubles and Stirs ſeem now alſo to be threatned upon account of Religion; for there are Debates ariſen about *Indulgences*, the Power of the Pope and Eccleſiaſtical Laws, which look indeed, as yet, as if they were curable, but will in a ſhort time bring along with them great Deſolation and Alterations in the Church; for very many eſpouſe that Cauſe, and eſpecially the *Saxons* and *Switzers*, moſt valiant People; nor can the evil be remedied but by a Council: Now how can an Emperour low in Power, either procure the calling of a Council, or defend it, eſpecially if other Kings oppoſe the ſame? There is a Turkiſh War alſo to be thought on, and that not only Defenſive, but Offenſive alſo, that we may regain what we have loſt, and above all things reſtore *Greece* to its Liberty. Now for accompliſhing of this, there will be need of the Forces of many Nations; And how ſhall an Emperour of ſmall Power and Authority be able to procure them? For theſe Reaſons then, it is my Judgment, that we ſhould chuſe ſome Potent Prince, and that *Charles*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, ought to be preferred before the other Princes of *Germany*. As for thoſe Inconveniences which may ſeem to ſcare us, I think they are far leſs than thoſe that would ariſe, if the chief Government were put into the hands of any other: For he is both a *German* by Extraction, and has many Provinces holding of the Empire; nor will he permit our common Country to truckle under the Bondage of any, but will give us a ſolemn Oath, That he ſhall neither ſuffer the Empire to be transferred, nor our Rights and Liberties diminiſhed. The Reaſons I have alledged, are indeed of very great weight; and yet I ſhould not have been moved by them, if his Temper and Diſpoſition were not known; for he is Religious, Juſt and Modeſt, a hater of Cruelty, and a Prince of pregnant Parts. Theſe his Vertues will always mind him of his Duty, and of the Care of the Government. They who know him familiarly, much Extol him; and if we conſider his Father

Philip,

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1519. *Philip*, and Grandfather *Maximilian*, we cannot doubt of the truth of what they ſay. He is but Young indeed, but however of years fit enough for Buſineſs and Action. He will alſo make uſe of his Grandfathers Counſellors, and ſome ſelect Princes of *Germany*. I told you before, its true, that it will be very inconvenient for the Publick, if he happen to be long abſent from *Germany*: But that ſhall be provided againſt by Articles and Conditions made with him beforehand: Beſides, ſeeing he himſelf hath large Territories in *Germany*, he muſt needs come now and then to viſit them. The *Turk* muſt be driven out of *Hungary*, the *French* of *Italy*; the Church is to be ſetled and reformed. And when I reflect on theſe things, I'm the leſs moved at thoſe inconveniences which his abſence threatens, for the natural Briskneſs and Activity of his Temper, the Love of his Country; nay, and the Neceſſity of his Affairs, will oblige him now and then to return to us.

The Speech of the Archbiſhop of *Treves*.

When the Archbiſhop and Elector of *Mentz* had made an end of ſpeaking, he prayed the reſt to ſpeak their Opinions: And his Collegues having ſpoken in few words, put it to the Electoral Archbiſhop of *Treves to ſpeak next*, for he was had in great Reputation upon account of his Induſtry and Experience. He therefore, having in a ſhort Preamble taken notice of a certain Prophet, who had foretold that *Maximilian* ſhould be the laſt *German* Emperour, Now, ſaid he, things ſeem to me almoſt to tend that way, ſince the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who hath indeed ſaid many things prudently, is wholly for having the Government of the Empire conferred upon a Stranger. Yet I much wonder that he ſhould prefer the King of *Spain* before the *French* King. I am really grieved at the condition and ſtate of *Germany*; for if we walked in the ſteps of our Fore-fathers, we ſhould not ſtand in need of Foreign Protection; but now that we invite in Strangers, what do we do but purchaſe to our ſelves Servitude? but ſetting aſide this Complaint, I ſhall follow the ſame Order, that the Elector of *Mentz* hath done, and ſhall ſpeak firſt of our Law and Oath. The Reaſon of the making that Law, in my Opinion, was, Leſt if a Stranger, ſhould be choſen, who had no fixed Reſidence in *Germany*, the Dignity of the Empire, might be by degrees, transferred to Foreigners. Now if this be the Senſe and Meaning of that Law, a *Spaniard* can no more be choſen than a *French*-Man; but if *Charles* may be choſen, becauſe he hath Provinces within the Pale of the Empire, the ſame muſt hold alſo in *Francis*, who poſſeſſes both *Lumbardy* and the Kingdom of *Arles*, which are both Parts of our Republick; of the two then propoſed, let us ſee *which is moſt eligible*. The Truth is, at that Time when France was joyned to *Germany*, which was in the Age of the *Franks*, our Empire was in a moſt flouriſhing condition, and I am not a little delighted with the Remembrance of thoſe Times, as often as I fall upon reading the Hiſtories and Tranſactions of paſt Ages. Now the very ſame occaſion is again offered unto us, which, I think, ought not to be ſlighted; Foreign Nations, alſo, are of the ſame Opinion, the Pope, *Venetians* and all the Princes and States of *Italy*: For the *French* Nation derives its Original from us, uſes almoſt the ſame Laws and Cuſtoms, and is very loving and kind to our Countrymen, beſides its commodiouſneſs for us and *Italy* becauſe of vicinity: If any Troubles ariſe, Armies will preſently be in readineſs, and *French* Money to pay them: And if the *Turk* invade either *Hungary* or *Italy*, as I am fully perſuaded he will, *Aſia* being now in Peace, what can be more deſired than to have ſo flouriſhing an Emperour near us, backed by the Forces of both Nations? Now though the *Spaniards* be accounted good Soldiers, yet what great Action did they ever atchieve in *Italy*, without the Help of the *Germans*? Beſides, ſeeing they are at a very great Diſtance from us, we cannot expect any timely Aſſiſtance from them; and though they might be willing, yet could they not do us any great good; for ſince *Spain* is exhauſted by Colonies and Fleets, they conſtantly ſend abroad, it cannot ſpare any great Armies from home. To this it may be added, That we ſhall have the *French* for fellow Soldiers, and Companions of all our Labours, whereas, if any thing ſucceed well with us, the *Spaniards* will take to themſelves all the Glory, enjoy the Fruits of our Victories, and have the Government of our Provinces; but no more of this Compariſon, I now come to the Election. If the *French* King be pitched upon, there will be no cauſe of War in *Italy*, for he hath *Milan* already, and we ſhall perſuade him not to attack *Naples*; the ſame alſo will he do with the *Netherlands*, provided they'll be quiet. Now, why we ſhould be ſo much concerned for the *Netherlands*? I ſee no reaſon; They have, indeed, been our Neighbours for a long time, but they have no League nor Alliance with us; and neither think themſelves obliged by the Laws of the Empire, nor contribute any

thing

thing to publick Taxes, no more than the *Engliſh* or *Scots*. Since the *French* King then is very powerful, peaceably enjoys *Lombardy*, and is provided of all things neceſſary: He'll undertake far greater and more glorious Actions, I mean a *Turkiſh* War, and will employ all his force in beating off the Enemy from *Hungary* and *Italy*, that ſo he may ſecure the ſtate of *Germany*. But if he prefer *Charles* of *Spain* before him, good God! what Commotions will we raiſe in *Italy?* He will attempt the recovery of *Milan*, occaſion a laſting War; and while a moſt lovely Country is thus haraſs'd, the *Turks* will bend all their force againſt *Hungary*: Who pray, ſhall reſiſt theſe? Who can fit out a competent Army? Theſe are things to be carefully conſidered, and not ſlightly paſs'd over. Now it is uncertain what may be the iſſue of an *Italian* War: For if the *French* King get the better on't, he will attempt *Naples*, and it is poſſible that at his inſtigation the Pope may annul our Election; and every one is ſenſible how great Troubles that may occaſion. On the other hand, if *Charles* of *Spain* be advanced, we are not to expect *that Italy will be reſtored unto us*: The *Spaniards* once in poſſeſſion, *will retain it* for ever: Nor that only; but it would be no eaſie matter neither to get this our Empire out of their hands again. What have they not ſuffered, that they might preſerve *Naples*, which all Men know how they came by? By no means then are they to be called into *Italy*. Let me now ſay a little of both Kings. I make no doubt but *Charles* is a Prince of a gentle and modeſt diſpoſition; for ſo many do commend him: But ſince he is but as yet a Youth, what Judgment can be made of thoſe Vertues in him, which are required to be in an Emperour? The Publick ſtands in need of ſuch a Prince, who beſides other things may ſettle and reform the ſtate of the Church, as the Elector of *Mentz* wiſely hinted. Now of all Men, King *Francis* is moſt capable of effecting this; for he is a Prince both of Wit and Judgment, uſes to confer often with Learned Men about Religion, and reads many Books himſelf. Beſides, the preſent ſtate of Affairs requires a Prince and General who is an expert Soldier, diligent and fortunate: And who pray upon this occcaſion can outvie King *Francis?* His Valour is already known and tried, and he ſurpaſſes all his Anceſtors in the greatneſs of his Actions; for he lately overcame in Battel the *Switzers*, a moſt Warlike People, and ſince the time of *Julius Cæſar*, almoſt invincible. A Youth then is not to be preferred before ſo great a Commander. The Elector of *Mentz* confeſſes indeed that it would be inconvenient, *if Charles ſhould continue long out of Germany*; but bids us ſet our minds at reſt for all that. However, for my part, *I look upon it to be a Matter* of the higheſt Danger, that an Emperour ſhould remain a long while out of the Borders of the Empire; For who will withſtand the ſudden Irruptions of the *Turks*, who will reſtrain unexpected Tumults, Quarrels, and Civil Commotions? Who will, if a Storm ariſe, guide the Ship in the Pilot's abſence? When he is abſent, he will have no certain intelligence of our Affairs; many things will be falſely reported unto him; no *Germans*, but only *Spaniards*, will be of his Council: He will now and then make Edicts, and ſend them to us in a moſt unſeaſonable time; and if being provoked by the Calumnies and Accuſations of malicious Men, he chance afterwards to come into *Germany* with an Army of Strangers at his back, What think you will be the fortune of the Empire then? Wherefore if it ſeems good to you, and if Fate will ſo have it, that at this time a Foreign King ſhould put our Crown upon his Head, I am clearly of the Opinion, that the *French* ſhould be preferred before the *Spaniard*: But if the Law be againſt the chuſing of the *French* King, it is no leſs againſt the King of *Spain*; nor are we by any nice Interpretation to take King *Charles* for a *German*, but rather to find out ſome Prince, who hath no Reſidence but in *Germany*, and who is a *German* by Birth, Manners, Humour and Language. Againſt this the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* hath ſtarted many Inconveniences, and thinks, That by reaſon of Weakneſs and low Fortune, ſuch an Emperour will be contemptible; but if we chuſe a fit Perſon, *Germany* is ſtrong and powerful enough to bear that Burthen. *Rodolph* I, the eleventh Emperour before *Maximilian*, brought no great ſtrength with him to the Throne; but he was a Virtuous and Valient Prince, and raiſed the Empire, which was then ſunk very low, and haraſſed by many Wars, to ſuch a ſtate, that it became formidable to all the Kings about it. Nor do I think you are ignorant what a high Opinion Foreign Princes, and among theſe, *Lowis* XII, of *Lrance*, conceived of the Emperour *Maximilian*, only becauſe of his Parts and Valour: Great hath always been the Fame and Reputation of the *German* Princes, which is not extinct as yet, but is ſtill freſh and green; and among others, there are at this Day three chief Families in

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1519. *Germany*, *Bavaria*, *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, and ſome excellent and deſerving Men of them. If then, we can agree, and chuſe one of them, and, as we ought, aſſiſt him with our Forces, we need not be afraid of Foreigners; for, provided we be unanimous among our ſelves, all will be well enough; wherefore, paſſing by all Strangers, let us chuſe one among our ſelves, we need not doubt of ſucceſs; and we can produce many Domeſtick Inſtances of our own Fortitude and Behaviour, of which I ſhall now only mention one. *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, a potent and fortunate Warrior, once declared War againſt your Father Duke *Frederick*; but when he ſaw a good Army ready to oppoſe him, his Heat and Courage was ſoon cooled. So, alſo, I think, a way may be found out now, that an Emperour choſen of our own Country, may retain his Authority both at Home and abroad.

The Vote of *Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*.

In the third Place, ſpake *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*; and having repreſented to the Colledge, That the *French* King was excluded by Law, but that *Charles* was a *German* Prince, and had a Reſidence and Habitation in *Germany*; he told them, That the Body Politick ſtood in need of a very powerful Head, but that he knew none that was to be compared to *Charles*; that therefore his Judgment was, That he ſhould be declared Emperour, but yet on certain Conditions, both that *Germany* might be ſecured of its Liberty, and the Dangers which had been mentioned, avoided. When the reſt, had at length, approved this Opinion: How, ſaid the Elector of *Treves*, do I foreſee the Fate of *Germany*, and a Change a coming! But ſince it ſeems good to you, I will not oppoſe your Judgment. This was on the twenty eighth Day of *June*. It was now late Night, and therefore they broke up, but met again next Day: Then it began to be debated, What Conditions were to be offered to *Charles*, the Emperour Elect; and this Debate continued for ſome Days; when, at length, the Conditions were agreed upon, they were drawn up in Writing, and ſent to *Mentz*, to his Ambaſſadours: When they had received them, the ſeveral Voices were ſet down in Writing, and as the Cuſtom is, ſigned and Sealed. The Day before, the Empire had been offered to *Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, but he bravely refuſed it, and, as has been ſaid, gave his Vote for *Charles* of *Spain*; and when, upon that Account, the Ambaſſadours of *Charles* offered him a great ſumm of Money, he not only rejected it, but commanded all about him, likewiſe, not to take a Farthing.

Charles of *Auſtria* choſen Emperour.

The Nobility, and all the People, being afterwards called together, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, in a ſpeech, made to them in S. *Bartholomew*'s Church, declared, That *Charles* Archduke of *Auſtria*, and King of *Spain*, was choſen King of the *Romans*, in the place of *Maximilian* deceaſed; that they ought to give God thanks, that he had been ſo unanimouſly choſen, and exhorted them to be Faithful and Obedient to him. Then running out in his Praiſes, he gave them the Reaſons, why they had choſen him of all others; which was received by the States and People, with Humming and Applauſe. Afterwards, the Ambaſſadours, who had drawn nearer, and were now but at a Miles Diſtance, were ſent for. Theſe were *Matthew* Cardinal of *Saltzburg*, *Erard* Biſhop of *Liege*, *Bernard* Biſhop of *Trent*, *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, *Caſimire*, Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, *Henry*, Count of *Naſſaw*, *Maximilian* of *Sibenburg*, and ſome other Counſellors: Theſe being come, and having conſulted with the reſt, about the Adminiſtration of the Government, till the Emperour *Charles* ſhould come into *Germany*, Prince *Caſſimire* was appointed to raiſe Forces ſo, and to poſt them, that the Publick might receive no Damage in the mean while: Afterwards the Electors wrote Letters, and ſent Ambaſſadours to the Emperour into *Spain*, to acquaint him with all that had been done. The chief of the Ambaſſie was *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*; but in the mean time, ſome Meſſengers were privately diſpatched with the News, of whom one is ſaid to have poſted from *Frankford* to *Barcelona* in nine Days time. The Prince *Palatine* arrived about the latter end of *November*, and delivered the Elector's Letters; the ſumm whereof was, That he would be pleaſed to accept of the Empire that was offered unto him, and all Delay laid aſide, to come with all ſpeed into *Germany*.

The Elector's Letter to the Emperour.

His Anſwer.

The Emperour made a Generous Anſwer, by the Mouth of *Mercurine Cattinario*, That though great Troubles ſeemed to be threatned on the one Hand from the *Turks*, and on the other from the *French*, yet he neither could nor would be wanting to their common Country, eſpecially when ſo great Princes made ſuch a Judgment of him, and required that at his Hands; that therefore he accepted the Honour and Charge that was offered him, and would put to Sea with

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the firſt Opportunity, in order to his coming into *Germany*. Much in the ſame Words, alſo, he wrote back to the Electors, and ſo, having nobly preſented Prince *Frederick*, he diſmiſſed him. Thus, then, was he made Emperour, the Fifth of that Name, at the Age of nineteen Years. 1519.

The *French* King vexed that *Charles* ſhould be preferred before him.

The *French* King was the more troubled at this Repulſe, that he knew his Affairs were thereby expoſed to greater Danger; for he had rather that any Man ſhould have had that Dignity than *Charles* of *Spain*, whoſe Power being already ſuſpected by him, he ſaw, now by this means, mightily encreaſed and confirmed. He had been at vaſt Charges, and very free of his Gold, in making Friends to promote his Deſigns: The ſame is ſaid to have been done alſo by the *Flemings*; but of this I dare not be poſitive. But let us trace back a little the Genealogie of *Charles*

The Genealogy of *Charles*, the Emperour.

Charles V of *France*, called the *Sage*, gave to his youngeſt Brother *Philip*, the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, that had fallen unto him; *Philip* afterward married *Margaret*, the only Daughter of *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, and had by her a Son, *John*; to him was born *Philip*, the Father of *Charles* the Hardy, who being killed before *Nancy*, left behind him a Daughter, *Mary*, the Heireſs of vaſt Territories: She, at length, was married to *Maximilian*, the Son of the Emperour *Frederick* III, and bore to him *Philip*, who married *Jane*, Daughter to *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, by whom he had *Charles* and *Ferdinand*; the Infanta *Jane*, being with Child, went to *Ghent*, and was there brought to Bed of *Charles*, on *February* 24, 1500. Here we muſt ſay ſomewhat, by the by, of *Ferdinand* the Emperour's Grand-Father, by the Mother: He was King of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, and had in Marriage *Iſabel*, the Daughter and Heireſs of *John* II, King of *Spain*, having afterwards obtained the Kingdom of *Naples* alſo: Now the Children he had by her, were *John*, *Iſabel*, *Jane*, *Mary* and *Catharine*; *John* and *Iſabel* dying without Iſſue, the whole Succeſſion of the Kingdom, by the Laws of the Country, fell to the next Siſter *Jane*, and by this means all the Inheritance of the Duke of *Burgundy*, a moſt powerful Prince, and of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, deſcended to *Charles* the Son of *Jane*; for in the Diviſion of the Inheritance, the Poſſeſſions of the Houſe of *Auſtria* fell to *Ferdinand*. So that for many Ages *Germany* had not had a more Powerful Emperour. *Charles* loſt his Father, when he was a Child of ſix Years of Age, and his Grand-father *Ferdinand*, when he was about ſixteen; after whoſe Death, he went into *Spain*, and there continued, till being choſen Emperour, he came into *Germany*, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. And ſince we are now come to this Place, it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomewhat of the manner of chuſing the Emperour. *Charles* King of *Bohemia*, and the fourth Emperour of that Name, in the Year of our Lord 1356, made a Law concerning this, which is called *Bulla Aurea*, the *Golden Bull* *. Theſe, among others, are the Heads of that Law; That when the Emperour Dies, the Archbiſhop of *Ments*, ſo ſoon as he comes to know of it, ſhall preſently Summon the reſt of the Electors, to meet, within three Months, on a certain Day, at *Frankford*, or to ſend their Deputies with full Power and Commiſſion, for chuſing the Emperour or King of the *Romans*: That if the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* ſhould be negligent, his Colleagues, nevertheleſs, ſhould meet within the time aforeſaid, accompanied with not above two hundred Horſe a piece, when they enter the Town, and of them only fifty with Arms. He who neither comes nor ſends his Deputy, or departs before the Buſineſs is done, is to loſe his right of Election for that time: That the Magiſtrates of *Frankford* be true and faithful to the Electors, and during their Aſſembly, ſuffer none beſides the Electors and their Families, to enter the Town. When they are met, they are to hear Maſs in S. *Bartholomew*'s Church, for imploring the Aſſiſtance and Grace of the Holy Ghoſt; and then take an Oath to be tendred unto them by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, That they ſhall not act by vertue of any Compact, Bribe, Promiſe or Gratuity: afterwards they are to fall to the Buſineſs, and not depart before an Emperour be choſen; that if the matter be protracted longer than thirty Days, they ſhall have no Victuals but Bread and Water allowed them: He who is choſen by the greater Part, ſhall be in the ſame condition, as if he had been elected *nemine contradicente*. The Emperour being in this manner choſen, the firſt thing he is to do, is, To confirm to the Electors all their Priviledges, and whatever concerns their Dignity, Honour, Liberty and Immunity. It is, moreover, provided and enacted, that they mutually allow one another free Paſſage through their Territories, what Place they are ſeverally to have in the Dyets and Aſſemblies of the Empire, how Votes are to be taken, and what their ſeveral Places and Charges are, when the Emperour Dines,

The way of chuſing the Emperour.

The Heads of the *Golden Bull*.

* Or Charter, becauſe it was ſealed with a Seal of Gold inſtead of Wax.

1519. or does any thing elſe in publick. Moreover, that in the time of an interreign, the Elector *Palatine* ſhall have the adminiſtration of the Government in *Schwabia*, *Franconia*, and the Circle of the *Rhine*; and the Elector of *Saxony* in the Circle of *Saxony*; that upon the death of an Elector, his eldeſt Son or Brother-german ſhall ſucceed to him; that if an Elector be under the Age of eighteen Years, his neareſt Kinſman, by the Father's ſide, ſhall ſupply his Place, until he be of Age; that the Electors meet yearly, and conſult of the Affairs of the Publick; that *Frankford* be the Place of Election, but *Aix la Chapelle* the Place of the firſt Inſtalment; and that the Elector's Sons, in their younger Years, ſhall learn the *Italian*, *Latin* and *Sclavonian* Languages, that they may be able to diſcourſe with many Nations.

The Conditions preſcribed to the Emperour *Charles* V.

We ſpoke before of the Conditions preſcribed by the Electors, which the Emperour's Ambaſſadours ratified, and, as is cuſtomary, gave Security in his Name, under Hand and Seal, for performing the ſame. Now they were theſe, That he ſhall protect and defend Chriſtendom, the Pope, and Church of *Rome*, whereof he is the Advocate; that he ſhall equally adminiſter Juſtice, and maintain Peace; that he ſhall not only confirm the Laws of the Empire, eſpecially that which they call the *Golden Bull*, but alſo, when there is occaſion, with their Conſent, amplifie and enlarge them; that he ſhall chuſe and appoint a Council of *Germans*, to govern the State; that he ſhall not alter nor diminiſh the Rights, Priviledges, Dignities and Immunities of the Princes and States of the Empire; that it ſhall be lawful for the Electors, to meet together upon occaſion, and conſult about publick Affairs; and that he ſhall in no ways hinder them to do ſo, nor take it ill when they do; that he ſhall reſcind and annul the Leagues and Aſſociations of the People or Nobility made againſt the Princes, and make a Law, that no ſuch be made for the future; that he ſhall make no Leagne or Compact, relating to the Affairs of the Empire, with Strangers, but with the Conſent of the Electors; that he ſhall neither ſell nor mortgage the Publick Lands and Revenues of the Empire, nor any ways imbezil them; and that he ſhall, with the firſt Occaſion, regain thoſe Lands or Goods that have been invaded and poſſeſſed by other Nations, or have been diſmembred from the Empire, but ſo ſtill, that it be not prejudicial to thoſe who are ſupported by Right or Priviledge; That if he himſelf alſo, or any of his Family poſſeſs any thing belonging to the Empire, not lawfully purchaſed, he ſhall, being demanded by the Electors, *reſtore the ſame*; that he ſhall live in Peace with his Neighbours and other Kings, and not make War, either within or without the Limits of the Empire, for the publick concerns thereof, without the Advice and Conſent of all the States, eſpecially of the Electors; that he ſhall not bring any Foreign Soldiers into *Germany*, unleſs the States be willing; but that if either he himſelf, or the Empire, be attacked by War, he may make uſe of any Aſſiſtance; that he ſhall not call a Dyet of the Empire, nor impoſe any Taxes, but with the conſent of the Electors; neither ſhall he hold Dyets without the Limits of the Empire; that in publick Affairs he ſhall not employ Strangers, but *Germans* choſen from among the Nobility, and that all publick Writings ſhall be made in *Latin* or the Vulgar Language; that he ſhall not ſummon any of the States to anſwer in Law, without the Bounds of the Empire; that ſeeing many things are acted at *Rome*, contrary to former Agreements made with the Popes, he ſhall negotiate with the Pope, That no encroachment be made upon the Priviledges and Liberty of the Empire; that he ſhall adviſe with the Electors, How the Monopolies of Merchants, that are very pernicious to *Germany*, may be reſtrained, and bring that matter, which hath been often ſtated before them, to an Iſſue; that he ſhall impoſe no Toll nor Cuſtoms, without the conſent of the Electors, nor by Grants and Patents, leſſen or prejudice the Cuſtoms belonging to the Electors upon the *Rhine*; that if he have any Action or Suit againſt any of the States, he ſhall try it by Law, but ſhall not uſe Force againſt thoſe, who offer to ſtand a fair Tryal; that he ſhall not put any Man to the *Ban* of the Empire, without a hearing, but therein follow the courſe of Law; that he ſhall not beſtow upon any Perſon the vacant Goods and Revenues of the Empire, but reſerve them for the publick; that if he acquire any Foreign Province, by the Help of the States, he ſhall annex it to the Empire; that if he recover any thing that belongs to the Publick, by his own Forces, he ſhall reſtore it to the Commonwealth; that he ſhall Confirm and Ratifie what the Electors *Palatine* and *Saxony* have acted in Publick Affairs, during the interreign; that he ſhall entertain no Counſils nor Deſign of making the Imperial Dignity proper and Hereditary to his own Family, but ſhall leave the Electors in full and free Power of Election, according to the Statute

of

of *Charles* IV, and the Proviſion of the Canon Law; that what is done otherwiſe, ſhall be void and null; that with the firſt Opportunity he ſhall come into *Germany* to be Inſtalled. 1519.

When his Ambaſſadours, had upon Oath confirmed and approved theſe Conditions, in his Name, as hath been ſaid, they gave every one of the Electors an Inſtrument of the ſame under hand and Seal: And this was done on *July* 3. What they ſaid of the Cannon Law, refers to the Decretal Epiſtle of Pope *Innocent* III, which grants, That the Electoral Princes of *Germany* have the right of chuſing the Emperour, and that the Imperial Dignity does not depend on Succeſſion, but Election. Now Pope *Innocent* lived about the Year of our Lord 1200. But let us return again to *Luther*.

Eraſmus his Judgment of *Luther*, to the Elector of *Saxony*.

Much about that Time, *Eraſmus* of *Roterdam*, writing from *Antwerp* to *Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, among other things, takes notice alſo of *Luther*, whoſe Books, he ſaid, were read with great Applauſe by Good and Learned Men, and that no Man cenſured his Life, as being free from all Suſpicion either of Covetouſneſs or Ambition; but that the Divines of *Lovain*, hearing that he was much born down by the Authority of Cardinal *Cajetane*, did now triumph, and rail againſt him in all their Sermons, and at their Feaſts, as if he were an Heretick, and the Antichriſt: That he was much diſpleaſed thereat, eſpecially, ſeeing he had but propoſed ſome things for Diſputation ſake, and had ſubmitted himſelf to the Judgment of thoſe, both to whom he ought, and to whom he ought not; but that they had neither admoniſhed the Man Friendly, nor as yet taught him, nor convinced him of his Errour, but only made a turbulent and ſeditious Noiſe and Clamour about the Matter, which was a way of Proceeding altogether unworthy of Men that made Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, but eſpecially Divines; for that no Man was to be raſhly accuſed of Hereſie. To the ſame effect he wrote alſo to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* and Cardinal *Campegio*, and in his Letter enveighs againſt thoſe Sophiſtical Divines and Monks, who could not endure the Study of Languages and Eloquence, nor of ſound Doctrine. He wrote, in like manner, to *Luther* at that time, telling him, That he had received his Letter, which ſhewed both a ſharp Wit, and Chriſtian Diſpoſition; but that his Books had raiſed a ſad Tragedy in thoſe Parts, and that, for them, he lay under both the Envy and Suſpicion of the Divines, who would admit of no Excuſe at his Hands: That there were many Men in *England*, and of great note too, who had a great eſteem for his Writings; that he himſelf, alſo, had peruſed his Commentaries upon the *Pſalms*, and hoped they might prove of great uſe to others, as well as to himſelf, who was exceedingly pleaſed with them; but that there was one thing, that he would have him admoniſhed of, and that was, That more might be done by a civil Modeſty, than by Tranſports and Heat; that he ought rather to thunder againſt thoſe who abuſed the Authority of Popes, than againſt the Popes themſelves; that about inveterate things, which cannot be ſuddenly pluck'd out, it is better to diſpute with pithy and cloſe Arguments, than to aſſert poſitively; and that in this Caſe, the Paſſions and Affections muſt be laid aſide: That he gave him this Admonition, not that he might learn what he was to do, but that he ſhould proceed as he had begun.

He writes alſo to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and Cardinal *Campegio*; As alſo to *Luther*.

A Diſputation at *Leipſick* betwixt *Luther* and *Eckius*.

Luther's Doctrine, having in this manner cauſed much Strife and Contention, and raiſed him many Enemies, there was a Diſputation appointed to be at *Leipſick*, a Town in *Miſnia*, belonging to *George* Duke of *Saxony*, Couſin-german to the Elector *Frederick*; thither came *Luther*, and with him, *Philip Melanchthon*, who the Year before came to *Wittemberg*, being ſent for by Duke *Frederick*, to be Profeſſour of the *Greek* Language there; thither came alſo *John Eckius*, a bold and confident Divine. On the Day appointed, which was *July* 4, the Diſputation was begun by *Eckius*, who having propoſed ſome Poſitions to be debated, made this his laſt; That they who affirmed, that before the time of Pope *Silveſter*, the Church of *Rome* was not the firſt of all Churches, did err; for that he who attained to the See and Faith of S. *Peter*, the Prince of the Apoſtles, was always acknowledged for the Succeſſor of S. *Peter*, and the Vicar of Chriſt upon Earth. The contrary Poſition to this was publiſhed by *Luther*, to wit; That they who attributed Primacy to the Church of *Rome*, had no other Ground for it, but the bare and inſipid Decretals of the Popes, made about four hundred Years ago; but that theſe Decretals were repugnant, not only to all Hiſtories, written a thouſand Years ſince, but alſo to Holy Scripture, and the Council of *Nice*, the moſt Famous of all Councils. *Eckius* then entring upon the Diſpute, laid hold of that laſt Poſition,

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1519. and would begin the Debate about the Authority and Primacy of the Pope of *Rome*; but *Luther* having made a ſhort Preface, ſaid, That he had rather that that Argument, as being very Odious, and not at all Neceſſary, might have been waved, and that for the ſake of the Pope; that he was ſorry he ſhould have been drawn into it by *Eckius*, and that he wiſhed now his Adverſaries were preſent, who having grievouſly accuſed him, and now ſhunn'd the Light, and a fair Tryal of their Cauſe, did not do well. *Eckius* alſo having made a Preamble, declared, That he had not raiſed this Buſtle and Stir, but that it was *Luther*, who in his firſt Explication of his *Theſes*, had denyed, That before *Silveſter*'s time, the Pope of *Rome* preceded the reſt in Order and Dignity, and had averred before *Cajetane*, That Pope *Pelagius* had wreſted many Places of Scripture according to his own Pleaſure; which being ſo, that all the Fault lay at his Door. The firſt Debate then was about the Supremacy of the Pope of *Rome*, which *Eckius* ſaid was inſtituted by Divine Right, and called *Luther*, who denyed it, a *Bohemian*, becauſe *Huſs* had been heretofore of the ſame Opinion. *Luther*, to juſtifie himſelf from this Accuſation, proved, That the Church of Chriſt had been ſpread and propagated far and near, twenty Years before S. *Peter* conſtituted a Church at *Rome*; that this then was not the Firſt and Chief Church by Divine Right. Afterwards *Eckius* impugned *Luther*'s other Poſitions, of Purgatory, Indulgences, Penance, the Pardon of the Guilt, and Remiſſion of the Puniſhment of Sin, and of the Power of Prieſts. At length, on the fourteenth Day, ended the Diſpute, which had been appointed, not upon the account of *Luther*, but of *Andrew Carolſtad*, though *Luther* came to it in company of *Carolſtad*, only to hear; but being drawn in by *Eckius*, who had procured a Safe-Conduct for him from Duke *George*, he entred the Liſts of Diſputation; for *Eckius* was brisk and confident, becauſe of the Nature of the Subject, wherein he promiſed himſelf certain Victory. *Luther* afterwards publiſhed the whole Conference and Debate; and by an ingenious Animadverſion, upon the Writings and Sayings of his Adverſaries, gathered ſeveral Heads of Doctrine, downright Heretical, as he ſaid; That ſo he might make it appear, That whilſt they ſpoke and wrote any thing in Favour of the Pope, and were tranſported with the Zeal of defending their Cauſe, they interſperſed many things, which being narrowly inſpected, contained a great deal of Errour and Impiety.

Zuinglius preaches at *Zurich*.

Ulrick Zuinglius taught at that time at *Zurich* in *Suitzerland*, whither he came, upon a call, in the beginning of this Year, having before preached at *Claris*, and in the *Deſert of our Lady*, as they call it. Not long after Fryer *Samſon*, a *Franciſcan* of *Milan*, came thither alſo, being ſent by the Pope to preach up Indulgences, and ſqueeze Money from the People. *Zuinglius* ſtoutly oppoſed him, and publickly called him an Impoſter.

BOOK

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK II.

The CONTENTS.

Luther, *by the advice of* Charles Miltitz, *writes to the Pope, and preſents him with his Book of* Chriſtian Liberty. *The Emperor departs from* Spain, *and paſſes through* England *into the* Low-Countries. Luther *writes a Book which he calls* Teſſaradecas, *and another about the* Manner of Confeſſion; *a third about* Vows. *His Opinion concerning the Communion in Both Kinds. To this his Adverſaries object a Decree of the Council of* Lateran, *under* Julius II, *of whoſe Actions you have a large Account. In the mean time the Divines of* Lovain *and* Cologn *condemn* Luther's *Books. In his Defence, the Opinions of* Picus Mirandula, *the Queſtions of* Ockam, *and the Controverſie of* Reuchlin, *with the ſame Divines, are recited. Seeing himſelf attack'd by ſo many Enemies, he writes to the Emperor, ſoon after to the Archbiſhop of* Mentz, *and Biſhop of* Mersburg. *The Elector* Frederick *finding that he had loſt his Credit at* Rome *upon* Luther's *account, endeavours to clear himſelf by Letter.* Luther *likewiſe does the ſame. The Pope Excommunicates him, and he appeals again from the Decree of the Council of* Mantua, *and puts out his Book of the* Babyloniſh Captivity. *The Emperor is Crown'd at* Aix la Chapelle. *The Pope again ſollicites* Frederick, *but not prevailing, cauſes* Luther's *Books to be burnt. Which when* Luther *underſtood, he burnt the Popes Bull, and the Canon Law, and gives his Reaſons for it. He Anſwers* Ambroſe Catarino, *who had written againſt him.* 1520.

IN the former Book an Account has been given of what relates to *Charles Miltitz*, and his Negotiation at the Court of the Elector *Frederick*. He perceiving that the longer the Controverſie laſted, the leſs inclinable each Party would be to hearken to any terms of Accomodation, endeavour'd by all ways and means poſſible to put a ſpeedy period to it; and having, with the Elector's leave, had ſeveral private Conferences with *Luther*, he conceived ſome hopes that things were not yet come to that extremity, but that ſuch a temper might be found as ſhould reſtore the Peace and Unity of the Church: But becauſe ſince the Diſpute at *Leipſick*, in which *Eckius* had oppoſed him in ſo ſcurrilous a manner, *Luther* had publiſhed a more full Explanation of his Tenets, *Miltitz* convened ſome of the Chief of the *Auguſtine* Friers; where after a long Debate they all agreed, that it was expedient for the compoſing the preſent difference, that *Luther* ſhould ſend a ſubmiſſive Letter to the Pope. At their requeſt therefore he wrote on the Sixth of *April* to this effect. *Miltitz* treats with *Luther*.

That although he had appealed from him to a General Council, yet nevertheleſs he ſtill continued his moſt earneſt Prayers to God for him. That he was charged as guilty of caſting malicious Scandals, not only upon him, but even on the Papacy it ſelf: That he was not a little troubled at the Accuſation, which had enforced him now to vindicate himſelf by Letter: In the Refutation and Reproof of ſome Errors and Corruptions, he confeſſed his ſtyle had been ſuch as the groſsneſs of the things themſelves extorted; but he proteſted he had never mentioned his Name without an Encomium, as all his Books can fully teſtifie. If he had taken the freedom to examin and impugn any falſe Doctrin; in that he had done no more than what he had *Luther* writes to the Pope.

1520. had the Example of Christ himself, and of all the Prophets and Apostles for his warrant: But that such seasonable Discourses and wholsom Admonitions met with no kinder reception in the World, was to be imputed to the false Insinuations of base and servile Flattery: That for his part, he had an eye only to the Glory of God; and his chief design in all that he did, was this, That the Truth of the Gospel might again shine forth in Christendom: Let him but obtain this, and in other matters he'll be very ready to yield; but to depart from the Profession of the Truth, in that he desires to be excused that he cannot comply with them. In the next place he comes to speak of the Court of *Rome*, which he says was grown more corrupt and wicked than either *Babylon* or *Sodom*; and that it had in all things arrived to that heighth of impiety, that nothing was now wanting to compleat the character of the *Kingdom of Antichrist*. It grieved him therefore to think it should be the hard fortune of so good a Man, to live there as a Lamb among Wolves; for that *Rome* was unworthy to have a Person of his Integrity preside in it: He acknowledges he had written several Treatises to retrieve in some measure, if he could, the ancient Doctrin and Disciplin of the Church; not that he thought it possible to work a Reformation in *Rome* it self, but that he might at least deliver some few from the slavery of those vices which are there practised. Then he tells him, that it were much better for him if he could be content with some small mean Preferment, or live upon his own private Estate, out of the reach of Flatterers, who make use of his Name and Authority for a Cloak to their own Lusts and Ambitions. That *Bernard* had deplored the condition of Pope *Eugenius* at that time when *Rome* retained as yet somewhat of its primitive Purity: Much more then did he deserve pity, who sits in the Chair now when it is become the sink and receptacle of all the filth and abominations in the World. That this was the reason why he had been so severe in his Reflections upon it, which he had not done with an intent to fix any reproach upon him, but rather for his advantage, and that it was to be wished that all good and learned Men would assist him with their utmost strength and skill in his endeavours to subdue that Monster. That he, when he had publish'd some few small Tracts, and saw 'twas all labour in vain, would very willingly have retired from so fruitless an Enterprize, and for the future have applied himself wholly to such Studies from which some benefit might accrue to those of that College whereof he is a Member: But that then there started up one *John Eckius*, who disturbed all those calm pleasing Speculations, and would not suffer him to enjoy his so much desired Retirement. That he had managed a Dispute against him, concerning the Primacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, with opprobrious Language, and very bitter Invectives; but that all the advantage he got by it, was, that he rendred the lewdeness and infamy of that City more notorious. After this he gives a short Relation of what Passed between Cardinal *Cajetane* and him, and says, That it was in the Cardinals power then, if he would, to have made up the Breach; and that therefore he only ought to be accountable for all the mischief that has ensued since that time. That after him came *Charles Miltitz*, who although he had laboured hard for a Peace, yet could effect nothing, being still hindred by the unseasonable Wranglings of *Eckius*; who, whatever he pretended, was in truth his Enemy, and he who had been the cause of all this Disturbance. That he (speaking of himself) as soon as ever he was required by *Miltitz* and the Heads of his Order, to write to him in such terms as might sufficiently express his humility and dutifulness, immediately Obeying, shewed how unwilling he was to omit any thing which might contribute to a Reconciliation. In order to which, he desires him first, to lay his Commands upon his Adversaries, that they cease to rail against him; in the next place, that he may not be compell'd to make a Recantation of his former Writings, nor obliged to Interpret Scripture according to any self-determin'd Rule; for that the Doctrin of the Gospel, which by giving true liberty, ennobles the Minds of Men, cannot it self sure be tied up to the narrow bounds of any certain fixed Prescript or Decision. Upon these Conditions, he is willing to do whatsoever they can in reason demand of him. That for his part, he took no delight in Strife and Contention; but yet if they still went on to treat him with nothing but Scoffs and Injuries, they should find, perhaps to their cost, that he would not so tamely give up his Cause. He shews him that he now had an opportunity of ending the difference, if he would but take the Cognizance of the Matter wholly upon himself, and in the mean time enjoyn each Party silence: But he warns him to be sure to beware of Flatterers, and to stop his Ears against all their fawning Speeches, as he would against the treacherous Songs of Sirens, if he were

A Description of the Court of *Rome*.

Bernard in his Books of Consideration to *Eugenius*.

What *Eckius* gained by his Dispute.

Luther makes some overtures for a Peace.

The mischief of Flatterers.

sailing

ſailing in the midſt of dangerous Rocks, who attribute to him no leſs than a ſort of Divinity, and cry him up for the Monarch of the Univerſe, and make him Superior to all Councils. He aſſures him that nothing can be more pernicious to any one, than to hearken to this ſort of Paraſites. That therefore he ſhould rather give credit to ſuch Perſons who put him in mind that he is Mortal as well as other Men, and who exhort him to the faithful diſcharge of his Duty. That becauſe he was placed in ſuch a ſtate of Life, in which, as in the middle of a tempeſtuous Sea, he was continually expoſed to very great dangers, that therefore he had written to him thus freely, and without any the leaſt admixture of Flattery; and in this he thought himſelf to have performed the part of a true Friend. In the laſt place he preſents him with his Book, which he had lately compoſed, concerning *Chriſtian Liberty*, giving it only this ſhort Recommendation, That it was a full and compleat Summary of true Doctrin. 1520.

Luther's Book of *Chriſtian Liberty*.

In the beginning of Spring, the Emperor ſets ſail from *Spain*; and arriving in *England*, was very magnificently entertained by King *Henry*, who married his Aunt *Catherine*. After which he paſſed into the *Low-Countries*, where he was received with the general Shouts and Acclamations of all the People. Much about this time the Elector *Frederick* fell very dangerouſly ſick; upon which *Luther*, by the advice of ſome Friends, compiled a little Book to afford him ſome comfort at this ſeaſon, to which he gave the Title of *Teſſaradecas*; and in his Letters to him, he tells him, it was the Command of Chriſt, that among other mutual charitable Offices which we are to perform one to another, the adminiſtring to the Sick ought never to be forgotten: That for this cauſe he, who was in a peculiar manner upon ſeveral accounts obliged to his Highneſs, had for his ſake made this ſhort Collection, not being in a capacity of evidencing to the World and Him any other way how much he is devoted to his Service. He tells him that the Conſtitution of Human Bodies was ſuch, that if any the leaſt Diſtemper invaded the Head, all the other Members ſympathiſed with it, and each particulcar part felt the pain as ſenſibly, as if it ſelf were immediately afflicted therewith. So now this Indiſpoſition of his could not but affect all his Subjects with a very deep ſorrow; for that a conſiderable part of *Germany* look'd upon him as their greateſt Ornament, as well as ſtrongeſt Bulwark.

The Emperor's Voyage out of *Spain* into *Germany*.

Luther's Book to *Frederick*, intitled *Teſſaradecas*.

After this, he publiſh'd a Book treating of Confeſſion; the chief Heads of which are *theſe*; *That Men ought* not to rely on Confeſſion, as of it ſelf Meritorious of Pardon, but upon the gracious Promiſe of God to forgive Sins: That in the firſt place they ſhould make their Confeſſion to God; and that he that Confeſſes, ought at the ſame time to have a perfect hatred and abhorrence of his Sin, and to deſire ſincerely to amend his Life: That a particular enumeration of every Sin was not neceſſary; nay, that by reaſon of the innumerable ſlips of a Man's Life, and the general depravity and almoſt lethargick ſecurity of moſt Mens Conſciences, it was even impoſſible to be performed: That a great difference ought to be made between Sins committed againſt the Command of God, and ſuch as are only breaches of ſome Human Ordinance. In the laſt place he adds a word or two about Vows, and bewails that barbarous cruelty which under colour of them is exerciſed by covetous and illiterate Perſons upon the Souls of Men: But of this he ſpeaks more at large in a ſeparate Tract afterwards publiſhed by it ſelf.

His Book concerning *Confeſſion*.

Another concerning *Vows*.

In another Piece of his, he had ſaid, That it appeared to him as a thing which would be of great advantage to the Church, if the Authority of a Council firſt interpoſing, all Perſons were admitted to participate of the Lord's Supper in Both Kinds. This Saying of his, becauſe it was contrary to a Decree of the late *Lateran* Council, many reſented highly, and among theſe was *John* Biſhop of *Meiſſen*, who commanded all the Clergy of his Dioceſe to ſuppreſs the Book, and teach all under their Charge, that the whole compleat Sacrament was exhibited under each diſtinct Species. *Luther* being inform'd of this, preſently replies, and lays all the blame of this Injunction not upon the *Biſhop*, but upon ſome few unlearned and turbulent Fellows, and to them he turns his Diſcourſe, and ſhews that this which he was thus deſirous of having eſtabliſhed by a Council, did not deſerve ſo ſevere a Cenſure, no more than if he had ſaid, he could wiſh a Council would decree it lawful for Prieſts to have Wives: That this very thing Pope *Pius* II. publickly declared himſelf for; and that herefore he was not to be blamed who concurred with him in the ſame Opinion: He granted there was ſuch a Canon of the *Lateran* Council as they ſpoke of, but he thought it abſurd to go about to Confirm any Doctrin by an Ordinance of a later Council, which was repugnant to all the more ancient Coun-

His Opinion concerning the Communion in Both kinds.

1520. cils, as well as the conſtant uſage in all the firſt Ages of the Church: He minds them that among the *Bohemians* the Laity were admitted to partake of the Cup, and that for this reaſon we brand them with the name of *Hereticks*, who deny it to all thoſe who hold Communion with us. That they in their defence, urged Chriſt's own Inſtitution, and the Practice of the Apoſtles, and of all Chriſtians down almoſt to theſe times; and all that we have to ſay in our own Juſtification, or to convince them of their being in an Errrour, is only this *Lateran* Decree, which is but a trifling Argument, and ſuch as carries no great weight in it; for that every Body was ſenſible now what a ſort of Council that was, ſince the *Papiſts* themſelves, whoſe Intereſt it was to uphold it, were not grown ſo expert in the Art of Diſſimulation, as at all times to counterfeit an eſteem for it. But ſuppoſing this Council to have been Oecumenical, yet it was not for the Credit of a Church which pretends ſo much to Antiquity, to be beholding to an Authority of ſo late a date, for the Ratification of any of its Doctrins.

That the *Bohemians* always receive it.

The Dignity of the *Lateran* Council.

But to lay open the whole Intrigue of this *Lateran* Council; thus it was; *Julius* II. at his coming to the Popedom, obliged himſelf by an Oath to call a Council within two years: This was in the Year of our Lord 1503. But the Affairs of *Italy* being very much embroiled, the Pope engaging himſelf in a continual War either with the *Venetians*, or King of *France*, or Duke of *Ferrara*, or elſe with the Family of the *Bentivolio's*, *Prinas* of *Bononia*, nine Cardinals withdrew themſelves, and when they were come to *Milan*, they ſummoned a Council to meet at *Piſa*: The Chief of theſe Cardinals were *Bernardine de la Croix*, *William* Biſhop of *Præneſte*, and *Francis* Biſhop of *Bazas*; and to theſe joyned themſelves the Embaſſadors of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and of *Lewis* XII, King of *France*, who were alſo embarqued in the ſame Deſign. The time when this Council was called, was the Nineteenth of *May*, in the Year of our Lord 1511, that ſo the firſt Seſſion might begin on the Firſt of *September* next enſuing. The Cauſe they alledg'd to juſtifie this their Proceeding, was, That the Pope had broken his Oath; for that although ſo many years of his Pontificate were already elapſed, yet he had not given them any the leaſt hopes of his having any Inclination to call a Council; and that becauſe they had very great and heinous Crimes to lay to his charge, they could not any longer neglect the care of the Church, which was a Duty imcumbent on them as Members of the ſacred College Their intent really was to depoſe him from the Popedom, which he had obtained by Bribery, and other ſuch honeſt arts and means as all Perſons make uſe of who aſpire to the Infallible Chair: And becauſe they could no way ſafely convey this their Remonſtrance to him, they cauſed it to be publickly affixed at *Regio*, *Modena* and *Parma*, which were all three Towns belonging to St. *Peter's* Patrimony; and they added a Citation to him, to appear Perſonally at a certain day therein mentioned. *Julius* having received Information of all this, returned this Anſwer on the Eighteenth of *July*, That before he came to be Pope, he longed for nothing more than the calling a general Council, as was very well known to ſeveral Kings, and to the whole College of Cardinals; and that purely upon this account he loſt the Favour of *Alexander* VI. That he continued ſtill of the ſame mind, but that the ſtate of *Italy* had been ſo unſetled for ſeveral years laſt paſt, and was left ſo by his Predeceſſor *Alexander*: That it was altogether impoſſible to have formed a Council, while things continued in that diſtracted condition. After this, he ſhews them that their Summons was void in it ſelf, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of the time limited in it, and the inconveniency of the place; for that *Piſa* had ſuffered ſo much in the late Wars, that it was now nothing almoſt but an heap of Ruins, and that the Country round about it was all waſted and deſolate; nor could there be any ſafe paſſage thither, becauſe of the daily Hoſtilities committed between the *Florentines* and thoſe of *Seneſe*. To this he adds in the laſt place, That they had no legal Power of iſſuing out any ſuch Summons; and that the Reaſons given by them for ſo doing, were altogether falſe and groundleſs: Therefore under pain of the ſevereſt Cenſures, he forbids all Perſons to yield any Obedience to them. At the ſame time, he by a Bull, ſubſcribed by One and twenty Cardinals, called a Council to meet the next year, which ſhould commence on the Nineteenth of *April*, and be held in the *Lateran* Church in *Rome*. For this, they ſay, has always been one of the Papal Artifices, that whenſoever upon any Pretext they took occaſion for ſome ſecret motives, to decline the holding of a Council, though called by never ſo lawful an Authority; at the ſame time to Summon another to meet in ſuch a place, in which they could with the greateſt eaſe

The *Piſane* Council;

It was called by the Cardinals.

The Reaſons why they did it.

The Pope's Anſwer to the Cardinals

He prohibits all Perſons to come to the Council called by the Cardinals, and ſummons another himſelf.

An old trick of the Popes.

eaſe influence all the Proceedings in it. After this, he admoniſhes the Confederate Cardinals to deſiſt in time, and return to *Rome*, and accept of the Pardon now offer'd them: But they continuing ſtill refractory, on the Twenty fourth of *October* he Excommunicates them all, and thoſe three that we mentioned before, in particular by name, as Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Traytors to the Apoſtolick See, and ſends Copies of this Bull to *Maximilian* the Emperor, and ſeveral other Princes. And becauſe there were divers Biſhops of *France* who adhered firmly to the Cardinals intereſts, he Excommunicates them alſo, unleſs they return to their Duty, and make their Purgation within a prefixed time. On the other ſide, the Cardinals having ſeveral times in vain cited the Pope to come and appear before them there in Council, by a Decree made in the Eighth Seſſion, ſuſpended him from all Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Jurisdiction, and commanded all Chriſtians for the future to renounce his Authority, and acknowledge him no longer for St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor. This was in the Year of our Lord 1512, on the Twenty firſt of *April*. But you muſt take notice, that although the Council were removed from *Piſa* to *Milan*, yet it ſtill kept its old Name, and was called the *Piſane* Council. At this time there was a very famous Civilian at *Pavia*, whoſe Name was *Philip Decius*; he having eſpouſed the Cardinals Cauſe, publiſhed a Book in Defence of their Proceedings againſt the Pope. A little after this, *Maximilian* ſtrikes up a League with *Julius*, and *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, and ſo leaves the Cardinals in the Church to ſhift for themſelves, and ſends *Matthew Langus*, Biſhop of *Gurk*, to *Rome*, to ſit as his Proxy in the Council that was holden there; and him *Julius* immediately promoted to the Dignity of the Purple. But ~~*Lewis*~~ II, King of *France*, who was truer to his Engagements, and had lately routed the Popes Forces near *Ravenna*, could not eſcape the thunders of the Vatican; his Subjects were abſolved from their Allegiance, his Kingdom put under an Interdict, and an Invaſion of it was now no leſs than meritorious. But after the end of the Fifth Seſſion, on the Twenty firſt of *February*, in the Year of our Lord 1513, Pope *Julius* dies, and *Leo* X is choſen by the Conclave to ſucceed him. He, immediately after his Inaguration, proceeds to compleat what his Predeceſſor had begun; and becauſe the ſtate of Affairs in *Europe* was now a little more calm, than at any time during the former Pontificate, a great many Kings and Princes ſent their Embaſſadors to *Rome*, to aſſiſt at this *Lateran* Council: The Cardinals alſo whom *Julius* had Excommunicated, having ſince his Death nothing to give any colour to their continuing in their Obſtinacy, made their humble Submiſſion and Suit to be indemnified for what was paſt; and being received into Favour by *Leo*, were reſtored to their former Dignities and Preferments, as *Leo* himſelf declares in an Epiſtle wrote by him to *Maximilian*. The Council broke up on the Twelfth of *March*, in the Year of our Lord 1516, there having been ſeven Seſſions ſince the Death of *Julius*; for there were but twelve in all the whole four years that this Council laſted, from its firſt Convention, to its Diſſolution. The chief Tranſactions in it were theſe: The Praiſes of *Julius* and *Leo* were the Subjects of thoſe luſcious Panegyricks with which the Auditory were almoſt daily entertained. There were ſome Motions made in order to the engaging in a War againſt the *Turks*; and concerning the Reformation of the Church: And alſo there was a Debate about the Immortality of the Soul, which began to admit of a Diſpute now in *Rome*; and it was conſulted by what means the *Bohemians* might be made to renounce thoſe Errours which were lately crept in among them. And this, I ſuppoſe, is what *Luther* means, when he ſays there was a Decree made in this Council relating to the Euchariſt: For moſt of the *Bohemians* contended, that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, all the Communicants ought to partake of Both the Symbols, of the Wine as well as the Bread. And beſides what we have mentioned, there is no Decree extant of this Council touching that matter: But it received its final Determination at *Conſtance*, in the Thirteenth Seſſion of that Council; of which there will be occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter.

1520

He Excommunicates the Cardinals.

The Cardinals Proceedings againſt the Pope.

The Council remov'd from *Piſa* to *Milan*.

Decius writes in Defence of the Cardinals.

Maximilian leagues with *Julius*.

Matthew Langus created a Cardinal in the *Lateran* Council.

Pope *Julius* dies, and *Leo* X ſucceeds him.

The End of the *Lateran* Council.

The Immortality of the Soul called in Queſtion at *Rome*.

While thoſe things were in Agitation in *Saxony*, which were hinted upon in the beginning of this Book, ſeveral of *Luther*'s Writings, *viz.* that which he dedicated to *Sylveſter Prierias*, and his Diſcourſes concerning Repentance, Excommunication, Indulgences, and Preparation to Death, were all by a Synodical Decree of the Divines of *Lovain* and *Cologn* condemn'd, as tending to the encouragement of Impiety and Irreligion; and which therefore ought to be burnt, and their Author made publickly to recant. When this came to *Luther*'s Ear, he immediately replies, and defends all thoſe principal Points of his Doctrin which had fallen under their

Luther's Book condemn'd at *Lovain* and *Cologn*.

His Anſwer.

1520. Cenſure, and in the Introduction laments the Miſery of that ſtate and Condition to which thoſe his Adverſaries were now reduced. That although ſome Years ago they had very fiercely oppoſed *Capnion*, yet he was ſtill willing to put the favourableſt Interpretation he could, upon all their Actions; but now, ſince they went about to expugn the plain manifeſt Doctrin of the Goſpel, and were grown even paſt reclaiming, he could not but think, That they had juſtly incurred God's higheſt Diſpleaſure; that if they went on as they had begun, and no one had the Courage or Honeſty, in the leaſt to controul them, he expected that by degrees they would ſuppreſs all the whole Sacred Volumes, and impoſe on the World in their ſtead whatſoever they ſhould pleaſe to call Expoſitions of them; That whilſt he ſeriouſly conſidered all theſe things with himſelf, they appeared to him to be evident Demonſtrations, either that the Reign of Antichriſt was already begun, or that the Prophecyes concerning it were very near their Accompliſhment; that he could not without Regret behold their Behaviour at this time, for it was a clear and certain Token of their lying under the heavy Weight of the Divine Anger; that through the whole Courſe of their Proceedings, there was nothing had any firm ſound Foundation, but they were ſtill wavering in their own Minds, and were at one time the Maintainers of that Opinion, which at another could not eſcape the Laſh of their unbridled licentious Tongues: He rubs up their Memory, That it is not long ſince *William Ockam* was condemned by the whole Univerſity of *Paris*, and his Works were rejected by all, as containing things contrary to the true Catholick Doctrin, whenas now he was become the very Darling of the Schools; and his Name as much cryed up, as it was before loaded with Infamy: But how low the Credit of that Univerſity runs, may be gathered by this, That its Judgment, is had in very little eſteem in *France* it ſelf, and is of no Authority at all in any other Country; for 'tis grown almoſt into a Proverb among the *Engliſh*, That the *Paris* Decrees never croſs the Seas; among the *Italians*, That they never climb over the *Alpes*; and among the *Germans*, That they never paſs the *Rhine*: In the Cenſures paſt upon *Picus Mirandula*, his Enemies could not hide that rancour and Malice, which had in ſo great a Meaſure byaſs'd their Judgments, for his Books were now highly prized by all Perſons, and no one could read any thing of his, without being inſenſibly drawn into a very great Admiration of the moſt incomparable Parts of the Author; Nor had *Laurentius Valla* himſelf met with the leaſt better Treatment, although Learned and Judicious Men had always an eſteem for him, and thought themſelves very profitably employed, as long as they were converſant in his Writings.

Ockam condemned at *Paris*.

He tells them, That in that Controverſie with *Capnion*, they had managed their Buſineſs in ſuch a manner, that they never at any time more openly betrayed their groſs Ignorance, as well as obſtinate Wickedneſs; That the Counſels of God are very wonderful; That the *Jews* were of Old his own peculiar People, but when they wilfully ſhut their Eyes againſt the Light of the Goſpel, and deſpiſed all the Benefits of Chriſt, they were then deſervedly reprobated, and the Gentiles imbraced that Grace and Favour, of which the firſt Tenders were made to them; That much after the ſame manner it was now, That the Popes and others, who were, and loved to be called the Dignitaries of the Church, and who aſſumed to themſelves the Supreme Power, and all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, had, in truth, nothing but an empty Name, whilſt there were others who affected none of all that pompous Pageantry, who yet had a better Right to all the Honours and Titles, which theſe had ſo unjuſtly uſurped: In ſhort, That it never was otherwiſe, but that all Good and learned Men had at all times been thus perſecuted by them, and yet they never could produce one Example of their having made Good their own Ground or foiled their Adverſaries by any ſolid ſubſtantial Argument, but rather by mere Tricks and Shifts, or elſe by the dint of Fire and Faggot; that thus it was in the Caſe of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, which was ſuch a Piece of Barbarity, as their Memories would ſtink to all ſucceeding Generations; but he could not but be ſtruck with a very great amazment to ſee their precipitated Folly, who notwithſtanding all theſe Warnings, would ſtill proceed in thoſe unwarrantable Methods, which muſt of Neceſſity leave a Blot, not only upon their own, but upon all the other Univerſities in Chriſtendom; for granting all their former Proceſſes were according to the known eſtabliſhed Rules, and the Sentences pronounced by them, upon ſeveral famous Men, were well grounded, and in due Form of Law, yet as to what relates to his Cauſe, and the preſent Controverſie, they had done very Injuriouſly and Spitefully, to deal with him in ſuch an unexampled

A Compariſon between the *Jews* and *Roman* Clergy.

unexampled manner: if he had offended in any thing, they ſhould not immediately conſtrue it in the worſt Senſe, but think with themſelves, That all Men are ſubject to Infirmities; That in the giving their Judgment upon his Tenets, they ought to have ſhewed a Chriſtian-like Diſpoſition, Lenity, Mildneſs and Gentleneſs; but thus, without any previous Examination to condemn all at one Daſh, diſcovered at once the Diſtemper of their Minds, and the Virulency of their Malice; that *Ariſtotle* was of great Repute amongſt them, and that there was nothing which he had ſaid, though never ſo abſurd, or even repugnant to Chriſtianity it ſelf, which they would not defend, or at leaſt excuſe and palliate by ſome far fetch'd Gloſs or Comment, ſo as the Credit of the Author might not ſuffer any Diminution; but towards him their Carriage had been very different, for they had not only put a candid Interpretation upon thoſe Parts of his Writings, which might be wreſted to his Diſadvantage, but had endeavoured to pick a Hole, even in thoſe very things in which he had been ſo cautious in his Expreſſion, as not to dread the Cenſure of *the moſt Captious* and Prejudiced Reader; That the better and more *effectual* way had been, to have admoniſhed him either to explain or correct *what he* had wrote, or elſe not to be obſtinate in the maintaining of it; That if, notwithſtanding all this, he had continued diſobedient, they might then, after having firſt ſhewed him his Error, have acted according to Chriſt's Precept: But beſides all this, the Pope could not but think his Honour touch'd in this that they had done, in daring to paſs ſuch a Sentence on a Book which was wrote and Dedicated to him, which was no other than raſhly to upbraid him both with Sloth and Negligence; but no Wonder that they made ſo bold with his Holineſs, ſince the Majeſty of God himſelf was daily affronted by the Contempts which they put upon his Laws. 1520.

The Authority of *Ariſtotle*, with the Divines of *Louvain* and *Cologn*.

This *William Ockam*, of whom *Luther* ſpeaks, lived in the Time of the Emperour *Lewis* IV, about the Year of our Lord 1320, and among other things, wrote a Book concerning the Pope's Supremacy, in which theſe eight Queſtions were handled very curiouſly. Whether the ſame Perſon, can at one and the ſame time, be both Pope and Emperour? Whether the Emperour receive his Power and Authority from God alone, and not alſo from the Biſhop of *Rome*? Whether Chriſt delegated any ſuch Supreme Juriſdiction, over the whole World, to the Pope and Church of *Rome*, which they might at their Pleaſure parcel out to the Emperour and other Kings and Princes? Whether the Emperour being once Choſen, has not thereby the Government put abſolutely into his Hands? Whether other Princes, beſides the Emperour and King of the *Romans*, becauſe the Ceremony of their Coronation is performed by Prieſts, upon that account, derive any Authority from them? Whether ſuch Princes owe any ſort of Subjection to thoſe by whoſe Hands they received their Anointing and Inveſtiture? Whether, if they ſhould make uſe of any new Ceremonies, or take upon them to Crown themſelves, they thereby forfeit their Regal Power and Dignity? Whether the Suffrages of the ſeven Princes Electors, do not give as good a Title to the Elected Emperour, as a lawful Succeſſion does to the other Kings, where the Government is Hereditary. In the Examination of theſe Points, having ſhewed a great deal of Variety and Subtlety of Argument on both Sides, he for the moſt part determines in Favour of the Civil Magiſtrate: And upon that Occaſion he makes mention of Pope *John* XXII, who lived at that time, and had made certain Ordinances, which they called *Extravagentes*, and inſerted them into the Canon-Law, All which, he ſays, were generally condemned as Heretical and Spurious: Then he recites what Errors had been obſerved by other Perſons, both in his Books and publick Diſcourſes, and ſays, That all Orthodox Men did admire, how they came to gain any Credit in the World; but that this was the Time, of which S. *Paul*, in his Epiſtle, foretold *Timothy*, *That the time would come, when men ſhould not endure ſound doctrin, but after their own luſts ſhould they heap to themſelves teachers, having itching ears; and ſhould turn away their ears from the truth, and be turned to Fables:* That this was too ſadly verified in theſe Days, in which moſt Men never enquire what was the Doctrin of Chriſt, or of the Apoſtles or Primitive Fathers, but are guided in every thing, only by the Pope's arbitrary Will and Command.

As to what relates to *Capnion Reuchline*, the matter ſtands thus; *John Phefercorne*, who had forſaken Judaiſme, and embraced Chriſtianity, had a long time been a Petitioner to the Emperour *Maximilian*, That all the Jewiſh Books might be ſuppreſſed, as thoſe which trained up Men only in Impiety and Superſtition, and very much hindred their Converſion to the Chriſtian Religion; and that therefore they ought to

Phefercorne's Judgment concerning the ſuppreſſing the *Jewiſh Writings*.

1520. to be allowed the uſe of no other Book beſides the Bible. *Maximilian*, at laſt, ſends his Orders to *Uriel* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, That he ſhould make choice of ſome certain Univerſity, to whom, together with the Inquiſitor *James Hogoſtrate*, and *John Reuchline*, he might refer the Examination of this Affair, that they might conſult what was fit to be done in it, and whether it were agreeable to the [illegible] and open practices of our Religion, to condemn all Books to the Flames, except thoſe whoſe Authors were divinely inſpired; this was in the Year of our Lord [illegible].

The Opinion of *Reuchline*. *Reuchline*, who was a Civilian, and a great Maſter of the Hebrew Tongue, having received Letters from *Mentz*, returned this Anſwer: That the Jewiſh Books were of three ſorts, Hiſtorical, ſuch as treated of *Medicks*, and their *Talmuds*, which laſt were of ſeveral different kinds; that although there were a great many things contained in them, which were Ridiculous as well as Superſtitious, yet upon one account they were of great uſe, in that they ſerved to refute their Errors, and fond vain Opinions. This his Sentence he ſends ſealed to the Archbiſhop; but when *Phefercorne* came to hear of this, he preſently began to make no ſmall ſtir about it, and publiſhed a Book in oppoſition to what *Reuchline* had wrote, reproaching him with the moſt odious Titles of the Champion and Patron of the Jews. *Capnion*, that his Silence might not be interpreted as a Confeſſion of the Charge, writes an anſwer to it, which drew upon him the ill-Will of ſeveral Univerſities, but chiefly of that of *Cologne*: The moſt Famous Men, there at that time, were *James Hogoſtrate* and *Arnold van Tongren*. And *Hogoſtrate*, he put out a Book, in which he was not in the leaſt ſparing of his Invectives, following exactly the Copy that *Phefercorne* had ſet him, and this he Dedicates to the Emperour *Maximilian*. After this they commenced a Suit againſt him, and the Tryal was before the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, to whoſe Juriſdiction the ſuppoſed Criminal belonged, and the Proſecutor was *James Hogoſtrate*; him *Reuchline* excepted againſt, as one whom he thought not indifferent, and this he did at firſt, not in his own proper Perſon, but by his Advocate: But being perſuaded to it by ſome Friends, he at laſt came himſelf to *Mentz*, accompanyed with a great many of the Firſt Rank, both for Nobility and Learning, which *Ulrich* Duke of *Wirtemberg* had ſent along with him: There, when he ſaw that whatſoever Propoſals he made, in order to a Reconciliation, they were ſtill all rejected by his Adverſaries, he was forced to appeal to the Pope. He commits the hearing of the Cauſe to *George Palatine*, Biſhop of *Spire*, and at the ſame Time iſſues out an Injunction, That no Perſon beſides, preſume to intermeddle in it. But thoſe of *Cologne*, taking no notice of this, proceed to Cenſure *Capnion*'s Book, with a *Salvo*, as they pretend, to the Credit of the Author, and in *February*, 1514, they publickly burnt it; this the Biſhop of *Spire* took as an Affront put upon him, and becauſe the Proſecutor, having been legally Cited, had never appeared at the Day, but made Default, he gave Judgment for *Capnion*, with an Approbation of his Book, and condemned *Hogoſtrate* to pay the Coſts of the Suit. He, that he might avoid this Sentence, haſtens to *Rome*. In the mean time, the Divines of his Party make their Applications to the Univerſity of *Paris*, and by the Help of *Erard Marchian* Biſhop of *Liege*, who was then in the *French* Intereſts, they cajoled *Lewis* XII, ſo as to make him inclinable to favour their Cauſe. Therefore, after a long Conſultation, thoſe of *Paris* alſo Condemn the Book, as deſerving to be Burnt, and whoſe Author ought to be compelled to make a Recantation; and their Judgment was, That the Jewiſh *Talmuds* were juſtly cenſured by former Popes, and deſervedly burnt by their Predeceſſors. This was in the ſame Year, on *Auguſt* 2. To prevent this, the Duke of *Wirtemberg* had interceeded with them by his Letters; and *Reuchline* alſo himſelf, had written very courteouſly, as having been formerly a Scholar of that Univerſity, and he ſent incloſed the Judgment given by the Biſhop of *Spire*, but all to no purpoſe. *Hogoſtrate* being come to *Rome*, managed his Buſineſs with very great Addreſs; but there were ſome Cardinals, who favoured *Reuchline* upon the account of his eminent Learning; among theſe was *Adrian*, who has a Piece extant concerning the *Latin* Tongue. *Leo* at laſt appoints certain Delegates to inſpect the matter, and they ſeeming to lean towards *Capnion*'s ſide, *Hogoſtrate*, having met with nothing but Diſappointments, after above three Years ſtay in *Rome*, ſneaked away Home into his own Country. But it is not to be thought what a Scandal the Divines of *Cologn* brought upon themſelves, by this Imprudent Act of theirs; for there was not a Man, who pretended to any thing of Ingenuity or Scholarſhip, in all *Germany*, who had not a Fling at them in ſome ſmart Lampoon or Satyr, applauding *Reuchline*, and ridiculing

His Book burnt.

Approved of by the Biſhop of *Spire*.

Condemned at *Paris*.

ling them, as Blockheads and Dunces, and ſworn Enemies to that Laborious, but uſeful Study of Languages, and to all other more polite Learning: And *Eraſmus* of *Roterdam* was not wanting to uſe his intereſt with the Cardinals in *Capnion*'s behalf, concerning which he has ſeveral Epiſtles yet extant, which he then ſent to *Rome*. 1520.

The Divines of *Louvain*, before they would declare what was their Opinion in *Luther*'s Caſe, conſulted firſt with the Cardinal *Adrian* Biſhop of *Tortona*, who had been a Member of their College and Order, and who was at that time in *Spain*; and being backed with the Authority of his Judgment, they publiſhed their Cenſure. *Luther* finding himſelf ſo hard beſet on all Sides, addreſſed himſelf in an Epiſtle to the late elected Emperour, *Charles* V, and having made his Apology, That a Man of his mean Quality ſhould preſume to write to ſo great a Potentate, he tells him, That the Reaſons were very weighty which had emboldned him to do this, and that the Glory of Chriſt himſelf was concerned in his Cauſe: That he had publiſhed ſome few ſmall Books, which had procured him the Diſpleaſure of a great many Perſons, but that the Fault ought not to lye at his Door, for that it was with great Reluctancy that his Adverſaries had drawn him to enter the Liſts: That a Private Retired Life was much more agreeable to his Inclinations, but that his chief Care and Study was to make known the pure and uncorrupt Doctrin of the Goſpel, in oppoſition to the falſe Gloſſes, and even contradictory Ordinances of Men: That there were a great number of Perſons eminent both for Learning and Piety, who could atteſt the Truth of what he ſaid: And that this alone was the Cauſe of all that Odium and Infamy, of thoſe Dangers, Contumelies and Loſſes, to which almoſt for three Years he had been continually expoſed: That he had omitted nothing which might contribute to an Accommodation; but that the oftner he made any Propoſals, tending that way, the more reſolved his Adverſaries ſeemed to continue the Breach: That he had frequently and earneſtly requeſted them to convince him of his Errours, and to give him ſuch Rules, by the which he might the better guide himſelf for the Time to come; but that he could never obtain any other Anſwer from them, but barbarous Injuries and railing Buffoonery, their Deſign being to rid the World both of him and the Goſpel together: That by theſe Means, he was driven to have recourſe to the laſt Remedy, and forced, according to the Example of *Athanaſius*, to fly to him, as to the inviolable Sanctuary and Protection of the Law: And to beſeech him to take upon him the Patronage of the Chriſtian Religion, and vouchſafe to ſhelter him from all Violence and Injury, until he ſhould be more fully informed in the Matter: If it ſhould appear that he had been ingaged in the Maintenance of any thing that was Unjuſtifiable, he then deſired no Favour: His humble Petition was only to have a fair Hearing, and that every one would t'ill then ſuſpend his Judgment: That this was a part of his Duty, and that therefore God had intruſted him with this Supreme Power, that he might maintain and diſtribute impartial Juſtice, and defend the Cauſe of the Poor and Weak, againſt all the Inſults of their powerful Oppreſſors.

The Cenſure of the *Louvain* Divines upon *Luther*'s Writings: His Letter to the Emperour:

After this, he writes much to the ſame purpoſe, to all the States of the Empire, telling them how unwilling he was to have ingaged in this Controverſie, and with what bitter Malice he was proſecuted by his Enemies, when his Aim was purely this, by propagating the true Doctrin of the Goſpel, to convince Men how Inconſiſtent it was with thoſe falſe Opinions, of which they had been ſo long but too Tenacious: Then he recites, in ſhort, all that had been done by him, in order to a Reconciliation; how he had ſeveral times promiſed, by a voluntary Silence, to let the Cauſe fall, upon condition his Adverſaries would ceaſe their impertinent Babling, deſiring nothing more than to be better informed, if he was in the wrong, and being willing to ſubmit freely to the Judgment and Cenſure of all good Men: But that theſe Requeſts of his had not as yet had their deſired Effect, his Adverſaries continually loading him with all manner of Injuries and Reproaches: That ſince it was ſo, he deſired them not to give Credit to any diſadvantagious Reports, which they might hear of him: If he had at any time been guilty of any Sharpneſs or Petulancy in his Writings, it was no more than what he had been forced to by their paultry ſawcy Pamphlets, which they were almoſt daily ſpawning againſt him: In the laſt place, he makes now the ſame Profers, for the compoſing the Difference, which he had ſo often formerly done; and of this he prays them to bear him witneſs.

To the States of the Empire.

Some

1520. To the Archbiſhop of *Mentz.*

Some few Days after, he wrote to the Cardinal *Albertus*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, in a very ſubmiſſive Stile: The Subſtance of his Letter was this; That his being impeached before him, therefore touched him the more nearly, becauſe he ſuppoſed it to be done by thoſe who had formerly commended his Works, and been the moſt forward Sticklers for them; but whether the Accuſation were true or falſe, take it either way, they had not dealt very handſomely in it; for if it were Falſe, they then put the groſſeſt Abuſe upon him, without any reſpect to his Character, and that ſublime Station that he has in the Church: He bids him call to mind how *David* himſelf was deceived by the Flattery of *Siba*, and that there was ſcarce any Prince who could at all times ſtand ſo well upon his Guard, as not to be in danger of being impoſed upon by ſuch fawning Courtiers: But ſuppoſing he was really guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge, yet it had been a much fairer way of proceeding, to have ſhewed him his Error, and to have endeavoured to rectifie his Underſtanding, whereſoever they perceived him to labour under any Miſtakes; that this he had ſeveral times beg'd of his Adverſaries, who ſtill continued Deaf to all his Requeſts. He tells him there were two ſorts of Men, who generally condemned his Writings; one was thoſe who never read them, and the other ſuch as, indeed, vouchſafed them the reading, but their Minds were prepoſſeſs'd with an ill Opinion of him, and then, whatſoever he ſaid, though never ſo conformable to the Precepts of Chriſtianity, muſt of neceſſity be miſinterpreted by them: But if that his more important Affairs could but afford him ſo much Leiſure, as to peruſe his Books, he did not in the leaſt doubt, but that he would be of a very different Judgment from his Accuſers: He intreats him, therefore, not to believe Calumnies, or to entertain any ſuſpicious Thoughts of him, but to take a full and exact Examination of the whole Matter, ſince not only his alone, but the eternal welfare of all his Followers, was nearly concerned in it: For becauſe his Deſire was to be heard ſpeak for himſelf, and to be inſtructed by thoſe who were more learned, if he could not obtain this Favour, the Truth it ſelf would ſuffer very much by it: Confiding therefore in his Candor and Humanity, and being alſo born and bred in that Country, which is properly under his Epiſcopal Care and Government, he thought himſelf in ſome meaſure obliged to give him this ſhort Account of his Caſe.

The Archbiſhop's Anſwer.

The Archbiſhop anſwers, That he was very well pleaſed with his Promiſe, Not to be obſtinate in the Defence of his Tenets, but to be *willing to yield* to any who ſhould better inform him: As for his part, *though he had* a great regard for the concerns of Religion, yet he had not hitherto been able to ſteal ſo much Time, as would ſerve to read over his Treatiſes: That therefore he could not give any Judgment upon them, but referr'd it wholly to thoſe, whoſe proper Province it was, and who had already ingaged themſelves in that Diſquiſition: That his hearty Wiſhes were, That he and all other Divines, would handle Points of Religion reverently, modeſtly and conſcientiouſly, without uttering any reproachful Words, or harbouring any ſecret Malice in their Breaſts: That he heard with great regret, with what Heat and Paſſion ſome Men of Note and Fame diſputed about the Supremacy of the Pope and Free-Will, and other ſuch trifling inſignificant Queſtions, which are far from being any of the Eſſentials of Religion: That thoſe things began now to be controverted, which had been ſo long received, and which were confirmed by the common Conſent and Approbation of the whole Church, as well as by the Authority of General Councils; ſuch is that which relates to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the manner of communicating therein: And becauſe this is done openly, and the Ears of the common People begin to be tickled with the Novelty, he ſhould not but have very dreadful Apprehenſions of what would be the dangerous Conſequences of them: That he could not ſee, how he or any other Perſon could raiſe any uſeful pious Inſtructions out of theſe Points: But if Scholars had a mind to debate them friendly and privately among themſelves, he could not be againſt it: Nor did he blame him for ſaying, That what he taught was no other than the true Doctrin of the Goſpel, provided there was nothing of Bitterneſs or Spite in the Aſſertion, and that it was not ſpoke in contempt of the Authority of the Church: For if this publick Declaration of the Truth flowed purely from the gentle impulſe of the Divine Spirit, it then would baffle all Attempts whatſoever, that ſhould be made againſt it; but if that either Haughtineſs of Mind, or a private Grudge againſt any one, were the Motives in it, it then could have no firm Foundation, but that and its Author would ſoon fall together: For whoſoever abuſes the Gifts and Favours of God, on him will he aſſuredly pour out the full Vials of his Wrath.

To

To the ſame effect, on the ſame day, *Luther* writes to the Biſhop of *Merſburgh*, that as to his Doctrin, his Conſcience bore him witneſs that it was the ſame that Chriſt and his Apoſtles had taught: But becauſe his Life and manners were not in all things anſwerable to the Purity of his Profeſſion, he could even wiſh that he were ſilenc'd from Preaching, as being unworthy to exerciſe that Sacred Function: That he was not moved either by the hopes of Gain or Vain-glory; but that the End to which all his Endeavours were directed, was to imprint a-freſh in the minds of Men thoſe eternal Truths, which were now almoſt utterly defaced, or elſe obſcured by a groſs and wilful ſtupidity; That thoſe who condemn his Writings, were hurried on by the violence of their Paſſions; and promoted their own ambitious deſigns, under the ſpecious pretence of upholding the Authority of the Biſhop *of Rome*: That a great many Foreigners, famous both for Parts and Learning, had by their Letters approved of his Works, and thanked him for his obliging the Publick with them: That this confirm'd him in his Opinion, that his Doctrin was Orthodox: He beſeeches him therefore to ſhew ſome Fatherly tenderneſs *towards him*; *and if* he had hitherto erred, to guide him now into *the right way*: That he could not as yet get his Cauſe to be heard, although he had been importunate in requeſting it: That he ſhould think it a great happineſs to be convinced of any of his Errours, and they ſhould find he had been miſrepreſented by thoſe who had poſſeſſed the World with a belief of his Obſtinacy. 1520. *Luther*'s Letter to the Biſhop of *Merſburgh*.

The Biſhop returns to this, That he had been often under a very great concern for him, and that he was heartily ſorry for his having publiſh'd a Book concerning the Lord's Supper, which had given offence to many: That thoſe of his Dioceſe were much ſtartled at the Doctrin, which could not but trouble him to whoſe immediate Care they were committed. Then he reproves the ſharpneſs of his Style, and ſays, That how diverting ſoever it might be to Strangers, he muſt declare his diſlike of it; and could wiſh that in the preſent Controverſie he had ſhewed leſs of the Man, and more of the Chriſtian. He checks him for having ſpoken irreverently of the Biſhop of *Rome*, telling him, ſuch language was certainly unbecoming the Mouth of a Clergyman, as well as injurious to the Dignity of the Prelate. He therefore adviſes him to exerciſe his Parts in ſomewhat which might be more advantageous to the Publick, and not to keep up a Diſpute any longer purely for Wrangling ſake. As to what he writes, that he is deſirous to be *informed* where he is in an Errour, and promiſes to be ready to yield to any better Judgments: *As to theſe Particulars*, he ſays he cannot give a full Anſwer now by Letter; but he *will find a convenient ſeaſon to tell him* his mind more at large by Word of Mouth.' The Biſhop's Anſwer.

The Elector *Frederick* had at that time a Sute depending at *Rome*, in which he had employed as his Agent one *Valentine Ditleb*, a *German*; he ſends him word, that in this and in all the other parts of his Commiſſion, he made but very ſlow advances at that Court; which he could attribute to nothing but the raſhneſs and impudence of *Luther*, who had lately vented his malice in ſeveral Libels againſt the Pope, the Church of *Rome*, and the ſacred Conclave; and that the common report was, That he was the only Perſon who countenanced and ſupported that Fellow. Upon the arrival of the Courier with theſe Letters, *Frederick* preſently diſpatches away an Anſwer to *Rome*, That it had always been far from his thoughts to give any encouragement to the progreſs of *Luther*'s Doctrin: That he had not yet alter'd his mind, nor took the pains throughly to ſift any one of the controverted Points: That he heard indeed his Tenets had the Approbation of Learned and Judicious Men, but for his part he determined on neither ſide, but left him to make his own Defence as well as he could: He confeſs'd he thought he had made two very fair Propoſals, which he ſtill ſtuck to; the firſt was, That if he might obtain a ſafe Conduct, he was ready to anſwer for himſelf before any Perſon whom the Pope ſhould appoint: And in the ſecond place, If it ſhould be made out upon tryal that any of his Opinions were Erroneous, he would moſt chearfully renounce them; and of this he made an open and ſolemn Proteſtation. And although by this *Luther* had acquitted himſelf like a good Chriſtian in the judgment of all impartial Perſons; yet upon his warning, he had long ago left *Saxony*, if *Charles Miltitz* had not oppoſed it; for he thought it not convenient to drive him into another Country, whereas he would be under leſs reſtraint; ſo they muſt expect he would then give his Paſſion its full ſwing, and with his Pen revenge himſelf on all thoſe who had any way promoted his Exile: There could therefore be no reaſonable ground to ſuſpect his fidelity to the *Catholick*

1520. Intereſts, which gave him ſome hopes that his Holineſs would deal with him according to the Juſtice of his Cauſe; for it would make his very Life uneaſie to him, if ſuch a Slander ſhould find credit in the World, as that any Errour which ſprung up in his time, had taken root and ſpread it ſelf under the ſhelter of his Protection. After this, in the ſame Letter he tells him freely, as his Friend and Countryman, that he heard, the Conteſt had never been carried on to this extremity, if *Eckius*, and a great many more ſuch fierce Bigots, had not been even reſtleſs till they had blown all into a flame: That they were continually throwing dirt in *Luther*'s face, by thoſe ſcurrilous Papers which they ſcatter'd among the People; ſo that he was forced at laſt, againſt his will, to return the Complement: And that this was the unlucky occaſion of his diſcovery of a great many things, which, if he had not been thus provoked, had in all probability died with him. He aſſures him he had this Account from very good hands, who are fully acquainted with the whole matter; and that *Luther* himſelf confeſſed as much: That thoſe therefore of *Eckius*'s Gang ought to ſuffer as the only Incendiaries, who *while they thought* to curry favour with the Pope by ſome extraordinary *piece of Service, had in truth done him* an injury beyond the malice *of his moſt* profeſſed Enemies. He tells him that *Germany* was much civiliz'd *of late* years: That it now produced Men of excellent Parts: That Learning flouriſh'd there, and the Inventors of uſeful Arts met with all due encouragements; and there were ſome who by a long ſtudy were become great Proficients in all thoſe Languages which are neceſſary to compleat an univerſal Scholar: In ſhort, that we lived in ſuch an Age now, in which even the Common People were curious to ſearch the Scriptures: That this made a great many ſober and moderate Men to think, that if the Propoſals made by *Luther* were rejected, and the Church proceeded to any Cenſures againſt him, that they would Conjure up ſuch a Spirit, as would be beyond the power of all their Charms to lay again; for that his Doctrins had now gotten ſuch footing, that unleſs he had a fair and legal Tryal, and his Errors were refuted by ſolid Arguments and Scripture Proofs, all *Germany* would be in an Uproar; and then he queſtion'd whether the Pope or any one elſe would gain much by the bargain.

The Pope's Anſwer to the Elector.

This Letter of the Electors bore Date the Firſt of *April*, and the Pope returned an Anſwer on the Sixth of *July*, telling him, he was highly ſatisfied in his having no Communion with that profligate Fellow *Luther*: That he always had an Eſteem for him anſwerable to his eminent Vertues: But that ſince grave and ſerious Men had informed him how prudently he had carried *himſelf in this* particular, he now ſtood higher in his Favour than ever he did before: That in this he had acted like himſelf, and had not degenerated from his glorious Anceſtors, who had always paid a great devotion to the Apoſtolick See: It was alſo an evident demonſtration of his ſingular Wiſdom, inaſmuch as he was ſenſible that it was not the meek Spirit of Chriſt, but the Devil, that arch Enemy of Mankind, which actuated and inſpired the Author of this Schiſm; who was proud and ambitious as *Luther* himſelf, who endeavoured to infect the World afreſh with the condemned Hereſies of *Wickliff*, *Huſſe* and the *Bohemians*, who gaped after popular Applauſe; and who by depraving the true Senſe of the Scriptures, ruined the Souls of his ſimple and weak Brethren; who exploded all Vows of Chaſtity, and laugh'd at Auricular Confeſſion, and the Penance impoſed thereupon, as meer Tricks of the crafty Prieſts, who ſided with the Diſciples of *Mahomet*, and who with his prophane and poyſonous breath thought at once to blaſt and overturn the whole Diſciplin of the Church; who bewails the Puniſhments inflicted on Hereticks; and in ſhort, who ſtrove to turn all things topſie-turvie; and is arrived at that degree of pride and madneſs, as to deſpiſe the Authority both of Popes and Councils, and has the confidence to prefer before them all, his own ſingle Judgment: That he therefore had ſhewed himſelf a true Son of the Church, in that he had nothing to do with that pernicious Raſcal, nor embraced any of his erroneous Opinions, but in all things imitated the Vertues of his Fore-fathers: That this made ſo many grave and underſtanding Men outvie each other in his Commendations: And that he could not but think himſelf bound to return his moſt hearty Thanks to God, who had beſtowed on him ſo many rich endowments of Mind: He ſays, he had long borne with *Luther*'s Saucineſs and Temerity, hoping he would in time grow aſhamed of his Folly; but now when he ſaw him deaf to all his Admonitions, and that he was only hardned by the gentleneſs which he uſed towards him, he was forc'd at laſt, as in a deſperate Diſeaſe, to have recourſe to a deſperate Remedy, to prevent, if poſſible, the farther ſpreading of the Contagion: That having

ſummoned

ſummoned therefor the Conclave; and had the Advice of ſeveral learned Men in the matter, after much ſerious deliberation he had ſigned the Decree, being guided by that holy Spirit, whoſe aids can never be wanting to an Infallible Church. In it were recited ſome of his Tenets, which were picked from among a great many more; part of which were downright Heretical, others directly contrary to the Precepts of the Goſpel; and ſome were deſtructive of Morality, and even common Honeſty it ſelf, and were ſuch as by degrees would debauch Men into all manner of Wickedneſs: That he had ſent him a Copy of this Bull, to let him ſee what monſtrous Errors that Agent of Hell did maintain: But now his Requeſt to him, was, That he would admoniſh him not to perſiſt in his Pride and Obſtinacy, but publickly and ſolemnly to recant all his former Writings; which if he refuſed to do within a prefixed day, then to take care to have him ſeized and committed to Priſon; by this means he would wipe off the Reproach of his own Houſe and of *Germany* too, and get himſelf immortal Honour, by putting a timely ſtop to that flame which would elſe not have ended but in the ruin of his Country; and it would be a Service alſo very acceptable even to God himſelf. 1520.

The Bull it ſelf was very long, and was publiſhed on the Fifteenth of *June*; the ſubſtance of it was this: After a Quotation of ſome Texts of Scripture, which were applied to his preſent purpoſe, his Holineſs, Pope *Leo*, having called upon Chriſt, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and the reſt of that glorified Society, to avert thoſe dangers which at this time threatned the Church, complains that there was now ſtarted up a Doctrin which not only revived all thoſe Opinions which had been formerly condemned as Heretical, but alſo contained in it ſeveral new Errours never before broached in the World, and ſuch as would juſtle out all ſenſe of God and Religion: That he was troubled that this Hereſie ſhould have its riſe in *Germany*, a Country always very Loyal to the Church of *Rome*, and which to uphold the Dignity of that See, had fought even to the laſt drop of Blood, and never refuſed to undertake any the moſt difficult Enterprizes: That it was yet freſh in memory, with what Heroick Spirits, and with what Zeal they maintained the *Catholick* Cauſe againſt the *Bohemians* and the Followers of *Huſſe*: That ſome of their Univerſities had lately given Inſtances of a Vertue and Courage equal to what inſpired the firſt Planters of Chriſtianity: But becauſe he was *Chriſt's Vicar* here on Earth, and the Care of the Univerſal Church was committed to him, he could no longer neglect the diſcharge of his Duty. After this, he repeats *Luther*'s Tenets, which he ſays were repugnant to that Chriſtian Love and Reverence which all Men owe to the Church of *Rome*: That he had therefore ſummoned together the whole College of Cardinals, and ſeveral other learned Men, who after a long Debate, all declared, That theſe Points ought to be rejected, as derogating from the Authority of Councils, Fathers, and even the Church it ſelf: Therefore with their advice and conſent he condemns this whole ſumm of Doctrins, and by virtue of his Supremacy, commands all Perſons under the ſevereſt Penalties, to yield Obedience to this his Decree, by renouncing thoſe Opinions which are cenſured in it; and he enjoyns all Magiſtrates (eſpecially thoſe of *Germany*) to uſe their endeavours to hinder the farther progreſs and growth of this Hereſie: He orders alſo *Luther*'s Books to be every where brought forth and burnt. Then he relates how Lovingly and Fatherly he had dealt with him, in hopes to reclaim him by thoſe gentle methods; how he had admoniſh'd him by his Legates, and cited him to come and make his Purgation at *Rome*; not only granting him a ſafe Conduct, but promiſing to furniſh him with all Neceſſaries for his Journey; but that he ſlighting this Summons, had appealed from him to a General Council, contrary to the Decrees of Pope *Pius*, and *Julius* II, by which it is enacted, That whoſoever ſhall make any ſuch Appeal, ſhall from that time be adjudged an Heretick, and be obnoxious to the ſame Puniſhments: That therefore it was in his power to have proſecuted him at firſt with the utmoſt rigour of the Law, but that out of meer pity he had forborn ſo long, if perhaps, as the Prodigal Son, his Calamities might bring him to a ſenſe of his Errours, and he would at laſt be willing to return into the boſom of the Church: That he had ſtill the ſame tender Affections towards him; and that he moſt paſſionately intreated him and all his Followers, that they would ceaſe to diſturb the Peace of Chriſtendom; and if they yield to this his requeſt, he promiſes to ſhew them all the kindneſs imaginable. In the mean time he forbids *Luther* to Preach, and prefixes Threeſcore days, within which time he ſhould amend, burn his own

The Pope's Bull.

The Pope and Cardinals condemn *Luther*'s Doctrin, and command his Books to be burnt.

The Decrees of *Pius* and *Julius* concerning Appeals.

Luther is Excommunicated.

1520. Books, and publickly Recant: If he did not, he condemns him as an Heretick, and orders him to be puniſh'd according to Law; he Excommunicates him, and commands all Perſons to avoid his Company, under the like Penalty, ordering this Decree to be read in all Churches upon certain days.

As to what he ſays of *Pius* and *Julius*, the matter ſtands thus: In the Year of our Lord 1359, *Pius* II, on account of the War with the *Turks*, holds a Council at *Mantua*, and there, among others, makes a Decree, That no Perſon ſhould Appeal from the Pope to a Council, becauſe he ſaid there could be no Power on Earth Superior to that of Chriſt's Vicar. Therefore he condemned all thoſe who preſumed to act contrary to this Decree, and declared their Appeals invalid. And not long after he Excommunicated *Sigiſmund* Duke of *Auſtria*, for taking Cardinal *Nicholas Cuſanus* Priſoner. *Sigiſmund* Appeals from him to the Council; and the Pope Excommunicates *George Heinburg*, a Lawyer that drew up the Appeal, as a Traytor and Heretick, and writes to the Senate of *Nuremberg* to Baniſh him, and Confiſcate his Eſtate. This Decree of his *Julius* II confirmed, that he might defend himſelf *againſt thoſe Cardinals who had revolted from him*, againſt Kings and Princes, *and the Divines of Paris*, who often made uſe of ſuch Appeals. Pope *Pius*, who was before called *Æneas Silvius*, was preſent at the Council of *Baſil*, and wrote the Hiſtory of it, wherein he highly commends the Decrees that were made there; but at laſt being advanced to the Papacy, he changed his Opinion, and declared that the Council ought to be ſubject to the Pope.

Luther oppoſes the Pope's Bull.

Luther, when he found himſelf condemned at *Rome*, renews his former Appeal from the Pope to a General Council: And now ſince the Pope continues in his Tyranny and Impiety, and proceeds ſo far as to condemn him, neither called nor heard, nor convict of Hereſie, he ſays he Appeals again from him to a General Council, for theſe four Reaſons: Becauſe he condemns him at pleaſure without hearing the Controverſie, becauſe he forbids him to hold Faith to be neceſſary in the Sacraments, becauſe he prefers his own Opinions and Fancies to the Holy Scriptures, and for rendring all Councils uſeleſs: Therefore he calls him raſh and obſtinate, a Tyrant, a proud Deſpiſer of the Church, and Antichriſt himſelf; and ſays he will prove all this, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe his Superiors; and for that reaſon deſires the Emperour and other Magiſtrates, that for the Glory of God, and in defence of the Liberties of a General Council, they would admit his Appeal; that they would bridle the Tyranny of the Pope, take no notice of his Bull, nor do any thing in the buſineſs, till the Cauſe be fairly heard and decided. Before he appealed after this manner, which was upon the Eighteenth day of *November*, he had put out a Book concerning the Babyloniſh Captivity; and in the Preface he ſays, that he advances every day more and more in the Knowledge of the Scripture; that formerly he had publiſhed a ſmall Treatiſe concerning the Pope's Indulgences; and that then he writ very modeſtly, having a very great Veneration for the *Roman* Tyranny: But that now he was of another Opinion; and that being ſtirred up by the provocation of his Adverſaries, he had diſcovered that the See of *Rome* was nothing elſe but the Kingdom of *Babylon*, and the Power of *Nimrod* the mighty Hunter: Afterwards he diſputes concerning the Sacraments of the Church, and holds there are but Three, *Baptiſm*, *Penance*, and the *Lord's Supper*. And having diſcourſed concerning theſe, he proceeds to conſider the others alſo, *Confirmation*, *Orders*, *Matrimony*, and *Extreme Unction*; but he allows them not the Name or Title of a Sacrament; and ſays, that they are properly Sacraments, which are Promiſes with Viſible Signs annexed to them; the others, which have no Signs, are bare Promiſes, and therefore he thinks that *Penance* ought not to be reckoned in the number of Sacraments, if we would ſpeak properly, becauſe it wants a Viſible Sign of Divine Inſtitution. *Luther*, after he had heard of the Pope's Bull, beſides the Appeal we have been ſpeaking of, publiſhes a Book, wherein he confirms and maintains all thoſe opinions which *Leo* had condemned.

In the mean time the Emperour having ſetled all things in the *Low-Countries*, appoints the Electors to meet him at *Aix la Chapelle*, on the Sixth of *October*, in order to his Coronation: But at that time the Plague raged there very much; therefore the Electors when they were arrived at *Cologn*, about ten Miles from *Aix la Chapelle*, and the report of the Plague encreaſed daily, they writ to the Emperour, being then at *Louvain*, to deſire him to chuſe ſome other place for the Coronation: But the Townſmen, who had laid out a great deal of Money in trimming

trimming up their Houſes, and furniſhing themſelves with Proviſions, did by a proper Meſſenger aſſure him, that there was no Danger. The Emperour, therefore perſiſted in his Reſolution, and declares, That he cannot well alter the Order of *Charles* IV, which appoints the Coronation to be there. 1520.

Therefore upon the 21 of *October*, the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Cologn* and *Triers*, with the Ambaſſadours of the Duke of *Saxony* and Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, arrive there: for the Duke of *Saxony* himſelf, by reaſon of his Infirmities, was forced to ſtay at *Cologn*. The next Day they go out to meet the Emperour, and when they came near him, they alighted off their Horſes, and the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* made a Speech to him, which he anſwered graciouſly by the Cardinal of *Saltzburg*: And ſo joyning their Company together, they marched towards the Town. Before the Gate, the Count *Palatine* meets him: The Horſe that accompanied the Electors were about a thouſand ſix hundred, ſome Archers, and ſome with Lances; thoſe that attended upon the Emperour were about two thouſand, all bravely clothed. *John* Duke of *Cleve*, being a Neighbour, had brought thither four hundred Horſe very well armed, who contended ſo long with thoſe of *Saxony* about the Precedency, that Night came on them before the whole Cavalcade, which was the fineſt that ever was ſeen in *Germany*, could enter the Town. On each ſide the Emperour rode the Archbiſhops of *Cologn* and *Mentz*, being followed by the Ambaſſadour of the King of *Bohemia*, the Cardinals of *Sedune*, *Saltzburg* and *Croye*, and the Ambaſſadours of other Kings and Princes; the Pope's only, and the King's of *England* were abſent; and that deſignedly, leſt by giving place to the Princes of *Germany* they might ſeem to diminiſh the Honour of their Maſters. The Emperour was brought into our Lady's Church, where, after he had made his Prayers, he talked with the Electors apart, and ſo went to his Lodging. The next Day they met again at the Church, but there was ſuch a Croud of People, that the Guard had much ado to keep them back: In the middle of the Church there hangs a large Crown, the Floor underneath was covered with rich Carpets, where the Emperour for ſome time lay proſtrate, while the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* ſays certain Prayers over him: After that is done, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* and *Triers* take him up, and lead him to the High Altar: Here he falls down again, and having ſaid his Prayers, is lead to his Throne, that was richly overlaid with Gold; the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* begins Maſs, and having proceeded a little way, he demands of him, in *Latin*, Whether he will keep the Catholick Faith, defend the Church, adminiſter Juſtice, and maintain the Dignity of the Empire, protect the Widows and the Fatherleſs, and ſuch other diſtreſſed Perſons, and whether he will give due Honour to the Biſhop of *Rome?* When he has aſſented, he is led to the Altar, and there takes his Oath to perform all this, and ſo returns again to his Throne. Then the Elector of *Cologn* demands of thoſe that were preſent, Whether they will yield him due Faith and Allegiance, which being promiſed, and ſome other Prayers recited, he anoints him on the Breaſt, the Head, the Bendings of the Arms, and the Palms of the Hands: And being thus anointed, the Archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Triers* lead him into the Veſtry, and there having clothed him like a Deacon, place him again in his Throne: After other Prayers, the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, accompanied by the two other Archbiſhops, delivers him a Sword drawn, and commends the Commonwealth to his Care; and when he has ſheathed this Sword, puts a Ring on his Finger, and veſts him with the Imperial Robe, gives him a Scepter and Globe, and the three Archbiſhops, together, put the Crown on his Head: From thence he is lead to the Altar, and there ſwears again, That he will do the Duty of a good Prince; after which, accompanied by the Archbiſhops, he goes up into a part of the Church, which is purpoſely raiſed higher than the reſt, and is there placed in a Seat of Stone: Then the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, making a Speech in the Vulgar Tongue, wiſhes him great Proſperity, commending to him himſelf, his Colleagues, and the States of the Empire: The Prebendaries of the Church do likewiſe congratulate him, into whoſe number he is choſen by an ancient Cuſtom: And after all, he is entertained by a Conſort of Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſick. The Lady *Margaret*, the Emperour's Aunt, who was Governeſs of the *Low Countries*, was preſent during the whole Ceremony. When Maſs was over, and the Emperour had received the Sacrament, he Knights as many as offered themſelves, which Honour uſed to be given anciently, only to thoſe who had ſignalized their Courage in War, and was the Reward of Valour: And now the manner is for Kings to ſtrike gently with their naked Sword, the Shoulders of thoſe that are to receive the Honour: And by this Ceremony, only, now a days, many are made Knights,

The Electors come to *Aix la Chapelle*.

The Emperour enters the Town in great ſtate.

The Ceremonies of the Coronation.

The Emperour's Oath.

The manner of making Knights.

1520. Knights, not only of the Nobility, but Tradeſmen and others. From the Church they proceed to the Palace, which is magnificently adorned; there the Emperour Dines, and the Electors alſo, every one by himſelf, there being Tables placed in the ſame Hall, on both Sides the Emperour's, the Archbiſhop of *Triers* ſitting right againſt the Emperour, according to one of the Laws of *Charles* IV. By an ancient Cuſtom, a whole Ox is roaſted that Day, with ſeveral other things in his Belly; part of it is brought to the Emperour's Table, and the reſt is given to the Rabble; and two Conduits run all the while with Wine: After Dinner, the Emperour returning to his Lodging, delivers the Seal of the Empire to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and the next Day he treats the Electors: The Day following, repairing to the Church, when he had heard Maſs, he worſhips the Holy Relicks, as they call them, and among theſe, a Linen-Cloth, in which, they ſay, our Bleſſed Saviour was wrapt, when he lay in his Cradle: After this the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* pronounces, That the Pope confirms the Election, and commands, That *Charles* V, ſhould hereafter be called *Emperour*. The Electors being departed, for fear of the Contagion, the Emperour alſo takes his Journey, and arriving at *Cologn*, about the beginning of *November*, he ſends his Letters all over the Empire, to call a Dyet on *January* 6, at *Wormes*.

A Dyet ſummoned to meet at *Wormes*.

As to what the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* ſaid concerning the Pope's Confirmation, it is now indeed grown into a Cuſtom, contrary to what it was formerly; for heretofore the Biſhops of *Rome* uſed to be approved of by the Emperours; but increaſing in Power, they began not only to rule at Pleaſure, but brought it at laſt to that paſs, after much Strife and Contention, That the Right of Electing ſhould be in the Electors, but they themſelves only ſhould have the Power of Confirming and Ratifying it. And this Authority they have made uſe of in almoſt all Kingdoms, chiefly in *Italy*, *Germany* and *France*, depoſing the lawful Princes, and puting others in their room. For beſides other Places of the Canon Law, in the Decretal Epiſtles of Pope *Gregory* IX, *Innocent* III affirms, That the Right of chuſing the Emperour, by the Favour of the Biſhops, and See of *Rome*, was tranſlated from the *Greeks* to the *Germans*, in the time of *Charles* the Great, and 'tis their Buſineſs to judge of the fitneſs of the Perſon; and not contented with this, they make the chief Magiſtrate of the World ſwear Allegiance to them; which very thing has been the Cauſe of great Wars and much miſchief. But at length *Clement* V, who lived in the Year of our Lord 1300, bound them to it by a Law, which he inſerted into the Body of the Canon Law; for when the Emperour *Henry* VII, of the Family of *Luxemburg*, refuſed the Oath, as a new thing, not practiſed in former Times, Pope *Clement*, to ſecure all for the future, opens the Matter at large, declaring what is contained in that Oath; that is to ſay, That the Emperour ſhould defend the *Roman* Church, root out Hereticks, and avoid the Company of Wicked Men; that he ſhould by all means poſſible maintain the Dignity of the Popes, defend and keep all Priviledges granted at any Time to the Church of *Rome*, but eſpecially ſuch as were given by *Conſtantine*, *Charles* the Great, *Henry*, *Otho* IV, *Frederick* II, and *Rodolph*; that he claimed no Right upon any account whatſoever over the Lands and Poſſeſſions of the *Roman* Church; and that he would defend all other Churches in their Rights and Priviledges. He declares that the Emperour is obliged to all this, and that *Henry* himſelf promiſed as much by his Envoys; however, afterwards he refuſed to own it: But this Decree of the Popes came not out till after *Henry* was dead. This is that *Clement*, who firſt of all ſummoned the Cardinals from *Rome* to *Lions* in *France*, and kept his Court there; ſince which time the Authority and Power of the Emperours has decreaſed daily in *Italy*, and the Power and Dignity of the Popes been augmented, ſo that Emperours of a later date imagined that they owe them this Obedience and Allegiance. But the chief of thoſe Popes that have been in this Matter troubleſome to our Emperours, are *Gregory* VII, *Alexander* III, *Innocent* III, *Gregory* IX, *Innocent* IV, *Nicholas* III, *Boniface* VIII, and *Clement* V. But to return from whence we have digreſſed.

The Popes anciently ſubject to the Emperours.

The Emperours ſwear Allegiance to the Popes.

While the Emperour was at *Cologn*, the Pope began again to incenſe *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* againſt *Luther* by *Marinus Caracciolus* and *Jerome Aleander*; who ſpeaking firſt in praiſe of him and his Family, and telling the Danger that hung over *Germany* by reaſon of *Luther*'s pernicious Writings, demanded, at length, two things; Firſt, That he would command all his Books to be burnt: And, Secondly, That he would either execute him himſelf, or ſend him Priſoner to the Pope. There were then preſent *Peter Bonomus* Biſhop of *Trieſte*, and *Bernard* Biſhop of *Trent*. *Alexander* declared, That the Emperour and other Princes were required

quired to ſee the Bull of the Pope performed; and that the hearing of the Cauſe was committed to himſelf and *Eckius*. 1520.

Duke *Frederick*, becauſe it was a matter of great importance, deſired time to conſider of it, and on *November* 4, not being at leiſure himſelf, he gave in this Anſwer by ſome of his Council, in the preſence of the Biſhop of *Trent*: That he wondred very much why the Pope ſhould deſire this of him, who had always taken care to do nothing unworthy of the Virtue and Glory of his Anceſtors, and to do his Duty both to the Empire and the Church: That he underſtood that *Eckius*, in his abſence, had given trouble, not only to *Luther*, but to ſeveral other Learned Men of his Dominions, contrary to the Mind and Tenor of his Holineſs's Bull, which, as became him, he declared he very much reſented, That a private Perſon ſhould take upon him to meddle ſo much in another's Juriſdiction: What *Luther* or others have done in his Abſence, ſince the bringing of the Pope's Bull thither, he knows not: That it is poſſible ſeveral Perſons may have approved of his Appeal: That as for *himſelf*, he never concern'd himſelf in it: But that he ſhould be very ſorry *if his Doctrin* were not Orthodox: That two Years ago, he procured a Conference between him and *Cajetane* at *Ausburg*; but they coming to no Agreement, *Cajetane* writ a Letter to complain of him: That he then anſwered it, ſo as he imagined he had given him Satisfaction; and for taking away all ſuſpicion, he was then willing to have diſmiſſed *Luther*, had not *Miltitz* oppoſed it: But *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Triers*, had been delegated by the Pope for hearing this Cauſe, and that *Luther* was ready to appear in any Place, provided he might have a Safe-Conduct: And that he makes as fair and large Proffers as can be deſired: That ſeveral Good and Learned Men, imagine that he has proceeded thus far, not ſo much of his own Accord, as by the Inſtigation of his Adverſaries: That it appears not yet to the Emperour, nor to any other Magiſtrate, that his Writings are convicted of Hereſie or Impiety; for if they had, he himſelf ſhould have been ready to have done the Duty of a good Prince: He deſires therefore, That they would not proceed after this manner, but rather procure that the Matter may be lovingly and quietly debated by ſome Godly and Learned Men, that *Luther* may have a Safe-Conduct, and that his Books may not be burnt, before he has made his Defence: If he ſhould happen to be convinced by Scripture and ſolid Arguments, that then he would by no means countenance him: But though he and his Cauſe *ſhould be quite baffled*, yet he hoped his Holineſs would require nothing of him but *what might ſtand with his Honour*: In all other things, he ſhould always behave himſelf as became a Prince of the Empire, and an obedient Son of the Church. When the Elector had given in this Anſwer, the Legates, after ſome Conſultation, began to recite how many things the Pope had done and ſuffered, in order to reclaim *Luther*; but that he had not performed any part of his Promiſes: That it was not now in the Power of the Biſhop of *Triers* to determine in this Cauſe, ſince the Pope had recalled that Hearing of it before himſelf, to whom only it belonged to judge in matters of this Nature. The concluſion of their Speech was, That they could not but act conformable to his Holineſs's Decree; and ſo not long after they burn all *Luther*'s Works. This *Aleander* was an *Italian*, born at *Motola* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, very skilful in the *Hebrew* Tongue: He was for ſome time a Reader in the Univerſity of *Paris*; being come to *Rome*, he roſe by degrees, till he was at laſt made Archbiſhop of *Brindin*, and after that created a Cardinal: And *Caracciolus* was alſo promoted to the ſame Dignity.

Luther's Works burnt.

As ſoon as *Luther* heard of this, he called together all the Students that were in *Wittemberg*, and in the Preſence of a great number of Learned Men, he publickly burns the Canon-Law, and the Pope's late publiſhed Decree, on the tenth Day of *December*: And in his next days Lecture, he earneſtly admoniſhes all Perſons, who have any regard to their own Salvation, to ſhake off the Dominion of the Biſhop of *Rome*. In a Treatiſe, which he ſoon after publiſhed, he declares what it was had moved him to do this, acknowledging, That it was with his Conſent, and by his Advice and Means that theſe Books of the Canon-Law were burnt, and that for theſe Reaſons: Firſt, It has been an Ancient Cuſtom, obſerved in all Ages, in this manner to ſuppreſs all pernicious Books, of which there is an Example in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; moreover, it was his Duty, who is baptized into the Faith of Chriſt, and who is a Profeſſor, and publick Preacher of the Goſpel, to oppoſe whatever contradicts the Precepts therein contained; and to inſtruct Men in all Sound and Wholeſome Doctrins, and to purge their Minds from all falſe and erroneous Opinions: That a great many others lay under the ſame Obligations, but

He burns the Canon-Law.

if

1520. if they, out of Ignorance, or by Cowardiſe, neglected to do as they ought, yet that he was not thereby excuſed, unleſs he endeavoured faithfully to diſcharge what he thought in Conſcience was his Duty: That the Pope, and thoſe whoſe Intereſt it is to uphold his Power, were become ſo deſperately Wicked and Obſtinate, that they not only ſtopt their Ears againſt all good Admonitions, but alſo condemned the Doctrin of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and forced Men to the commiſſion of the groſſeſt Impieties: Beſides this, he ſuppoſed thoſe Book-Burners had no Command to act after that manner. As for the Divines of *Cologn* and *Louvain*, who pretended to be authorized by the Emperour to burn his Books, he was now very certain, that that was a meer ſham: In the laſt place, becauſe this burning of his Works, and the Report of it, which would be ſpread all over the Country, might perhaps ſtagger ſome, and cauſe great Doubts in the Minds of many more, who would judge, that ſuch a thing would not be done raſhly, and without ſome very weighty Cauſe: Therefore ſeeing his Adverſaries were now grown paſt cure, he had been forced to burn their Books, thereby to raiſe up, and confirm, and ſtrengthen, the Minds of his Followers. And he entreats all Men, not to ſuffer themſelves to be dazled by the lofty and proud Titles of his Adverſaries, but to take a nearer View of the Matter, by which they would perceive, what Impious and Pernicious Tenets are contained in the Canons and Decretals of the Popes, And that he might make this the more plain to every Man's Underſtanding, he recites ſome Paſſages out of the Canon-Law, which tend manifeſtly to the Reproach of God, the Injury of the Civil Magiſtrate, and ſerve only to uphold and eſtabliſh their own Tyranny: He quoted about thirty of theſe places, by which he ſhewed, That he had juſt and ſufficient Reaſons to burn their Books. Then he challenges them to produce but one good Reaſon to juſtifie their burning his Works. But that ſo few, or none, had for ſome Ages paſt, oppoſed the Power of Antichriſt; he ſays, Therefore came to paſs, becauſe the Scripture had foretold, That he ſhould vanquiſh all his Adverſaries, and be ſtrengthened by the Alliance of Kings: Since then the Prophets and Apoſtles have predicted ſuch dreadful things, one cannot but form to himſelf a very frightful Idea of his Cruelty: That the Conſtitution of Sublunary things was ſuch, that out of the beſt Beginnings ſometimes did ariſe the greateſt Corruptions, when he had proved this by ſome Examples, he applies it to the City of *Rome*, which being loaded with all the greateſt Bleſſings of Heaven, had wholly degenerated from what it was formerly, and with its Poyſonous Contagion infected a great part of the World: That this Ordinance of the Popes was contrary to Law, and all received Cuſtoms, nor were the Uſurpations of that Biſhop any longer to be endured, ſince he declined a fair Tryal, and would not be bound up by any Decree or Judgment whatſoever.

In the former Book we told you, how *Silveſter Prierias* had wrote againſt *Luther*: When this had been anſwered by him very ſharply, *Ambroſe Catarine*, an *Italian*, took up the Cudgels, and publiſhed a Book in Defence of the Pope's Supremacy: To this *Luther* anſwers very fully, and having expounded ſome places in *Daniel*, he teaches, That the Papal Tyranny was there painted out; and that what he has foretold of the Kingdom of Antichriſt, was only truly applicable to the See of *Rome*. This *Catarine* was afterwards made Archbiſhop of *Coſenza*.

BOOK

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK III.

The CONTENTS.

The Emperour is prevailed with by Duke Frederick *to write to* Luther; *who relying upon his Majesty's Letter, as upon a safe Conduct, comes to* Wormes; *there he undauntedly justified what he had written or taught, in presence of the Emperour, and a great Assembly of the Princes, and constantly persevered therein, though he was Curs'd and Excommunicated by the Pope in his Bull* de Coena Domini, *threatned with Banishment by the Emperour, and tamper'd with by the Princes severally, to make him recant his Opinions. The Council of* Constance *is proposed unto him; from whence taking occasion, he speaks of* Wickliff, John Huss, *and* John Zischa *a* Bohemian. *The Divines of* Paris *condemn* Luther's *Books. While a League is making betwixt the* French *King and the* Swisse, Zuinglius *dissuades them from taking Pay or Pensions from any Prince, to serve them in their Wars.* Luther *being Outlawed by the Emperour's Proclamation, retreats into a more private place. The King of* England *also writes against him. Pope* Leo X *dies, and* Adrian *succeeds him.* Solyman *the Magnificent is prosperous in* Hungary. *The Emperour endeavours to suppress Seditions in* Spain, *and makes a League with the King of* England. *The Bishop of* Constance *Persecutes* Zuinglius. *Troubles at* Wittemberg. *The* Anabaptists *rise, which gave occasion to the Diet of* Norimberg. *Thither Pope* Adrian *sent his Brief and Legate.* Solyman *takes* Rhodes. Zuinglius *having set forth the Heads of his Doctrin, is attack'd by the* Papists; *but at length the Reformed Religion is received at* Zurich.

1521. Duke *Frederick* obtains from the Emperor, that *Luther* should have a publick Hearing in the Diet of *Wormes*. *Luther*'s Letter to Duke *Frederick*.

WHile Duke *Frederick* waited upon the Emperour to the Diet of *Wormes*, he procured a Promise of him that he would send for *Luther*, and give him a publick Hearing. *Luther* being informed of this by Letters from Duke *Frederick*, towards the latter end of *January* wrote back an Answer, expressing the great Satisfaction he had, that the Emperour would be pleased to take the Cognizance of that Cause, which was indeed a publick concern, to himself; and that for his part he would do all that he could with a safe Conscience, and without prejudice to the Reformed Religion: Wherefore he entreated the Prince, that he would endeavour to obtain a safe Conduct for him, that his Person might not be in danger: That good and learned Men might be chosen, with whom he should Dispute: That he might not be condemned, before he were convicted of Errour and Impiety: That in the mean time, his Adversaries might desist from that rage of theirs, and not burn his Writings: And that if for the future he should attempt any thing else for the glory of God, and the discovery of Truth, he might have the Emperour's leave to do it: That so soon as the Emperour gave him a safe Conduct, he would not fail to come to *Wormes*; and there so maintain his Cause before impartial Judges, that all Men should be convinced that he had done nothing frowardly, but all for the good of *Christendom*; and chiefly, that for the welfare of *Germany* he had been at this labour and pains, in endeavouring to reclaim his Countrymen from many and most gross Errours, to the purity of the Gospel and true Religion. He moreover prayed, that the Emperour and he would seriously reflect upon that dreadful bondage and miserable condition wherewith *Christendom* was oppressed by the

1521. *Roman* Papacy. Wherefore the Emperour being ſollicited by Duke *Frederick*, wrote to *Luther*, *March* the Sixth: That ſince ſome Books had been publiſhed by him, he had conſulted with the Princes, and was reſolved to hear from himſelf Perſonally what he had to ſay: That therefore he granted him free liberty to come and appear before him, and afterwards to return home; which that he might ſafely do, he had engaged the Publick Faith, as more fully appeared in the ſafe Conduct ſent with his Letter: He therefore commanded him forthwith to ſet out upon his Journey, and not fail to be preſent in the ſpace of One and twenty days: That he ſhould not fear any violence or injury; for that he would take care that he ſhould not ſuffer the leaſt prejudice.

The Emperour's ſafe Conduct to *Martin Luther.*

It hath been an old Cuſtom with the Popes of *Rome*, ſolemnly to Curſe and Excommunicate ſome ſorts of Men, on *Thurſday* in the *Paſſion* Week: As firſt Hereticks, next Pyrates, then thoſe who impoſe new Toll and Cuſtoms, or exact ſuch as are prohibited; thoſe who Falſifie or Counterfeit the Bulls and publick Inſtruments of the Court of *Rome*; who ſupply the *Turks* and *Saracens* with Arms and other Counterband Goods; who hinder the Importation of Corn to *Rome*; who offer violence to any that follow and attend the Court of *Rome*, who invade or damnifie the Poſſeſſions of the Church of *Rome*, or Places thereunto adjoyning, as namely, the City of *Rome*, *Sicily*, *Naples*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, *Tuſcany*, *Spoleto*, *Sabina*, *Aucona*, *Flaminia*, *Campania*, *Bolonia*, *Ferrara*, *Benevento*, *Perugia* and *Avignon*: Some former Popes among Hereticks named the *Garaſians*, *Pateronians*, the Poor Men of *Lyons*, the *Arnoldiſts*, *Speroniſts*, *Wicliffites*, *Huſſites* and *Fratricelli*. But *Leo* X, this year, clapt *Luther* and his Followers in with the reſt, and ſolemnly Curs'd them on *Holy-Thurſday*. This Bull is commonly called *Bulla cœnæ Domini*, the Bull of the Lord's Supper. Which formulary of Excommunication came afterwards into *Luther*'s hands, and he rendred it into *High-Dutch*, beſprinkling it with ſome very Witty and Satyrical Animadverſions.

The Bull *De cœna Domini.*

The Pope Excommunicates the *Lutherans.*

So ſoon as *Luther* received the Letter, he parted from *Wittemberg*, and took his Journey towards *Wormes*, accompanied by the ſame Herald that brought the Letter: But when he was come within a few Miles of the place, many diſſuaded him from proceeding, becauſe his Books had been lately burnt; which they looked upon as a Pre-judging of his Cauſe, and a Condemning of him before a Hearing; they therefore adviſed him to look to himſelf, as being in great danger, and to take warning from what happened to *John Huſs* in the former Age. However, with great reſolution he ſlighted all danger, affirming that that terrour and fear was ſuggeſted to him by the Devil, who ſaw his Kingdom would be ſhaken by an open Confeſſion of the Truth, and in ſo illuſtrious a Place. So then continuing his Journey, he arived at *Wormes* on the Sixteenth of *April*. Next day being ſent for, he appeared before the Emperour, and a great Aſſembly of the Princes; where *Eckius* a Lawyer, by Orders from the Emperour, ſpoke to him to this purpoſe. For two Reaſons, ſaid he, *Martin Luther*, the Emperour, with conſent of all the Princes and States, commanded you to be ſent for; and hath charged me to put the Queſtion to you; firſt, Whether or not you will confeſs that you wrote theſe Books, and acknowledge them for your own? And then, Whether or not you will retract any thing in them, or ſtand to the defence of what you have written? *Luther* had brought along with him a Lawyer of *Wittemberg*, one *Jerome Schurff*, and he craved that the Titles of the Books might be read and produced: Which being done, *Luther* reſumed in ſhort what had been ſaid unto him: And then as to the Books, ſaith he, I confeſs and own them to be mine: But whether I will defend what I have written, that's a Matter of great conſequence; and therefore that I may make a pertinent Anſwer, and do nothing raſhly, I deſire time to conſider on't. The Matter being debated; Although, ſaid he, you might eaſily have underſtood by the Emperor's Letters, the cauſe you were ſent for, and ought therefore to anſwer peremptorily without any delay; yet the Emperour is graciouſly pleaſed to allow you one day for Deliberation, commanding you to appear again at the ſame hour to morrow, and give your poſitive Anſwer by Word of Mouth, and not in Writing. Moſt People began to think, by his asking time to conſider, that he did relent, and would not prove conſtant.

Luther goes to *Wormes.*

Luther pleads his own Cauſe before the Emperor and whole Empire; But asked time to deliberate firſt.

When next day he appeared at the hour appointed; You did not, ſaid *Eckius* to him, anſwer the ſecond Queſtion that was put to you yeſterday, having deſired time to deliberate in, which could have been lawfully denied you; for every one ought to be ſo well perſuaded in his Faith, as to be ready at all times to give a reaſon of it to thoſe who demand the ſame; much more ought not you, who are

Eckius Interrogates *Luther.*

ſo learned and experienc'd a Divine, to have doubted, or have needed time to premeditate an Anſwer: But to let that paſs, What do you now ſay? Will you defend thoſe Writings of yours? Then *Luther* addreſſing himſelf to the Emperour, and the Council of the Princes, and having earneſtly beſought them to hear him patiently; If I offend, ſaid he, moſt Mighty Emperour, and moſt Illuſtrious Princes, either in the impropriety of Expreſſions unworthy of ſuch an Auditory, or in the clowniſhneſs and indecency of Carriage and Behaviour, I humbly beg Pardon for it, and deſire it may be imputed to the courſe of life that now for ſome part of my age I have followed. For the truth is, I have nothing to ſay for my ſelf, but that with uprightneſs and ſimplicity I have hitherto taught thoſe things which I believe do tend to the Glory of God, and Salvation of Men: Yeſterday I anſwer'd as to my Books, and owned them to have been written and publiſhed by me; though if any thing ſhould happen to be added unto them by others, I would by no means acknowledg that for mine. Now as to the ſecond Queſtion that was put to me, thus ſtands the caſe: All the Books that I have written are not of the ſame kind, nor do they treat of the ſame ſubject; for ſome of them relate only to the Doctrin of Faith and Piety, which even my Adverſaries do commend; and ſhould I abjure theſe, I might juſtly be accuſed of neglecting the duty of an honeſt Man: There are others, wherein I cenſure the *Roman* Papacy, and the Doctrin of *Papiſts*, which have plagued *Chriſtendom* with the greateſt of Evils: For who does not ſee how miſerably the Conſciences of Men are rack'd by the Laws and Decrees of Popes? Who can deny but that they have by Craft and Artifice robb'd all Countries, and eſpecially *Germany*; and that even to this day they ſet up no bounds nor period to their Pillage and Rapine? Now if I ſhould retract thoſe Books, I muſt confirm that Tyranny; which would be of far worſe conſequence, when it came to be known that I did it by the Authority of the Emperour and Princes. There is a third ſort of Books, which I have written againſt ſome private Perſons, who have undertaken to defend that Knavery of *Rome*, and to enſure me with Cavils and Calumnies; and in theſe I confeſs I have been more vehement than became me; but I arrogate no Sanctity to my ſelf, nor is it of Life and Manners, but of the true Doctrin that I make Profeſſion; and yet I would not willingly retract any thing in theſe neither; for by ſo doing, I ſhould but open a door to the Inſolence of many: Nevertheleſs I would not be ſo underſtood, as if I vainly pretended that I could not Err: But ſeeing it is the property of Man to Err and be Deceived, I cannot defend my Self and Cauſe better, than by that ſaying of our Saviour's, who being ſmitten by a certain Servant, as he was ſpeaking of his Doctrin, *If* (ſaid he) *I have ſpoken evil, bear witneſs of the evil.* Now if Chriſt, who is all Perfection, refuſed not to hear the Evidence of a wretched Servant againſt him, how much more ought not I, a vile Sinner by nature, and lyable to many Errours, make my appearance when I am called, and hear every Man that would object and witneſs any thing againſt my Doctrin? Wherefore I beg for God's ſake, and all that is Sacred, that if any Man have any thing to object againſt the Doctrin which I profeſs, he would not diſſemble it, but come forth and convince me of Errour by Teſtimonies of Scripture; which if he do, I will not be obſtinate, but ſhall be the firſt to throw my Books with my own hands into the Fire: And this may be an Argument, that I have not been led by raſhneſs or any head-ſtrong paſſion, but have ſufficiently weiged the greatneſs of the Matter, and the troubles that this Doctrin hath occaſion'd. Nay, truly I am exceedingly rejoyced to ſee that the Doctrin I profeſs hath given occaſion to theſe Troubles and Offences; for Chriſt himſelf tells us, That it is the property of the Goſpel, to raiſe grievous Strife and Contentions where-ever it is taught; and that among thoſe very Perſons too, who are moſt cloſely linked together by the Bonds of Nature and Blood. It ought ſeriouſly then to be conſider'd, and maturely thought on (moſt Noble Patriots) what is fit to be decreed; and care had, leſt by condemning the Doctrin which by the Bleſſing of God is now offered unto you, you yourſelves be the cauſe of the greateſt Calamities to *Germany*. Regard ſhould likewiſe be had, that the Government which the young Emperour, who here preſides, hath lately taken upon him, be not reckoned inauſpicious and fatal by Poſterity, through any bad Act or Precedent, that may entail its Inconveniences upon them: For it may be proved by many places of Scripture, that Governments have then been in greateſt danger, when the Affairs of the Publick were managed only by Human Prudence, and mere Secular Councils. Nevertheleſs, I deſign not by what I ſay (moſt Illuſtrious and Prudent

1521.

Luther's Harangne to the Emperor and States of the Empire.

1521. Princes) to prescribe or point out to you, what you are to do; but only to declare the Duty, which I shall always be ready to perform to *Germany*, our native Country, which ought to be dearer unto us than our very Lives: After all, I most earnestly beseech you, to take me into your Protection, and to defend me against the Violence of mine Enemies. When he had made an end of Speaking, *Eckius* looking upon him with a stern Countenance; You answer not to the Purpose, said he, nor is it your part to call again into question, or doubt of what hath been heretofore determined by the Authority of Councils: It is a plain and easie Answer that is demanded of you, Do you approve, and will you defend your Writings? To which *Luther* made answer, Since it is your Command, said he, most mighty Emperour, and most Illustrious Princes, that I should give a plain Answer, I'le obey, and this therefore is my Answer; That unless I be convinced by Testimonies of Holy Scripture and evident Reason, I cannot retract any thing of what I have written or taught; for I will never do that which may wound my own Conscience; neither do I believe the Pope of *Rome* and Councils alone, nor admit of their Authority, for they have often erred, and contradicted one another, and may still err and be deceived. The Princes having considered this Answer; *Eckius* again told him, You answer, said he, *Luther*, somewhat more irreverently than becomes you, and not sufficiently to the purpose neither, when you make a distinction among your Books: But if you would retract those which contain a great part of your Errours, the Emperour would not suffer any Injury to be done to such others as are Orthodox and right. You despise the Decrees of the Council of *Constance*, where many *Germans* famous both for Learning and Virtue, were present, and revive Errours that were condemned therein, requiring to be convinced by Holy Scripture; you do not well, and are very far out of the way; for what the Church hath once condemned, is not to be brought under Dispute again; nor must every private Person be allowed to demand a Reason for every thing; for should that once be granted, that he who opposes and contradicts the Church and Councils, must be convinced by Texts of Scripture, there would never be any end of Controversies. For that Reason, therefore, the Emperour expects to hear from you in plain Terms, What you will do with your Books? I beseech you, said *Luther*, that by your leave, I may preserve a Sound and upright Conscience; I have answered plainly, and have nothing else to say; for unless my Adversaries convince me of my Errour, by true Arguments taken from Scripture, *it is impossible* I can be quiet in mind: Nay, I can demonstrate, that they have erred very often and grosly too; and for me to recede from the Scripture, which is both clear, and cannot err, would be an Act of greatest Impiety. *Eckius* muttered something to the contrary, That it could not be proved, that ever a General Council had erred: But *Luther* declared, That he could and would prove it; and so the matter concluded at that time.

Eckius to *Luther.*

Luther's answer to his Demands.

Eckius's Reply to *Luther.*

Luther's Answer.

The Emperour's Letter to the Princes. Next Day the Emperour wrote to the Princes, assembled in Council, That his Predecessors had professed the Christian Religion, and always obeyed the Church of *Rome*: So that since *Luther* opposed the same, and persisted obstinately in his Opinion, his Duty required, that following the Steps of his Ancestors, he should both defend the Christian Religion, and also succour the Church of *Rome*: That therefore, he would put *Luther* and his Adherents to the Ban of the Empire, and make use of other proper Remedies for the extinguishing that Fire: However, that he would make good the Safe-Conduct he had granted him, and that he might return Home with Safety. This Letter of the Emperours was long and much debated in the Assembly of the Princes; and some there were, as it was reported, who following the Decree and Pattern of the Council of *Constance*, thought that the Publick Faith was not to be observed to him: But *Lewis* the Elector *Palatine*, and others also, were said to have vigourously withstood that Resolution, affirming, That such a thing would lye as an eternal Stain and Disgrace upon *Germany*. Wherefore most were of Opinion, that not only the Publick Faith and Promise should be kept to him; but also that he should not be rashly condemned, because it was a Matter of great moment, whatever should be decreed by the Emperour, whom at that Age they perceived to be incited and exasperated against *Luther* by the Agents and Ministers of *Rome*.

And the Princes Disagreement about it.

A Committee of the States for treating with *Luther.* Some Days after, the Bishop of *Treves* appointed *Luther* to come to him the 24 of *April*: There were present at that Congress *Joachim* Elector of *Brandenburg*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, the Bishop of *Ausburg*, and some other great Men: And when *Luther* came, conducted by the Emperour's Herald, and was introduced

by

by the Biſhop's Chaplain; *Vey*, a Lawer of *Baden*, ſpake to him to this Purpoſe; Theſe noble Princes have ſent for you, *Martin Luther*, ſaid he, not to enter into any Diſpute, but to treat friendly with you, and to admoniſh you privately of thoſe Things, which ſeem chiefly to concern your ſelf; for they have obtained leave from the Emperour to do ſo: And in the firſt place, as to Councils, it is poſſible, that at ſome Times they have decreed things different, but never contrary; and granting they had err'd, yet their Authority is not therefore ſo fallen, that it ſhould be lawful for every Private Man to trample upon it: Your Books, if Care be not taken, will be the cauſe of great Troubles; and many interpret that which you have publiſhed of Chriſtian Liberty, according to their own Inclinations and Affections, that with greater licentiouſneſs they may do what they pleaſe: This Age is far more Corrupt than former Ages have been; and therefore requires that Men ſhould act more circumſpectly alſo. There are ſome of your Works, that cannot be condemned; but it is to be feared, That the Devil hath ſet you upon it; in the mean time, *to publiſh others inconſiſtent with* Religion and Piety, that ſo all your *Books might be promiſcuouſly condemned together*: For thoſe which you have *publiſhed* laſt, are a ſufficient Proof, that the Tree is to be known by the Fruit, and not by the Bloſſom. You are not ignorant, how carefully the Scripture warns us to beware of the Devil by Day, and of the Arrow that flyeth by Night; that Enemy of Mankind ceaſeth not to lay Snares for us, and under a fair Pretext, many times, entraps us and miſleads us into Error: You ought to think, therefore, both of your own Salvation, and other Mens too, and conſider if it be fitting that thoſe, whom Chriſt by his own Death hath redeemed from everlaſting Death, ſhould by your Fault, Books and Sermons, be ſeduced from the Church, and ſo periſh again; from the Church, I ſay, whoſe Dignity all Men ought reverently to acknowledge: For in Human Affairs there is nothing better than the Obſervation of the Laws; and as no State nor Government can ſubſiſt without Laws, ſo alſo, unleſs we religiouſly maintain the moſt Holy Decrees of our Fore-fathers, nothing will be more troubleſome than the State of the Church, which of all others ought to be the moſt calm and ſetled. Theſe Noble and Virtuous Princes, here preſent, out of the ſingular Love and Affection, they bear to the Publick, and particularly alſo for your own well-fare, have thought fit to admoniſh you of theſe things; for without doubt, if you obſtinately perſiſt in your Opinions, and yield in *nothing, the Emperour, as he hath plainly enough already intimated his Reſolution, will baniſh you the Empire, and not ſuffer you to have any footing within the Bounds of Germany*; ſo that it concerns you ſeriouſly to reflect upon your own Condition.

1521. *Vey*'s Speech to *Luther*, before the Committees.

To theſe things *Luther* made Anſwer; For the Care and Concern ye have for me (moſt Noble Princes) I give you moſt hearty Thanks: And indeed, for ſuch Illuſtrious Perſons, to vouchſafe to take this Pains and Trouble for ſo mean a Man as I, is an Act of extraordinary Condeſcenſion. But now, as to Councils, I am far from finding Fault with all; yet cannot but blame that of *Conſtance*, and have very juſt Cauſe ſo to do. *Huſs* defined the Church to be the Congregation of God's Elect; and both this Doctrin, and that ſaying of his, *That he believed the Holy Church*, were condemned by the Prelates of that Council, who themſelves deſerved rather to have been condemned: For what he ſaid was Orthodox and Chriſtian; I will therefore ſuffer any thing; yea, ſooner loſe my Life, than forſake the clear Rule of the Word of God, for we muſt obey God rather than Men: And as to the Scandal, which is objected unto me, I neither can, nor ought to be, accountable for it; for there is a great Difference betwixt the Scandals of Charity, and thoſe of Faith, the firſt conſiſting in Life and Manners, which by all means are to be avoided; whilſt the other ariſing from the Word of God, are not at all to be regarded; for Truth, and the Will of our Heavenly Father, ought not to be diſſembled, though the whole World ſhould be offended thereat. The Scripture calleth Chriſt himſelf, *a Work of Offence*, and that equally belongs to all who preach the Goſpel. I know we ought to obey the Laws and Magiſtrates; I have always taught the People ſo, and my Writings bear witneſs, how much I aſcribe to the Dignity of the Laws. But again, as to Eccleſiaſtical Decrees, the Reaſon is quite different; for if the Word of God were purely taught, if the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church, diſcharged their Duty, as Chriſt and his Apoſtles have enjoyned them, there would be no need of laying that hard and intolerable Yoke of Human Laws, upon the Minds and Conſciences of Men: I am not ignorant neither, that the Scripture admoniſhes us, not to truſt our own Judgment; which is a true ſaying, and I ſhall be willing to comply with it, and not to do any thing obſtinately, provided only

Luther's Anſwer to the Commiſſioners.

I may

1521. I may have Leave to profeſs the Doctrin of the Goſpel. Having ſo ſaid, he was ordered to withdraw; and after ſome Conſultation, *Vey*, among other things, began to exhort him, to ſubmit his Books to the Sentence of the Emperour and Princes. Why not? ſaid he, I will never ſeem to decline the Judgment of the Emperour and States of the Empire, nor of no mans elſe, provided they take for their Guide, the Scripture and Word of God, which ſpeaketh ſo plainly for me; that unleſs I be thereby convicted of Errour, I cannot change my Opinion: For S. *Paul* commandeth us, *Not to believe, even an Angel, coming from Heaven, if he ſhould preach another Doctrin.* Wherefore I humbly beg of you, That you would intercede for me with the Emperour, that I may be ſuffered to live with a good Conſcience; and if I can but obtain that, I ſhall be ready to do any thing. Then ſaid the Elector of *Brandenburg* to him, Is this your meaning then, That you will not ſubmit, unleſs you be convinced by Holy Scripture? It is Sir, anſwered *Luther*, or elſe by moſt evident Reaſons. Wherefore, when the Council was broke up, the Archbiſhop of *Treves* called him to him, and in preſence of ſome of his Domeſticks, made *Eckius* the Lawyer again admoniſh him; but he having pleaded much for the *Roman* Papacy, could gain no ground upon him; and ſo no more was done at that Time. The next day after, the Elector of *Treves* plyed him again, urging him to ſubmit, without Condition, to the Judgment of the Emperour and Princes; but that was in vain. In the Afternoon, again, ſome who were ſent for to the Lodgings of the Elector of *Treves*, put it to him, That he would ſubmit, at leaſt, to the next General Council. To this he agreed, provided the Controverſie ſhould be managed according to the Rule of Holy Scripture. Afterwards the Elector of *Treves*, had a Conference with him in private, all the Company being removed, and asked his Judgment, How that grievous and dangerous Evil could be remedied? The beſt Counſel that could be given, ſaid he, was that which *Gamaliel* gave the Scribes and Phariſees, *Not to fight againſt God.* In fine, when the Biſhop could not prevail, he courteouſly diſmiſſed him, promiſing to take care, That he ſhould have a Safe-Conduct for returning Home. Not long after, *Eckius* the Lawyer came to him, by Order of the Biſhop, and told him; Since, ſaid he, you have rejected the Admonitions of the Emperour and Princes, the Emperour will henceforth, do what he ought in Duty: And now he commands you immediately to depart, allowing you one and twenty Days to return home in: He will alſo inviolably obſerve the Safe-Conduct he gave you; but charges you not to teach the People by Word nor Writing, as you are upon your Way homeward. Being thus diſmiſſed, he gave Glory to God, and *April* 26 departed, being conducted by the ſame Herald who brought him before.

Luther ſubmits his Works to a General Council.

Luther returns Home, accompanied by a Herald.

He wrote to the Emperor upon the Road; and after he had in few words reſum'd all that had paſt, he begg'd of His Imperial Majeſty, That ſince he had been alwaies hitherto, and ſtill was willing to ſubmit to Conditions of Peace and Agreement, and deſired no more but that the Controverſie might be determined by any impartial Judge, according to the Authority of holy Scripture, he would be pleaſed to Protect him againſt the violence and fury of his adverſaries: That 'twas not his private Cauſe, but the publick Concern of the whole World, and eſpecially of *Germany*, whoſe ſafety and welfare he preferr'd before his own life. To the ſame purpoſe alſo he wrote to the reſt of the Princes and States; and that whenſoever it ſhould ſeem good to the Emperor and them, he would come upon ſafe conduct, whitherſoever they pleaſed, and debate his cauſe before impartial and unſuſpected Judges.

Luther's Letters to the Emperour and States.

The Hiſtory of the Council of *Conſtance*.

Whereas in this work, there is frequent mention made of *Huſs*, the Council of *Conſtance*, and the *Bohemians*, I'll give the Reader a ſhort account of the whole matter. In the year of our Lord 1393, there was one *John Wickliff* in *England*, who wrote many things againſt the *Roman* Papacy, which were afterwards carried into *Bohemia*. At that time there was a famous Univerſity in *Prague*; and therein flouriſhed *John Huſs*, a Divine by profeſſion: This man Preach'd up *Wickliffs* Doctrin, as holy and ſaving, and diſperſed it far and near. But being accuſed of this, he was cited to appear before Pope *Alexander* V. he by his Proctors alledged cauſes why he could not come: And King *Wenceſlaus* alſo interceded for him, deſiring the Pope to ſend Legats into *Bohemia* to try the matter there; but that could not be obtained. *Huſs* being therefore condemned for an Heretick, publiſhed a Book, wherein he appealed from the Pope to Chriſt as Judge. The Church of *Rome* at that time was in a very troubleſom State. For the Cardinals being divided into factions, had choſen three Anti-Popes, *Gregory* XII, *Benet* XIII, and *John* XXIII, which highly

Huſs condemned for an Heretick, firſt by the Pope.

diſpleaſed

diſpleaſed other Kings as well as the Emperor *Sigiſmund*; who having ſolicited Pope *John*, he at length, called the Council of *Conſtance*: Now *Sigiſmund* who was the Brother of King *Wenceſlaus*, called *John Huſs* thither, and in *October* 1414, ſent him a ſafe conduct in due form. Whereupon *Huſs* being accompanied by ſome perſons of quality, came to *Conſtance*, on the third of *November*; but three weeks after, being called to a private Conference with the Pope and Cardinals, he was detained priſoner. The Emperor *Sigiſmund* was abſent then, and being inform'd of the matter, was highly diſpleaſed, and came thither: But the Papiſts urging, that Faith was not to be kept with Hereticks, he not only remitted the offence, though the *Bohemians* importun'd him to the contrary, and demanded performance of the ſafe conduct, but was alſo the firſt that ſpake bitterly againſt him. In fine, on the ſixth of *July* following, the Council condemn'd him as an Heretick and Seditious Perſon, and ordered the Books he had written, to be burnt. Being thus condemn'd, he was delivered over to the Emperor, and burnt; his aſhes being afterwards caſt into the *Rhine*, that no relick of him might remain. After him *Jerome* of *Prague*, his Diſciple and Hearer, was put to Death in the ſame manner. In this Council, beſides the Emperour, were the Ambaſſadours of many Kings, three Electoral Princes of the Empire, *Lewis* Prince *Palatine*, *Rodulph* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Frederick* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and a vaſt number of the other Princes, three Patriarchs, of *Aquileia*, *Antioch* and *Conſtantinople*; eight and twenty Cardinals, an hundred and fifty five Biſhops, very many Divines and Lawyers, *Italians*, *Germans*, *French*, *Engliſh*, *Hungarians* and *Polonians*. The Doctrin of *Wickliff* was here alſo condemned, and a Decree made that his Body ſhould be taken up and burnt in *England*. It was beſides Decreed that none but Prieſts ſhould receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kinds; and that all others ſhould be content with one kind; which had been impugned by *Huſs*. A Law was alſo made, that Faith ſhould not be kept with Hereticks or perſons ſuſpected of Hereſie, though they ſhould come under the Emperours Safe-Conduct, to be tryed in Council. Laſtly, the three Popes were degraded, and by common Conſent *Martin* V choſen. When the News of the Execution of *Huſs* and *Jerome* was brought into *Bohemia*, it occaſioned a terrible Commotion, and afterwards a very cruel and bloody War, under the Conduct of *John Ziſcha*, ſo that *Sigiſmond* was forced to beg the Aſſiſtance of the Empire; but the greateſt Cruelty was exerciſed againſt the Prieſts, in hatred to the Pope; whom they Curſed, whoſe Dominion they ſhook off, and embraced the Doctrin of *Huſs*, adoring his Memory.

1521.

And then by the Council.

He and *Jerome* of *Prague* burnt.

Wickliff's Doctrine condemned, and his Body taken up and burnt.

Much about this Time, the Divines of *Paris* condemned *Luther*'s Books, and out of that which is entitled, *Of the Captivity of* Babylon, and ſome others alſo; they gathered certain Heads; as of the Sacraments, the Canons of the Church, the Equality of Works, Vows, Contrition, Abſolution, Satisfaction, Purgatory, Free-Will, the immunity of the Clergy, Councils, the Puniſhments of Hereticks, Philoſophy, School-Divinity, and many more of the like ſort; admoniſhing the Reader, and all who profeſſed the Name of Chriſt, to beware of ſuch pernicious Doctrins: For that it was the Cuſtom of Hereticks, to propoſe ſpecious Matters at firſt, which ſinking once down into the Mind, could hardly ever be got out again; but that under thoſe alluring Words, preſent Poyſon lay hid: Then they reckoned up in Order the Hereticks of the ſeveral Ages; and among theſe *Wickliff*, *John Huſs*, and laſt of all *Luther*, whom they mightily blamed, as an arrogant and raſh Man, that he ſhould imagine himſelf alone, to know more than all others, contemn the Judgments of all the Holy Fathers and Interpreters of all Councils and Schools; and that he ſhould reject the Cuſtom and Conſent of the Church, obſerved for ſo many Ages; as if it were credible, That Chriſt would have left all that while, his only Spouſe, to wander in ſo great Darkneſs of Errour; but that it was the uſual way with Hereticks to wreſt Scripture to their own Senſe. Having then reckoned up ſome Books written by him, they ſhew what Hereticks *Luther* imitated in ſuch and ſuch Opinions; and, that ſeeing it properly belonged to their Office and Profeſſion to ſtifle ſpringing Hereſies, as much as lay in their Power; they had therefore diligently peruſed his Books, that they might direct all Men how to have a Care of them; and that after much Reading of his Writings, they found that his Doctrin was pernicious, deſerving to be burnt, and that he himſelf ought to be compelled to renounce and retract the ſame.

The *Pariſian* Divines condemn *Luther*'s Books.

Melanchton afterward anſwered this Decree of theirs, and ſo did *Luther* too, but in a jocoſe drolling way. Now the Divines of *Paris* reckon themſelves to be the chief in that kind, of all *Europe*: They have two Colleges, the *Sorbonne*, and College

Melanchton and *Luther* anſwer the *Sorboniſts*.

1521. lege of *Navarre*, and thither flock Students almoſt from all Countries. The Bachelours of Divinity are exerciſed in frequent Diſputations all the Summer time; and muſt for the ſpace of twelve Hours anſwer the Arguments of all Opponents. Here are ſtrange Bickerings, and for the moſt part about matters, which are either Frivolous, or above the Reach of Human Underſtanding; loud Bawlings and fierce Contentions often happen, about ſuch Trifles, and are commonly ended by the hiſſing or ſtamping of the Auditors, when one of the Diſputants grows either Silly or Tedious. The Doctors of Divinity ſtand without, and hear through a Grate, and are called *Magiſtri noſtri*, our Maſters: Theſe are the Cenſurers of all ſorts of Doctrin, and are, in a manner abſolute, without Appeal; for no Man dares to publiſh any thing in Divinity, without their Licence: But moſt of them follow their Eaſe, and ſeem to aſpire to that Degree, that they may lead a quiet Life, and bear Rule over others. There are, indeed, ſome excellent Wits amongſt them, but others again, that deſerve to be ſent to School again, and whipt into better Breeding.

The *Switzers* make Leagues with the Pope and *French* King;

Pope *Leo* had already made a League with the *Switzers*, that if at any time he had occaſion for them, he ſhould have their Aid: The *French* King alſo, who had concluded a Peace with them, as hath been ſaid in the firſt Book, was ſolliciting them for a League, and to aſſiſt him with Soldiers; but *Zuinglius* did all he could to diſſwade them from this in his Sermons; he told them, That it was not only ſordid, but an impious thing alſo, to ſerve any Foreign Power for Money; and having ſhewed them the many Inconveniencies thereof, he exhorted them to tread in the Steps, and follow the Frugality of their Anceſtors, who minded their Cattle and Husbandry, and had done many famous Exploits; but all this was in vain, for the Nobility being prevailed with by Importunity, Gifts and Promiſes, perſuaded the Common People; ſo that all the Cantons of *Switzerland* made a League with him this Year, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with Men; except thoſe of *Zurich*, who being wrought upon by *Zuinglius*, refuſed it, and bound themſelves by Oath, not to accept Preſent or Penſion from any Prince, to ſerve him in his Wars. The King had afterwards a Son born, who was chriſtned by the Name of *Charles*, the *Suitzers* by their Ambaſſadours, ſtanding as Godfathers. Now the whole State of *Suitzerland*, conſiſts at preſent of thirteen Cantons; which are *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Uri*, *Switz*, *Underwalt*, *Zug*, *Claris*, *Baſil*, *Solothurne*, *Friburg*, *Schafhauſen* and *Appenzil*. Theſe are joyned together by Oath, in a moſt ſtrict League, have equal Rights and Priviledges, and govern the State as a Commonwealth. The firſt that entered into this League, were the Cantons of *Uri*, *Switz* and *Underwalt*, when having expelled the Nobles, who oppreſſed them, they ſtood up for their Liberty; and this was in the Year 1315. To theſe afterwards joyned *Lucerne*, next *Zug*; in the ſixth place, *Zurich*, and then *Berne*: *Baſil* was almoſt the laſt that entred into the Union. There were aſſociated to them afterwards, but not under the ſame Laws, nor in ſo ſtrict a conjunction of Friendſhip, the *Griſons*, *Sioneſe*, *Rhinwalders*, the *Haut Valais*, thoſe of *Sangall*, the *Mulhauſians*, and other neighbouring People.

But the Canton of *Zurick* refuſed the League.

The Emperour by a publick Decree Proſcribes *Luther*.

The Emperour being now paſt the one and twentieth Year of his Age, on *May* 8, by a Publick Decree put *Luther* in the Ban of the Empire. He begins his Edict with Conſiderations taken from his own Perſon; That it was his Office not only to ſettle and enlarge the Empire, but to provide alſo, that no Sect nor Hereſie ſpring up within the Bounds of the ſame: That his Anceſtors had carefully beſtirred themſelves in that; and that therefore it was much more reaſonable, that he, whom God had bleſt with ſo large and ample Dominions, ſhould imitate their Example; for that if he ſhould not reſtrain the Hereſies lately broken forth in *Germany*, he would both wound his own Conſcience, and in the beginning now of his Reign, bring a great Diſhonour upon his Name and Dignity: That all Men, without doubt, knew what impious Doctrins *Luther* for ſome Years had divulged: That Pope *Leo* X, to whom the recognizance of thoſe things properly belonged, being moved therewith, had eſſayed all ways of reclaiming him, and had at firſt uſed moſt gentle Remedies; but that when ſuch Courſes could not prevail, he had proceeded to theſe Methods, which are preſcribed by the Ancient Canons and Decrees, and had aſſigned him a certain time to abjure his Errour in, under a ſevere Penalty, if he obeyed not; but that he was ſo far from obeying, that he publiſhed more pernicious Books ſtill: That the Pope having ſeriouſly preſſed him, the Emperour, to perform his Duty to the Church, and put a ſtop to the Proceedings of a hurtful Man, had publiſhed that Bull of the Popes againſt him: But that he grew no better, for all that; nay, on the contrary, that he began to rage, and publiſh Books full of ſpiteful Reproaches concerning nothing almoſt, but Seditions, Wars, Diſcords, fire and Sword,

Sword, Murther and Rapin: That he contemned the Authority of the Fathers and Councils, and chiefly of the Council of *Conſtance*; caſting ſuch Reproaches upon it, as not only reflected upon the holy Men of that Age, but alſo upon the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, and the Senate of the Princes: That his outrageous malice could not be ſufficiently expreſſed: That it ſeemed not to be a Man who acted ſo, but rather a Devil in Man's likeneſs: That it heartily grieved and troubled him to think on theſe things, for the love he bore to the Publick, and the Papal Dignity: That therefore leſt he might ſeem to ſuffer any thing unworthy the Vertue of his Anceſtors, or inconſiſtent with his own Dignity and Charge, he had called a Diet of all the Princes and States of the Empire, and had with joynt Councils ſeriouſly weighed and examined the whole Matter: And that though the Laws provide that an open Heretick ſo often condemned and caſt out of the Communion of the Church, ſhould not be heard; yet that there might be no place left for cavilling, he had ſent his Letters and a Herald with a ſafe Conduct for him, that he might perſonally give Account of his actings. (*Then he reckons up in order, all that paſt at Wormes, both publickly and privately, as it hath been mentioned before.*) And becauſe he obſtinately defended his Errours, he cited the Popes Bull, *which*, he ſaid, he would ſee put in Execution. Wherefore he condemned and baniſh'd him, as an Author of Schiſm, and an obſtinate and notorious Heretick. He alſo charged all Men, under ſevere Penalties, to look upon him as ſuch; and that the One and twenty days which he had allowed him to return in, being expired, every one ſhould endeavour to apprehend him, and bring him into lawful Cuſtody; Baniſhing in the ſame manner, all that ſhould any ways aid or aſſiſt him. He ordered all his Books alſo to be deſtroyed, appointing a ſevere Penalty for Stationers that ſhould meddle with them for the future: And this Decree, which he ſaid was made with the common Conſent and Advice of the Princes and States, he commanded to be inviolably obſerved by all. It was ſaid that there were but a few who had a hand in framing this Decree: For ſome of the Electors acknowledged that they were not privy to it, as ſhall be ſaid of the Elector of *Cologn* in its proper place. The Elector of *Mentz*, who is Chancellor of the Empire, had a great ſtroak in Matters of that nature. However it be, the Emperor by this Sentence procured to himſelf much Favour; ſo that the Pope fell quite off from the Friendſhip of *France*, and made a League with him, as you ſhall hear by and by. 1521.

Luther conveyed out of the way.

After the Publication of this Sentence, Duke *Frederick* appointed ſome Gentlemen, *in whom he could moſt confide, to convey Luther* into ſome more private place, remote from the concourſe of People, that ſo he might be out of danger; and this was performed with great ſecrecy and diligence. In this his Retirement, he wrote ſeveral Letters to his Friends, and ſome Books alſo, as one for aboliſhing private Maſs, which he dedicated to his Brethren the *Auguſtine* Friers: Another concerning Monaſtick Vows, dedicated to his Father *John Luther*; and one againſt *James Latome*, a Divine of *Lovain*: He exhorted the *Auguſtines* to Courage and Conſtancy, telling them that they had a ſtrong ſupport in Duke *Frederick*, who was a wiſe Prince, a lover of Truth, and moſt averſe from raſh Judging. They of all others were the firſt that began to leave off ſaying of Maſs, and therefore it was that *Luther* compoſed for them the Book we now mentioned, that he might both encourage the weak, and confirm the ſtrong, earneſtly exhorting them to perſevere in that purpoſe. Duke *Frederick* hearing of this, and fearing that ſome great diſturbance might thereupon enſue, commanded that the Opinion of the whole Univerſity ſhould be taken about the matter, and brought to him. For that purpoſe the Univerſity choſe four of their Members, *Juſtus Jonas*, *Philip Melancthon*, *Nicholas Amſtorff*, and *John Dulce*: Theſe having had a Conference with the *Auguſtines*, made a report of what their reſolution was; and at the ſame time declared how great injury was done to the Lord's Supper: Wherefore they prayed the Duke that he would aboliſh that great Impiety, not in one Church only, but in all places alſo; and reſtore the true uſe of the Lord's Supper, according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and the Practice of his Apoſtles, without regard to the Reproaches and Calumnies of Gain-ſayers: For that it was the courſe of this World, that he who would undertake the defence of the true Doctrin of the Goſpel, muſt ſuffer many things: That he ought to make it his chief ſtudy reverently to acknowledg that ſingular Mercy wherewith God had now bleſt him, in making the Light of the Goſpel to ſhine among the People. To theſe things Duke *Frederick* made Anſwer, That he would omit nothing that might conduce to the propagating of Piety; but that ſince the matter was very difficult, he did not think it fit to make too much haſte; and

The *Auguſtines* of *Wittemberg* forbear ſaying of Maſs,

And give Duke *Frederick* their Reaſons for ſo doing.

Duke *Frederick*'s Anſwer about aboliſhing the Maſs.

1521. that hardly any thing could be effected by them, who were ſo few in number: But that if the Matter were grounded on Scripture, many would certainly come over to them; and then ſuch a change as might ſeem to be pious and neceſſary, would more conveniently be brought about: That for his own part, who was ignorant of the Scripture, he could not tell when that accuſtomed Rite of the Maſs, which they condemned, was firſt introduced into the Church; and when that which the Apoſtles are ſaid to have followed, was left off: That all Churches generally; and Colleges, wer founded for the Maſs, being endowed for that end with great Revenues; ſo that ſhould Maſs be now aboliſh'd, the Goods and Lands heretofore given for that uſe, would be taken from the right Poſſeſſors: That any Man might ſee what diſturbance and confuſion that would breed: And that ſince they had referred the whole Affair to him, it was his advice to them, That having conſulted the reſt of the good and learned Men of the Univerſity, they would proceed in the matter moderately, and deviſe with themſelves ſuch means as might be proper for keeping Peace and Piety among them. The Commiſſioners having conſulted together, made their Reply, and again adviſe him to abrogate the Maſs, alledging that it might be done without Tumult; and that though it could not, yet that which was juſt and good, ought not therefore to be omitted: That their being fewer in number, was no new thing; ſince that from the beginning of the World, the greateſt part of Mankind had always oppoſed the true Religion: That none would accept and approve the right way of adminiſtring and receiving the Lord's Supper, but they to whom it ſhould be given from above: That Golleges were founded of old not for Maſs, but for the pious Education of Youth; and theſe Poſſeſſions given for the Maintenance of the Maſters and Scholars, and for the Uſe of the Poor; which Cuſtom had laſted almoſt to the time of St. *Bernard*; but that about Four hundred years ſince, this trafficking about Maſſes came in play, which now ought to be utterly aboliſhed: That though it were of ancient date, yet ſuch a Profanation was not to be tolerated: And that if Stirs and Commotions ſhould ariſe from thence, it was not to be imputed to the Religion, but to the Wickedneſs of the Adverſaries, who for Gain ſake, withſtand the Truth againſt their own Conſcience: That however, Men ought not to regard ſuch inconveniences, but to proceed abſolutely, whatever Tumults the World might raiſe; for that all theſe things had been long ago foretold by Chriſt.

The Marriage of the Archduke *Frederick.*

This year the Emperor's Brother *Ferdinand*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, married the Lady *Ann*, Siſter to *Lewis* King of *Hungary*.

King *Henry* of *England* writes againſt *Luther.*

Among ſo many Adverſaries as *Luther* had, *Henry* VIII, King of *England*, oppoſed him alſo in Writing; and in the firſt place refuted his Opinion about Indulgences, and defended the Papacy: Afterwards he cenſured all his Diſputations concerning the Sacraments of the Church, taking occaſion of writing from the Book of the *Captivity of Babylon*. When this came to *Luther*'s knowledge, he wrote a moſt bitter Anſwer, declaring, That in defence of this Cauſe, he valued no Man's Honour nor Greatneſs. However Pope *Leo* gave the King an honourable Title for this, calling him *Defender of the Faith*.

The Emperor's War with the *French* King.

How *Charles* of *Auſtria*, came to be choſen Emperor, hath be ſhewn before: But ſome private Quarrels happening afterwards betwixt Him and the *French* King, it came to a War at laſt, though firſt on the Frontiers of *Spain*, and in *Flanders*. The *French* held at that time *Parma* and *Piacenza* in *Italy*; which Pope *Leo* was much troubled at: But when more lately they had attempted *Regio*, he fell quite off from them, and made a League with the Emperour; whereof the chief Conditions were, That the Dignity of the Church of *Rome* ſhould be defended: That what the *French* had lately taken from it, ſhould be recovered: That *Francis Sforza*, who was then a baniſhed Man, ſhould be reſtored to his Inheritance, and the Dukedom of *Milan*. Having therefore joyned their Forces, under the Command of *Proſpero Colonna*, and *Ferdinand d'Aval* Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, they recovered *Parma* and *Piacenza* from the *French*, took the City of *Milan*, and beat the Enemy quite out of *Lombardy*, after they had been ſix whole years Maſters of it.

Pope *Leo* dies.

Not long after Pope *Leo* had the News of this overthrough, he Died, not without the Suſpicion of Poyſon. He was the Son of *Laurence de Medices*, and had to his Great-Grandfather *Coſmo*, who raiſed that Family to its Splendour. At Thirteen years of age *Leo* was made Cardinal by *Innocent* VIII. He lived not above Seven and forty years; and had for Succeſſor *Adrian* VI, a *Hollander*, who had been the Emperor's Tutor.

Adrian ſucceeds *Leo.*

Much about the ſame time, *Solyman* lately made Emperor of the *Turks*, undertook a War againſt *Lewis* King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; who had married the Lady *Mary*,

Mary, the Emperor's Sister; and having gained many Towns and Castles, he took *Belgrade*, the Bulwark of *Hungary*, situated at the Confluent of the *Danube* and *Save*, which he fortified, and put a strong Garison into. 1521.

The *Turk* takes *Belgrade*.

While the Emperor spent his time in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, there happened great Seditions in *Spain*: Therefore to prevent the growing evil in time, having first setled a Council and Supreme Court of Judicature, to administer Justice, and in his absence, to order the Affairs of the Empire, he returned into *Spain* by Sea: But before his departure, the States of the Empire had met at *Norimberg*; among other things, to consult about the *Turkish* War; and the Emperor having emitted a Proclamation towards the end of *March*, enjoyned chiefly the Churchmen to pray to God, say Masses, and make Processions for the Publick Safety, and for atoning the Sins of Men. Now the end and result of this Diet was, that on the First of *May* after, they granted Aid to King *Lewis* against the *Turk*. The Emperor upon his return home, visited once more the King of *England*; and to secure him for a firm Friend *against the French* King, he promised to pay him yearly an Hundred and *Thirty three* Thousand Ducats. For the *French* King, by Agreement, paid so *much* yearly to the King of *England*, and his Sister *Mary* Queen Dowager of *France*; so that unless he might be saved harmless, the King of *England* would attempt nothing against him. This Treaty was concluded betwixt them *June* the Thirteenth, at *Windsor*. For a greater Confirmation of their Friendship also, it was agreed, that the Emperor should Marry his own Cousin-german, *Mary* the King of *England*'s Daughter, a young Lady then of Seven years of age, when she should come to Maturity: And that he who failed in performance of this, should pay the other Four hundred thousand Crowns. In the mean time the *French* King bends all his Force to the recovery of what he had lost in *Italy*.

The Emperor returns to *Spain*, to appease Seditions there.

1522.

A Diet at *Norimberg*.

A League betwixt the Emperor and King of *England*.

Mary the King of *England*'s Daughter, betrothed to the Emperor.

Of *Zuinglius* you have heard before. Now *Hugh* Bishop of *Constance*, to whose Spiritual Jurisdiction *Zurich* belonged, addressed himself to the Senate, acquainting them with what Complaints he heard of *Zuinglius*, who had started a new kind of Religion: But *Zuinglius* being called before the Senate, defended his own Cause, and satisfied them. Afterwards the Bishop wrote to the College of Canons, of whom *Zuinglius* was one; and having said many things of new Teachers who disturbed the Peace of the Church, he entreats them to take heed and beware of such: And because Pope *Leo*, and then the Emperor, had by most severe Bulls and Decrees condemned *that Doctrin*, he admonishes them to obey the same, and not to make any Changes or Innovations, *till they whom it concerned* should by common advice and consent determin what was to be done: This was in the Month of *May*. After this Letter had been read in the Convocation, *Zuinglius*, against whom it was written, wrote an Answer to the Bishop, That he knew very well who they were that put him upon these things, and advised him not to follow their Counsels; for that Truth was invincible, and could not be resisted: But he wrote a longer Letter afterwards to those whom he supposed to be the Authors of that Epistle. After this, *Zuinglius*, and some others there joyned with him, wrote a Letter to the Bishop, wherein they prayed him not to act any thing against the Doctrin of the Gospel; nor to suffer any longer that filthy and scandalous life of the Priests, but allow them Marriage. To the same purpose *Zuinglius* wrote to all the *Switzers*, and counselled them not to obstruct the course of the Reformed Religion, nor any ways molest the Married Priests; for that the Devil was the Author of that single Life of theirs: That it was a Custom in some of their own Cantons, when they received any new Curate, to enjoyn him to keep a Concubine, lest he should attempt upon the Chastity of other Mens Wives: That that Custom was laugh'd at by many, but that it was prudently established at that time, and in that darkness and depravation of Religion: And that what they did then as to Concubines, ought now to be put in practice as to lawful Wives.

The Letter of the Bishop of *Constance* to the Canons of *Zurich*.

Zuinglius writes to the Bishop of *Constance*,

And to the *Switzers*.

The Custom of some Cantons about Priests Concubines.

Luther in the mean time having absconded, as we said, for some Months, returned to *Wittemberg*; and because he had not been recalled by Duke *Frederick*, fearing that he might take it ill at his hands, he wrote to him in the Month of *March*, assuring him that it was out of no Ill-will or Contempt of his Authority, that he was returned without his Command: That he was sensible enough, some would not fail to represent it as a dangerous thing to his Highness, in regard that he stood Outlawed and Condemned both by the Pope and Emperor, whose Power was not to be slighted: That he had indeed seriously reflected on these things before hand; but that for three chief Reasons he had been moved to do what he did. First, That he had been earnestly solicited by several Letters from the Church of *Wittemberg*, to

Luther returns to *Wittemberg*,

And by Letters aquaints Duke *Frederick* with the Reasons of it.

1522. turn; and that they were a People whom God had committed to his Charge, and therefore could not be neglected: That many, without doubt, ſpoke bitterly and reproachfully againſt this Reformation of Religion; but that he was certainly convinced that this his Profeſſion was moſt acceptable unto God: That, in the next place, through the craft and ſubtilty of the Devil, who could not endure this Light of the Goſpel, many troubles, in his abſence, had been raiſed in his Church; which unleſs he were there to teach them in Perſon, could not be compoſed: And that that was to him ſo weighty a Cauſe, that it outweighed all other Reaſons whatſoever; ſo that ſo ſoon as he came to know it, he had returned without farther Deliberation; for that nothing was ſo dear unto him, as the Salvation of his People. But that if the thing could have been done by Letters, he could eaſily have diſpenced with his abſence from *Wittemberg*. That, laſtly, he was very apprehenſive of, and did in a manner foreſee a dreadful Tempeſt like to fall upon *Germany*, which ſo ſecurely ſlighted the preſent Mercy of God: That many indeed did very zealouſly embrace the true Religion, but exceedingly diſgraced it by their Lives and Manners; turning that liberty which ought to be of the Spirit, into a licentiouſneſs of doing whatever they pleaſed: That others again made it their whole ſtudy and endeavours, by any means to ſuppreſs the ſound Doctrin; and theſe together tended directly to the ſtirring up of Seditions: That the Tyranny of the Churchmen was now weakned; which was all that he propoſed to himſelf at firſt; but that ſince the Magiſtrate deſpiſed ſo great a gift of God, his Divine Majeſty would puniſh that ingratitude and contempt of his Word; and by ſending one Judgment upon the heels of another, utterly deſtroy all, as he had done *Jeruſalem* of old: That now it was his duty, and the duty of all others whom God had any ways enabled, to uſe their utmoſt diligence in Teaching and Exhorting; and that though perhaps they might take all that pains in vain, nay and be laugh'd at too by many, yet they ought not therefore to deſiſt, becauſe their labour was pleaſing to God. That, in ſhort, whatever the Decree of the Diet of *Norimberg* might prove to be, they would ſet no limits to the Counſel and Will of God: That he had beſides, other cauſes for his return, which were of leſs moment: But that as to this which he had alledged, the aſſerting and vindicating of the Goſpel, it was of ſo great weight and conſequence, as to make him contemn all human counſel, and to look up only to God: That therefore he prayed his Highneſs not to be offended, that he was come back again without his Call or Command: That he, as their Prince, had Power over the Bodies and Fortunes of his People; but that Chriſt bore Rule over their Souls; and that ſince the Care of theſe was committed to him from above, and that it was Chriſt's work wholly, he ſuppoſed his Highneſs could incur no danger, upon the account of his return.

Caroloſtadius aſts Images out of the Churches of *Wittemberg*.

Now as to the Troubles which he ſaid were raiſed in his Church in his abſence, the matter was this. While *Luther* was out of the way, *Andrew Caroloſtadius*, who hath been mentioned before, preached a different Doctrin, and ſtirred up the People in a tumultuary manner to caſt the Images out of the Churches: This being the chief cauſe why *Luther* was recalled by his Friends: So ſoon as he came back, he condemned that Action of *Caroloſtadius*, ſhewing that that was not the way they ought to have proceeded in, but that Images were firſt to have been removed out of the mind, and the People taught, that by Faith alone we pleaſed God, and that Images availed nothing: That if they had been in this manner removed, and the Minds of People rightly informed, there would have been no more danger of any hurt from them, and they would have fallen of themſelves: That he was not indeed againſt the removing of Images, but that it ought to have been done by the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and not by the Rabble and promiſcuous Multitude.

At this time there ſprang up a ſecret Sect of ſome People that talked of Conferences they had with God, who had commanded them to deſtroy all the Wicked, and to begin a new World, wherein the Godly and Innocent only ſhould live and have Dominion. Theſe clandeſtinly ſpread their Doctrins, in that part of *Saxony* chiefly which lyes upon the River *Saal*; and, as *Luther* affirms, *Caroloſtadius* alſo favoured their Opinion; but when borne down by the Authority of *Luther*, he could not bring to paſs what he intended at *Wittemberg*, he forſook his Station, and went over to them. *Thomas Muncer* was one of this Herd, who afterwards raiſed a Popular Inſurrection againſt the Magiſtrate in *Thuringe* and *Franconia*; of which in its proper place.

The Sect of *Muncer*, and other Enthuaſts.

Luther being now informed, that in the publick Aſſemblies of the *Bohemians*, there were ſome who urged the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Authority of the Pope and Church of

of *Rome*, without which there could be no end of Controverſies and Debates; wrote unto them, in the latter end of *July* to this Effect. That the Name of *Bohemians* had been ſome time very odious unto him, ſo long as he had been ignorant that the Pope was Antichriſt: But that now, ſince God had reſtored the Light of the Goſpel to the World, he was of a far different Opinion, and had declared as much in his Books; ſo that at preſent the Pope and his Party were more incenſed againſt him than againſt them: That his Adverſaries had many times given it out, That he had removed into *Bohemia*, which he oftentimes wiſhes to have done; but that leſt they ſhould have aſperſed his Progreſs, and called it a Flight, he had altered his Reſolution: That, as matters ſtood now, there was great Hopes, That the *Germans* and *Bohemians* might Profeſs the Doctrin of the Goſpel, and the ſame Religion: That it was not without Reaſon that many were grieved to ſee them ſo divided into Sects among themſelves: But that if they ſhould again make Defection to Popery, Sects would not only not be removed, but even be increaſed and more diffuſed; for that Sects abounded no where more than among the *Romaniſts*; and that the *Franciſcans* alone were an *Inſtance* of this, who in many things differed among themſelves; and yet all lived under the Patronage and Protection of the Church of *Rome*: That his Kingdom was, in ſome manner, maintained and ſupported by the Diſſentions of Men; which was the Reaſon alſo that made him ſet Princes together by the Ears, and afford continual Matter of Quarrelling and contention: That therefore they ſhould have ſpecial Care, leſt whilſt they endeavour to cruſh thoſe ſmaller Sects, they fall not into far greater, ſuch as the *Popiſh*, which were altogether incurable, and from which, *Germany* had been lately delivered; That there was no better way of removing Inconveniences, than for the Paſtors of the Church to preach the pure Word of God in Sincerity: That if they could not retain the weak and giddy People in their Duty, and hinder their deſertion, they ſhould at leaſt endeavour to make them ſtedfaſt in receiving the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and in preſerving a Veneration for the Memory of *John Huſs* and *Jerome of Prague*; for that the Pope would labour chiefly to deprive them of theſe two Things; wherefore if any of them ſhould relent, and give up both to the Tyrant, it would be ill done of them: But that though all *Bohemia* ſhould Apoſtatize, yet he would celebrate and commend the Doctrin of *Huſs* to all Poſterity: That therefore he prayed and exhorted them to perſevere in that way which they had hitherto defended with the loſs of much Blood, and with higheſt Reſolution, and not caſt a Reproach upon the flouriſhing Goſpel, by their Defection: That although all things were not eſtabliſhed among them, as they ought to be, yet God would not be wanting, in time, to raiſe up ſome Faithful Servant of his, who would reform what was amiſs, provided they continued conſtant, and utterly rejected the Uncleanneſs and Impiety of the *Romiſh* Papacy. 1522. *Luther*'s Letter to the *Bohemians*.

Now as to the *Bohemians*, the caſe ſtandeth thus; after the death of *John Huſs*, whom we mentioned before, the people were divided into three Sects; the firſt of thoſe who own the Pope of *Rome* to be Head of the Church and the Vicar of Chriſt: The ſecond, thoſe who receive the Sacrament in both kinds, and in celebrating Maſs, read ſome things in the vulgar tongue, but in all other matters differ not from the Papiſts. The third are thoſe who are called *Picards* or *Beghardi*; theſe call the Pope of *Rome* and all his Party *Antichriſt*, and that Whore that is deſcribed in the Revelations: They admit of nothing but the Bible; they chuſe their own Prieſts and Biſhops; deny no man marriage; perform no Offices for the Dead, and have but very few Holy Daies and Ceremonies. Three Sects in *Bohemia*.

Luther afterwards publiſhed a Book againſt the Order of Biſhops falſly ſo called; and in the Preface, taking to himſelf the name of Miniſter or Preacher, at *Wittemberg*, he ſaith, That it was no wonder to him, nor indeed contrary to expectation, if for that title he ſhould be ſcoffed and laughed at by them, from whom he had met with violence in far more weighty concerns: That they had nothing but Tyranny and Oppreſſion to ſtop his mouth with, and that when he was ready to juſtifie his Doctrin by Argument and Reaſon, they did but ſlight and reject him: But that on the other hand, when they themſelves were put to it, to prove the truth of their Doctrin, they ſtopt their ears: That it was a great ſhame and reproach, that ſo many of them, who beſides many other ſplendid and magnificent Titles they bore, profeſſed themſelves Maſters of the whole Scripture, being ſo often challenged by him alone, durſt not joyn iſſue, and come to a fair tryal with him about the matter; that therefore, ſince they behaved themſelves haughtily towards him, he was reſolved to yield to them in nothing, and had taken to himſelf that name of Miniſter or Preacher, as not doubting, but that he might with far better conſcience arrogate to himſelf *Luther*'s Book againſt falſe Biſhops.

1522. himſelf that Title, than they could the Name of Biſhops: That the Doctrin which he profeſſed, was not his, but *Chriſts*; ſo that they needed not to put any truſt in violence or oppreſſion, thinking thereby to daunt him, for that the more hatred and rage they vented againſt him, the more reſolutely was he reſolv'd to proceed, in ſpight of all their fury and madneſs: That though they ſhould even cut his Throat, yet his Doctrin would prove immortal: That *Chriſt* lived and reigned for ever, who would in his own due time, put a ſtop to their outragious and bloody Deſigns: That by the Emperors Edict, and the Bull of the Pope, his name was lately taken from him, and that charactar of the *Great Beaſt* wholly blotted out: Which he was ſo far from taking ill, that he heartily thanked God, for delivering him out of the dark dungeon of ſo many filthy Errors, and falſe Doctrins, and enlightning him with the true Knowledge of his Word: That ſince it was ſo then, and that God had committed to him the Office of Preaching the Goſpel, it was but reaſonable that he ſhould take to himſelf a Title, when falſe Teachers gloried ſo much in ſuch gawdy Names: That therefore, he would not for the future, ſubmit his Writings to their Cenſure; that he had condeſcended too much at *Wormes*: But that now he was ſo certain of his Doctrin, that he would not ſubmit it to the Judgment, no not of an Angel; but by the Evidence thereof, would judge, not only himſelf, and them all, but even Angels alſo: That they who rejected this Doctrin, could not attain to Salvation, nor Life Eternal, becauſe it proceeded not from Man, but from the Eternal God: That if it pleaſed God to bleſs him with longer Life, he would uſe his utmoſt Diligence, that the Goſpel ſhould be preached to all people: That they, indeed, ſought after their own Eaſe and Quietneſs, and to lead an Idle and Voluptuous Life, being mightily troubled at the Diſturbance of the State; but that he would make it his Buſineſs, that they ſhould not enjoy that Peace, which they ſo earneſtly coveted; and that though he might be killed by them, yet that would not eaſe them of Troubles and Diſquiet; and that what way ſoever they might deal with him, yet God would never ceaſe to proſecute them, 'till he either utterly deſtroyed them, or made them humbly to confeſs their Fault, and beg pardon of the invincible Lord of Hoſts: That he heartily wiſhed they might repent, and ſubmit to ſound Counſel in time; but if that could not be obtained, he bad them everlaſting Defiance, and was reſolved never to be reconciled with them: That whereas ſome alſo made his freedom of Speech a Crime, as if by libelling and ſcribling, he deſigned to raiſe Stirs and Commotions, they did him a great deal of Wrong; ſince that he could make it out by ſeveral Texts of Scripture, and many Inſtances, that it was neceſſary to take this Courſe, when the Governours of the Church were unlearned, impious and obſtinate, and would neither do their Duty themſelves, nor ſuffer others to do it for them, who were both able and willing to ſet about it.

Mention hath been made before of the Dyet of *Norimberg*: Hither *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, and the Peers of that Kingdom ſent alſo Ambaſſadours, who made ſad Complaint of the Cruelty of the *Turk*, and begged ſtrong and laſting Aids againſt him. Pope *Adrian* ſent thither a Legate alſo; but before he came into *Germany*, *October* 5, one of the Popes Bed-Chamber-Men, delivered a Brief from his Holineſs to Duke *Frederick*, wherein he tells him; That it had been acceptable News to him, to hear of the Dyet of *Norimberg*; but that he had been overjoyed, to underſtand, that he was reſolved to be there in Perſon, for that there was great Hopes, that ſome things might be enacted there, that would tend to the Honour and Welfare, both of Church and State: That for that Reaſon alſo, he had, with the Advice and Conſent of the College of Cardinals, reſolved to ſend a Legate into *Germany*; but that whilſt his Legate was preparing for his Journey, he had thought fit, to ſend before the Bearer, whom he had charged to wait upon his Highneſs, for whom he had always had a very great eſteem, and acquaint him with the Care and ſincere Intentions he had for the Concerns of the Publick, as he might more amply be informed by the Legate, who was to come after: That, in the mean time, he prayed and exhorted him, who was a Prince of the Empire, under the Protection whereof the Church of *Rome* ſubſiſted, that he would in his Actions and Conſultations uſe all Endeavours, That ſuch things might be promoted, as ſhould tonduce to the Honour of the Apoſtolick Church, and the Peace and Quiet of the Publick, and therein follow the Foot-ſteps of his Anceſtors; from whom, as in no other Virtue, he did degenerate, ſo it was his Hopes, he would not be unlike to them in this Particular neither: That he had ordered the Bearer, to diſcourſe him about theſe Affairs, and deſired that he would give Credit to what he ſaid. *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Auſtria*, was very ſtrict in executing the Sentence pronounced againſt *Luther* the Year before; and

Pope *Adrian*'s Brief to the Elector of *Saxony*.

and in the Dutchy of *Wittemberg*, which then he had in Poſſeſſion, he emitted a Proclamation, *November* 26, promiſing Rewards to Informers; and throughout his own Dominions, he ſeverely puniſhed all that did not obey the Laws and Canons of the Church. This Year died *John Reuchline*, being a Man of great Age; whom *Eraſmus* of *Roterdam* celebrated in a moſt excellent Dialogue, attributing unto him Immortality and ſupreme Knowledge in three Languages. 1522.

Pope *Adrian's* Letter to the States of *Germany*.

About the latter end of *November* Pope *Adrian* wrote to the reſt of the States aſſembled at *Noremberg*, to this Effect. That from the time he had been choſen to the Office of Apoſtleſhip, he had deſired nothing more, than that he might in all things diſcharge the Duty of a good Paſtor, and ſuffer none of his Flock to go aſtray, if by his Vigilance and Care it could in any wiſe be prevented; and that of his ſincerity herein, he called God to witneſs, who had raiſed him to that Charge, when he did not at all deſerve, and as little expected any ſuch Promotion. That for the more eaſie accompliſhment of what he propoſed to himſelf, he had earneſtly exhorted all Kings and Princes *to abſtain from* Civil Wars; and that if they muſt needs make War, *that they would turn all their Force againſt* the Enemies of the Chriſtian *Faith*, *he having* himſelf performed, what he had perſuaded others to do; and given a great Sum of Money to the Knights of *Rhodes*, who were at preſent mightily ſtraitned by the Grand Seignior. That his Thoughts being called home again from Foreign Dangers, he began to look about him nearer hand, and perceived domeſtick Evils to threaten the Publick; for that to his great Grief he heard, That *Martin Luther*, who after many gentle and fatherly Admonitions, when no Remedy could prevail with him, had been Condemned and Proſcribed by ſeveral Univerſities, by Pope *Leo*, and by the Emperour alſo, with their unanimous Conſent and Advice was not only not reſtrained, but raged more furiouſly than ever, publiſhing daily new Books, to the great decay not only of the Chriſtian Religion, but alſo of Morality and all good Living: That it was a great addition to his Grief, to underſtand, that many of the Nobility favoured him, and that the Miſchief was ſpread ſo far, that not only the Dignity of the Clergy in *Germany* was leſſened, but that they were in danger alſo of being deprived of their Lands and Livings, and that a Civil War was broken forth among ſome. That is was truly, indeed, ſaid by S. *Paul*, *That hereſies muſt needs be*; but that as Affairs now ſtood, it was moſt unſeaſonably fulfilled; That the Devil was buſie at work to involve us in many Calamities: That he had ſtirred up the *Turk* to vent his Fury againſt us far and near, whilſt at the ſame time he plagued the *moſt Valiant Nation of Germany with the Hereſie of Luther*. That no Man was ignorant how powerful an Enemy the *Turk* was, and that, though he might be overcome, yet the Affairs of Chriſtendom would be in no better condition, ſo long as that Domeſtick Enemy remained unconquered: That during his abode in *Spain*, he had heard many things of *Luther*'s falſe Doctrins; and that though it grieved him, that this Evil ſeemed to ariſe in that Country, to which he himſelf owed his Birth, yet he had been comforted by two things: Firſt, Becauſe he hoped that ſo frivolous and impious a Doctrin would be deſpiſed by all Men: And then, Becauſe he thought that that poyſonous Weed, being brought from abroad, could not take rooting in that Country, which had always produced Champions againſt Hereſies: But that ſince it had happened far otherwiſe, either through the juſt Judgment of God, or the Careleſneſs and Neglect of thoſe, who ought to have applyed the proper Remedies in time; it was their part to look to it carefully, leſt that whilſt they acted more ſlowly and remiſly, they might ſeem to have forgot their ancient Virtue, and to approve ſo great a Villany: That it would be a very diſgraceful thing, for ſo Valiant and conſtant a People, to make deſertion from that Religion, which was decreed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, embraced by ſo many Martyrs and Famous Men, and profeſſed alſo by our own Progenitors, at the Inſtigation of a ſorry Fryer, who had himſelf, for many Years followed and profeſſed the ſame; as if, forſooth, the Church had erred for ſo many Ages; as if Chriſt, who promiſed to be with us for ever, had ſuffered his Church to continue in ſo great Ignorance and Darkneſs, and as if he were the only Wiſe-man raiſed up by God, to diſcloſe the Errors of all Mankind; that doubtleſs theſe things ſeemed very Ridiculous to all wiſe Men: But that nevertheleſs they were Popular and Specious, and to thoſe that delighted in Novelties, gave great Occaſions of Undertaking, was it not eaſie to be ſeen what they drove at? it was only their Intention, That under a pretext of Chriſtian Liberty, they might trample upon all Law and Juſtice; for how was it poſſible that they ſhould Reverence and Honour the Civil Magiſtrate, who made no ſcruple to uſe diſgracefully; nay, and to burn the Laws and Conſti-

tutions

1522. tutions of most holy Popes and Councils? It was not certainly to be believed, That they who boggled not at Sacriledge, but with Impure and Bloody Hands seized and robbed the things that were consecrated to God, would at length forbear to invade the Rights and Possessions of their Neighbours: That they who stood not in awe, not only to Strike, but also to Kill Priests, were, doubtless, ready and had it in their Thoughts, to violate and abuse any other State of Men whatsoever: So that this so great Licentiousness and Impunity, in committing Wickedness, would at length rest upon Princes themselves, their Children, Wives, Families and Possessions: That therefore he prayed and exhorted them, and by virtue of the Power and Authority he had, as the Successor of S. *Peter*, and Vicar of Christ, also required and charged them, That laying aside all Quarrels and Animosities, with united Hearts and Hands, they would endeavour to quench that Common and Domestick Fire, and reclaim *Luther* by moderate and fair ways: Or if that could not be done, that then they would punish him according to the Laws, and the late Decree of the Emperour and Empire: That by so doing, they would not only wash away that Stain which now stuck to *Germany*; but also contribute to the Salvation of many, who were much damnified by his Contagion: That for his own part, his Natural Disposition and Profession inclined him to Mercy, rather than any kind of Severity: But because this was a Distemper, not to be cured by gentle Medicines, there was a Necessity of applying more Violent Remedies: That Testimonies and Instances of this, more than one, might be had in Holy Scripture; and that their own Predecessors, in the Council of *Constance*, after this manner punished *John Huss* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, according to their Deserts: That if they would imitate them in this Virtuous Course, God would not be wanting; and that then there might be greater Hopes, that the Cruelty of the *Turk*, would be restrained: And that, in fine, he was ready to bestow all he had; nay, and to lay down his Life, for the Welfare of the Flock committed to his Charge; referring what else he had to say, concerning *Luther*, to his Legate *Francis Cheregate* Bishop of *Teramo*, to whom he prayed them to give Credit.

A War betwixt the Archbishop of *Treves*, and *Francis Sicking*.

What he said of a Civil War raised among some, related to *Richard* Archbishop of *Treves*, who was then in a War with *Francis Sicking*, a Valiant Man, and great favourer of *Luther*: However Religion was not the Cause of that War; but it was, because the Bishop would not suffer two Men within his Jurisdiction, for whom he had been Bail, to answer the Law; for so it is specified in the Letter of Defiance, which *Sicking* sent him, towards the latter end of *August*. Pope *Adrian* at that time wrote Private Letters to some others, to the same effect; and having much inveighed against the Doctrin of *Luther*, he required the Senate of *Strasburg*, Not to suffer any of his, or his Adherent's Books to be printed; and not only to Suppress, but also to burn those which were already published; for that he heard, That such kind of Books were printed by their Printers, who refused to meddle with any thing written against them; threatning the Senate with the Wrath and Vengeance of God, if they did not obey him; for that, although they persevered in the Ancient Established Religion; yet unless they took from others the Liberty of Offending, and Occasion of Errour, they were not to promise to themselves impunity. Now for the better understanding of what he said, that he had heard of *Luther*, when he was in *Spain*, we are to look back a little into the History of his Life.

Adrian writes to the Senate of *Strasburg*.

A short History of Pope *Adrian*.

Adrian was a Poor Man's Son of *Utricht*, a Town upon the Borders of *Holland*; he followed his Studies in the University of *Louvain*, and for his Learning and Probitie, was recommended to *Maximilian* the Emperour, to be Tutor to his Grand-Son *Charles*; with him he continued, till he was grown up, and became fit to learn more Manly Exercises, and then was sent Ambassadour into *Spain*, to King *Ferdinand*, who made him Bishop of *Tortosa*; but after the Death of the King, when the Government fell to his Grand-Son *Charles*, of Ambassadour that he was before, he was made Privy Counsellor. There was a Difference at that time betwixt Pope *Leo* and the Cardinals, who had conspired his Death, so that having dispatched a great many of them, some by Exile, and some by loathsome Imprisonment; he created one and thirty new Cardinals at the same time, partly for his own Defence, and partly to raise Money; among whom also was *Adrian*: and this was in the Year 1517. *Charles* came afterwards into *Spain*, upon the Death of his Grand-Father *Ferdinand*, whose Heir and Successor he was. In the mean time, *Maximilian* the Emperour dying, *Charles* was chosen Emperour, and upon that account, being obliged to go to *Germany*, he left the chief Care of the Government of *Spain* to *Adrian*, during his Absence, and not long after there happened a great Insurrection in that

that Kingdom. Now upon the Death of Pope *Leo*, when *Julius of Medices*, and *Alexander Ferneſe*, canvaſſed for the Papacy, and were making all the ſeveral Intereſts they could to be choſen Pope; *Adrian*, who was both abſent and unknown, was elected *January* 9, this Year, to the great Diſpleaſure of the *Romans*, who took it extreamly ill, That ſo high an Office ſhould be conferred upon a Stranger, whom they had never ſeen. He having received the News of his Promotion, and being therewith acquainted, that three Cardinals were deſigned to come as Ambaſſadours to him into *Spain*, who nevertheleſs were not as yet come, he thought fit *March* 8, to write to the Colledge of Cardinals, from the Town *Victoria*, and gave them his hearty Thanks, that they had conceived ſuch an Opinion of him; telling them, That though at firſt he had been terrified at the greatneſs of the Charge impoſed upon him; yet that looking upon it as a Call to him from Heaven, in thoſe Diſtracted and Divided Times, he had taken Heart, and hoped the beſt: That moreover, ſince he heard that the Cardinals, who were to come to him, had not as yet parted from *Rome*, and could not ſo ſoon perform the Journey, and that, in the mean time, unleſs *he himſelf* approved the Election, he could not be inveſted with Authority for Governing the Church: Beſides it being a Long and Dangerous Journey for the Ambaſſadours to undertake; therefore to eaſe them of that Trouble, and at the ſame time to declare his Mind, he had before ſome honeſt and proper Perſons, whom he had called together for that purpoſe, ſignified his Reſolution, and approved the Election: Wherefore he required them to make the ſame known to all Men, eſpecially in *Italy*; and in the mean time, to take care that Juſtice ſhould be adminiſtred; he being now wholly taken up in preparing a Fleet, and other things neceſſary for his Paſſage to *Rome*, with the firſt Opportunity. He wrote alſo to the Senate and People of *Rome*, bidding them to expect all Good Will and Favour at his Hands. And ſo ſome Months after, the Seaſon offering fair, he put out to Sea, on his Voyage: And though the Emperour, at the ſame time was returning to *Spain*, from the *Netherlands*, to appeaſe an Inſurrection that had happened in his Abſence, yet he departed without ſaluting him, but wrote to him a moſt kind Letter, wherein he gave him the Reaſons, why he made ſo much haſt. Thus about the latter end of *Auguſt*, he arrived at *Rome*; it being then the third Month, that *Solyman*, Emperour of the *Turks*, had beſieged *Rhodes*, which, at length, after a ſeven Month's Siege, wherein the Knights had moſt valiently defended themſelves, though deſtitute of all Succours, he took by Compoſition, *December* 25, not only to the great Prejudice, but Diſgrace alſo of Chriſtendom. Much about the ſame time *Cheregate* the Pope's Legate, we mentioned, came to *Norimberg*; and *January* 1, ſent from thence the Pope's Letters we ſpoke of, to the Senate of *Strasburg*, offering his Service, if they pleaſed to write him an Anſwer.

1522.

Adrian being declared Pope, writes to the Colledge of Cardinals.

Adrian goes to *Rome*.

The *Turk* taketh *Rhodes*.

1523.

Zuinglius began now to give great Offence, and whilſt many both within and without the City preached againſt his Doctrin, as Impious and Erroneous, but eſpecially the *Dominican* Fryers, and that he juſtified the ſame, offering to prove it to be conſonant to the Holy Scriptures; the Senate of *Zurich* called a Convocation of all the Clergy within their Juriſdiction to meet at *Zurich*, *January* 29, about the Difference in Religion, where all men ſhould be heard, as much as was Requiſite. They invited alſo the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, by Letters, either to come himſelf, or ſend one in his Place. So then, a numerous Aſſembly met at the Day appointed, and among others *John Faber*, whom the Biſhop ſent to repreſent him, to whom the *Burgomaſter* of the Town made a Speech to this Effect: That becauſe there was a great Diſſenſion ariſen about Religion, the preſent Aſſembly had been called; That if any man had ought to ſay againſt the Doctrin of *Zuinlius*, he might freely propound the ſame. Now *Zuinlius* had before comprized his Doctrin into certain Heads and common places, to the number of ſixty ſeven Articles, and had publiſhed them, to the end that all might come prepared to Argue and Diſpute the Matter openly in the Aſſembly: Wherefore, when now the Burgomaſter had done ſpeaking, he again propounded them, and invited them to fall to the Diſpute. With that, *Faber* having declared the Cauſe of his being ſent, endeavoured to perſuade them, That that was a Debate not proper for ſuch a Place, and that it belonged to a General Council, which was ſhortly to be called: But *Zuinglius* urging him to Diſpute, and if he had any thing to ſay, not to diſſemble it: He made anſwer, That he would refute his Doctrin in Writing. Thus they two having exchanged many Words, and no Body elſe appearing to take up the Cudgels, the Senate diſſolved the Aſſembly; and proclaimed throughout their Territories, That the Traditions of Men being laid aſide, the Goſpel ſhould be purely taught from the Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*.

The Aſſembly of *Zurich*.

The Reformation received at *Zurich*.

1523.

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK IV.

The CONTENTS.

Pope Adrian *by his Legate propounded ſeveral things, confeſſing that now for many Years there had been various and grievous Corruptions in the Court of* Rome. *The Princes of* Germany, *anſwer him; and declare upon what Conditions they would have a Council. An alteration of Affairs in* Denmark: *King* Chriſtiern *flyeth. The Impoſts of* Germany, *First-Fruits and Vacances are treated of. Mention is made of the Pall of Archbiſhops. Two* Auguſtine *Fryers are burnt at* Bruſſels. Luther *interprets the Decree made at* Norimberg: *He publiſhes ſome Books. The King of* England *makes a heavy complaint of* Luther. *Pope* Adrian *dies; to whom* Clement *ſucceeds. Troubles ariſe in* Switzerland *about the Doctrin of* Zuinglius; *and at* Strasburg *about the Marriage of Prieſts.* Campegius *is ſent by Pope* Clement, *Legate to the Dyet of* Norimberg; *where he writes to Duke* Frederick; *and then exhorts the Princes, in a Speech he made to them: To which they anſwer, and he again replies thereunto. The* Switzers *expoſtulate with thoſe of* Zurich, *who anſwer the Ambaſſadours of the other Cantons, The Biſhop of* Conſtance's *Book in defence of Images: Which nevertheleſs are thrown down and burnt throughout all the Canton of* Zurich. *The Emperour ſends an Ambaſſadour to the Dyet of* Norimberg. *The Senate and Biſhop of* Strasburg *bring their Controverſie before Cardinal* Campegius. *After the Dyet is over,* Ferdinand *and others make a League againſt the Reformation.*

Pope *Adrian's* Inſtructions about the reſtraining of *Luther.*

BEſides the Letters, we mentioned, Pope *Adrian* gave his Legates Inſtructions in Writing, that he ſhould ſignifie to the Princes, How much he was grieved at the Troubles and Seditions which were occaſioned by *Luther:* not only becauſe of the Damage that thereby accrued to mens Souls, and the Ruine and Diſſipation of the Flock which Chriſt had committed to his keeping; but alſo becauſe ſuch a miſchievous thing ſhould have happened among that Nation and People, from whom he derived his Birth and Being, and who had always been a People free from the very leaſt Suſpicion of Hereſie: That therefore it was his moſt earneſt Deſire, That ſome ſpeedy Remedy might forthwith be applyed to the Evil, leſt by longer Delay, the ſame thing might happen to the *Germans*, which heretofore befel the *Bohemians:* That for his own part he would ſpare neither Pains nor Charges in that Affair: That therefore he beſought them, that according to their ſeveral Abilities, they would do the ſame, there being many and weighty Reaſons for their ſo doing; as the Glory and Honour of God, which was chiefly violated by that Hereſie, all the Ceremonies and Rites of the Church, being thereby not only impaired, but in a manner quite aboliſhed: Charity and Brotherly Love; ſince he that directed not him into the right way, who was gone aſtray; muſt be accountable to God for his Omiſſion: The Shame and Diſgrace of the Nation; ſince *Germany*, which was wont to be chiefly praiſed for Religion, was now by reaſon of that Defection, fallen into Contempt and Ignominy: Their own Fame and Reputation; for ſince they might eaſily make an End both of *Luther* and of his Hereſies, if they did it not, they would ſeem to be very fickle and inconſtant, and to degenerate from their Anceſtors, who left behind them at *Conſtance* a noble Inſtance of their Virtue; and was it not a moſt heinous Injury that he did both to themſelves

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and their Fore-fathers? for ſince theſe followed the Religion of the *Roman* Catholick Church, they were, in his Judgment, who condemned that Religion, all debarred from Salvation: That they ſhould conſider and weigh with themſelves, what the Purpoſe of theſe Men was; and what their Doctrin drove at: Which was nothing elſe, than under a Colour of Chriſtian Liberty, to endeavour the Subverſion of all Laws, and all Reſpect and Obedience to Magiſtrates; and that though *Luther* ſeemed at firſt only to impugn the Eccleſiaſtical Power, as Impious and Tyrannical, yet it was his Drift, that having once perſuaded People, That Chriſtians were by no Laws obliged to obey the Magiſtrate, he might open a way for all Men, to break out into what extravagant Courſes they pleaſed: And that therefore they themſelves lay thereby expoſed to great Dangers: That as yet, indeed, they cunningly and craftily diſguiſed their Purpoſe, flattering the Magiſtrate, That with impunity they might be ſuffered to wreak their Spleen and Malice upon the Church-men: But that theſe being once oppreſſed, without doubt they would try their Fortune alſo with the reſt: That they themſelves now plainly ſaw, and felt by Experience, the Animoſities, Hatred, Quarrels and Troubles which that Hereſie had already occaſioned in the State; and it was to be feared, That if theſe Evils were not timely repreſſed, God who had given them the Power of the Sword, might ſeverely puniſh ſo great a Negligence both by publick and private Calamities: That *Luther*'s way was not unlike to the Sect of *Mahomet*, which allows Men to marry ſeveral Wives, and afterwards to put them away; by which Law that villanous Juggler bewitched Men, and drew the greateſt part of the World over to his Religion: That *Luther* did not indeed expreſly allow that, but that he abſolved all thoſe who had made to God Vows of Chaſtity, from the obligation of the Law, exhorted them to Marriage, and let looſe the Reins to Men's Luſts; that ſo he might allure more People into that Aſſociation and Confederacy, which he was hatching to the Ruine of Chriſtendom, and particularly of *Germany*: That therefore it was their Parts punctually to put into execution the Sentences of the Pope and Emperour, that they might avenge the Glory of God, wipe off the Reproach that ſtuck to their Country, and remove from themſelves an infectious Peſtilence: That nevertheleſs, ſuch of them as ſhould retract, and return into the right way, might be pardoned, and received again into Favour; but that they who obſtinately maintained their Errors, ought to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, that the reſt being terrified by ſuch an Example, might learn to perſevere in the true Faith and Religion: That if it ſhould be objected by ſome, That *Luther* was condemned before he had been heard, and that it was Reaſonable that he ſhould be tryed, before he ſuffered, ſuch men reaſoned amiſs; for that Chriſt himſelf had laid down a Rule of Faith and Religion; whoſe Authority we ought to ſubmit unto, and not diſpute about Articles of Faith, nor enquire into the Reaſons of this or that Precept: That he was to be heard, indeed, when he was examined, Whether in his Sermons he had ſaid ſo or ſo, or whether he had publiſhed this or that Book; but that he ought not to be admitted to defend thoſe things which he had broached concerning the Faith and Sacraments; for here the Cuſtom and Doctrin of the Church was to be obſerved, and not to be deviated from: And ſince moſt of his Opinions were already condemned by the Authority of Councils, no regard ought to be had unto them: That there could not be a greater Injury done to Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, than to cavil at or reject their Decrees; nor could there be any End of Controverſies, if what Learned and Wiſe Men had, after long and ſerious Deliberation, determined, ſhould by every Private Perſon, be queſtioned and examined: That all Societies of Men had certain and fixed Laws, which they were bound to obſerve; how much more then, ought not that to be done, when any thing is eſtabliſhed by Publick Authority in the Church? That ſeeing, then, theſe Men did not only reject, but even burn the Decrees of the Councils and Fathers, they ought certainly to be puniſhed as Diſturbers of the Publick Peace: That, in the mean time, it was not to be diſſembled, nor paſt over in Silence; that God who is the Revenger of all Iniquity, did in this manner afflict his Church for the Sins of the People, but chiefly of the Rulers and Miniſters of the Church; ſince the Scripture ſaith, *That the iniquity of the people proceeded from the prieſts*: For that, in Truth, for theſe many Years paſt, the Sins of *Rome* had been manifold and grievous, and that even from the Head, down to the inferior Clergy, that Evil and Contagion had been propagated; that no Man did his Duty, all had gone aſtray, and that none were free from Guilt, no not one: So that all Glory was to be given unto God alone, from whom Pardon and Remiſſion was humbly to be implored: That ſince things were then in ſuch a State, he would take care,

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1523. That the Court of *Rome*, which, perhaps, had given occaſion to ſo great Evils, ſhould firſt of all be ſtrictly reformed, that ſo the Cure might begin at the Root, and Cauſe of the Diſtemper; which he thought himſelf the more obliged to do, in that it was moſt earneſtly deſired by moſt Men: That for his own part, he was again his Will, and with Reluctancy promoted to the Chair, and would have been far better pleaſed with a Private Life: But that being moved by the Fear of God, and preſent State of Affairs, he could not at length decline that burthenſome Care: That, indeed, no deſire of Dominion and Rule had been a Motive to him to accept of that Charge, but only that he might have an Opportunity of conſulting and doing what he could for the Publick Good and Welfare of Chriſtendom: Now that he did not inſtantly reform the Vices and Abuſes, which he plainly ſaw, the Reaſon was, becauſe the Diſeaſe which he deſigned to cure, was very inveterate and Complicate alſo; ſo that he muſt proceed gently and by degrees, leſt by attempting too ſudden and ſpeedy a Cure, he ſhould increaſe the Diſtemper: For that all ſudden Changes were dangerous, and it was an old Proverb, That he who blowed his Noſe too hard, would ſqueeze out Blood.

Luther's Interpretation of the Pope's Inſtructions.

This Writing *Luther* tranſlated afterwards into *High Dutch*, and illuſtrated with Marginal Notes; wherein he obſerves, That what the Pope ſaid of Proceeding in the Reformation gradually, and by little and little, ought ſo to be underſtood, as that for the ſpace of every Step, an interval of ſome Ages ought to be allowed: However, it was ſaid, That his Holineſs had but little Thanks from the Cardinals, for that he ſo plainly acknowledged the Corruptions of the Court of *Rome*: Although this be reported to be a common Fetch of the Popes, when they would delay or break the Meaſures of calling a Council, or bringing Matters to a Hearing, to make fair and large Promiſes; that they may have time to ingratiate themſelves with Kings and Princes, till an Opportunity offer of Deciding the matter by the Sword; for by Promiſes they raiſe Hopes and Expectations in Mens Minds, and in the mean time take Meaſures for retaining their Power and Dignity, which they know to be indangered by General Councils. In the mean time, whilſt the Legate proceeded in this manner, the Princes complained, That the Compacts and Agreements which they had heretofore made with the Popes, were many ways violated at *Rome*. The Pope being acquainted with this, by Letters from his Legate, ordered him to tell them, That he could not help what had been done by his Predeceſſors: But that he had ever been, even whilſt he was a Private Man, much diſpleaſed with that uſual way of Proceeding of the Court of *Rome*; and that he had already reſolved of himſelf, though no Application had been made to him about it, to reform all theſe things, and not to ſuffer any Man to be wronged; far leſs them, whom for Countrys ſake he deſired chiefly to gratifie: That, as to what they demanded, That all Law-Suits commenced at *Rome*, might be remitted to *Germany*; he told them, That moſt of the Judges and Advocates had left the City, becauſe of the Plague; but that ſo ſoon as they were returned, upon Enquiry into the Caſe, he would do what ſhould be thought Juſt and Reaſonable: He had given his Legate in Charge alſo, to require an Anſwer from the Princes; ſince he had written to them with Deſign, firſt, That he might know of them, what they thought might be the fitteſt Courſe for quelling that peſtiferous Sect; and then, that he might underſtand in time, what was to be done therein, on his part.

The Princes Anſwer to Pope *Adrian*'s Legate.

Theſe things being brought into Deliberation, the Princes and States return an Anſwer; and having begun with a ſhort Repetition of all his Demands, they profeſs the great Satisfaction they had, to know that God had been pleaſed to ſet him over the Church, which in ſo diſmal a Time ſtood much in need of ſuch a Governour, who had ſo great a Zeal for the Welfare of Chriſtendom, took ſo much Pains to compoſe the Differences of Kings and Princes, and was at ſuch Charges for putting a ſtop to the Progreſs of the *Turk*, as much rejoyced them to hear of from him, and for which they gave his Holineſs their moſt hearty Thanks: For that certainly, by theſe Civil Wars, the Empire was exceedingly weakned, and the Power of their moſt cruel Enemy, the *Turk*, increaſed, whilſt there were no Forces on Foot, to make Head againſt him: That there were Ambaſſadours come to the Dyet from the King and Nobles of *Hungary*, who had given a ſad and lamentable Relation of the Cruelties they had ſuffered, and of the great Dangers they were at preſent expoſed unto: That therefore they moſt earneſtly prayed him, who was their Common Father and Paſtor, That he would perſiſt in that moſt holy Reſolution, and uſe his beſt Endeavours, that either a firm Peace or long Truce might be made, that ſo, at length, meaſures might be taken, both for Reſiſting the Violence

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of the *Turks*, and recovering the loſt Provinces of the Empire; for effecting where- 1523.
of no Aid nor Aſſiſtance ſhould be wanting on their Parts: That as for *Luther*, they were heartily ſorry, as, indeed, it became them, for the Troubles that his Doctrin had raiſed in *Germany*, and were very deſirous to apply a Remedy to the Evil; acknowledging it to be their Duty, to obey both him and the Emperour, wherein they reſolved not to degenerate from their Anceſtors; but that as to the puniſhing of him, according to the Emperour's Decree, which his Holineſs complained was not done, it had been omitted upon no ſlight Conſiderations: For that all Ranks and Degrees of People heavily complained of the Court of *Rome*, and moſt Men were now ſo well inſtructed by *Luther*'s Sermons and Books; that ſhould that Decree be put in execution againſt him, it would, without doubt, occaſion grievous Commotions, and be ſo conſtrued by many, as if it were done with intent to ſuppreſs the true Light of the Goſpel, and to countenance and maintain ſuch open Crimes, as could no longer be ſuffered nor diſſembled; which Perſuaſion would unavoidably ſtir up the People to a Rebellion againſt their Magiſtrates: And, indeed, it could not be denyed, as he himſelf frankly confeſſed, but that there were many things ſcandalouſly and irregularly done at *Rome*, to the great Prejudice of other Nations and Provinces, and no leſs Decay of Religion: That therefore his Holineſs was highly to be commended. That he did not palliate nor excuſe the Diſorders of the Court of *Rome*, but promiſed to reform thoſe Abuſes, and render Juſtice to all Men, without reſpect; but that he would deſerve far greater Applauſe, if he really performed, what in Words he promiſed, which they earneſtly begged of him he would; ſince otherwiſe no firm nor laſting Peace could be expected: That *Germany* was much impoveriſhed by Wars and other extraordinary Impoſts and Charges; ſo that hardly were they able to ſupport the neceſſary Expences of the Publick, and give Aſſiſtance to the *Hungarians* and other neighbouring People, againſt the *Turk*: That now it was well known to his Holineſs, how in former Years the *Germans* had ſuffered their Biſhops and other Church-men, to become Tributaries to the Pope for a certain time; how that then it was conditioned, That all that Money ſhould, when occaſion ſerved, be employed in the War againſt the *Turk*; but that now the Time limited was expired, and the Popes his Predeceſſors had not laid out the Money to the Uſe it was deſigned for; ſo that when Taxes were impoſed on the Provinces of *Germany* for the *Turkiſh* War, Men fretted and grumbled, thinking that thoſe vaſt Summs of Money, which for many Years had been publickly collected, and kept for thoſe Uſes, ought to be employed this way, and that there was no Reaſon why they ſhould be charged any further: That they therefore, deſired he would not for the future exact that Tribute, but ſuffer it to be brought into the Publick Treaſury of the Empire; that by that means many Grievances in *Germany* might be quieted, and a Publick Stock be always in readineſs for aſſiſting Foreign Nations againſt the Hoſtilities and Invaſions of the *Turks*: That furthermore, as to their Counſil and Advice, which he craved in this Change of Religion, and which they were both willing, and obliged in Duty to give, it was their Opinion, That ſince not only the Opinions of *Luther* were now to be enquired into, but alſo many other groſs Errours and Corruptions, which had prevailed by long Cuſtom and Continuance, and through the Depravation of Men's Lives and Judgments, were now excuſed, as he himſelf confeſſed; There could be no better way thought on for remedying all theſe Diſorders, than by a free and General Council, which he and the Emperour, the chief Magiſtrate of Chriſtendom, might eaſily call in ſome City of *Germany*, as *Mentz*, *Strasburg*, *Metz* or *Cologn*, the ſooner to begin, the better, and within a Year at fartheſt; but with this Condition, That all who ſhould be preſent thereat, whatever their Degree and Quality might be, ſhould take a ſolemn Oath to ſpeak freely, and not diſſemble, whatever they ſhould think expedient for the Glory of God, and the Peace and Well-being of Church and State; for that otherwiſe the Council would be lookt upon as partial, and would do more Hurt than Good: That in order thereunto, it ſhould be their Care, to hinder *Luther* and others from publiſhing, in the mean time, any more Books; and that therein they made no doubt, but the moſt Noble and worthy *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, would gratifie them: That they alſo take Care, That the Preachers ſhould meddle with nothing in their Sermons, but only Modeſtly and Sincerely teach the Goſpel according to the Interpretations approved and received by the Church: In like manner, That they ſhould utter nothing in the Pulpit, that might either ſtir up the People againſt their Magiſtrates, or lead them into any Errour: Beſides, That they ſhould not inſiſt upon deep Controverſies,

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Troubles in *Denmark.*

About this Time there happened a great Alteration of Affairs in *Denmark*, which was briefly thus: *Chriſtiern*, the firſt of that Name, King of *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Sweden*, had two Sons, *John* and *Frederick*; upon the Death of the Father, *John* ſucceeded, who had Wars with the *Swedes* that had rebelled; however the Quarrel was taken up and ended: *John* had a Son named *Chriſtiern*, who at ſix Years of Age was proclaimed King, and upon the Death of his Father, ſix and twenty Years after, ſucceeded to the Crown, in the Year of our Lord 1514. During his Reign the *Swedes* again rebelled, and ſet upon one *Steno Stura* to be their Governour: King *Chriſtiern*, in the mean time, employed all his Force againſt them, and after many Battles and Sieges, at lenth, obtained the Victory, cauſing the Body of *Steno*, who had been killed in Battle, to be raiſed out of the Grave and Burnt: And this happened in the Year 1520. The *Swedes* being thus ſubdued, one *Guſtavus Erixon*, a Nobleman of the Kingdom, incited, as it is believed, and aided by the *Lutbeckers*, again ſtirred them up to Rebellion, and that ſucceſsfully too: At firſt he pretended to act for the Children of *Steno*; but growing ſtronger, he invaded the Throne, and to confirm his Title, married the Daughter of *Steno*. *Chriſtiern* having loſt this Province, was ill beloved at home alſo; for he governed tyrannically, and by his Cruelty offended all his Subjects: Wherefore fearing that theſe Clouds which were a gathering, might at length break out into a Storm, to his ruine and deſtruction, and the rather, becauſe the *Lubeckers* and his Unkle *Frederick* were arming againſt him; this Year, which was the ninth of his Reign, he fled with his Children and Queen *Iſabel*, the Siſter of *Charles* the Emperour, and arrived firſt in *Zealand*, a Province belonging to his Imperial Majeſty. Immediately after, the States of the Kingdom aſſembling, and, and being aſſiſted by the *Lubeckers*, created *Frederick* his Unkle, Duke of *Holſtein*, an aged Man, their King; and then having publiſhed a Declaration to the Emperour, the Pope, and to the reſt of the Princes of the Empire, they give Reaſons for what they had done, accuſing him of moſt grievous Crimes; for which, they ſaid, he was juſtly Baniſhed. *Frederick* did the ſame, which was imitated by the City of *Lubeck*, a Commonwealth of the greateſt Power and Authority in all thoſe Parts. But *Chriſtiern* finding an able Pen-man, *Cornelius Skepper* a *Flemming*, a very learned Man, anſwered the Accuſations that were brought againſt him, and begged Aſſiſtance from the States of the Empire aſſembled at *Norimberg*. He had one Son, whom the Emperour afterwards took, and two Daughters, *Dorothy* and *Chriſtian*. The ſame Year his Friends and Relations undertook a War for his Reſtauration, but in vain, the Emperour being then engaged in a War with *France*.

Chriſtiern King of *Denmark* baniſh'd.

Frederick Duke of *Holſtein* made King of *Denmark.*

King *Chriſtiern* in a publick Declaration anſwers the Accuſations of the *Danes* and *Swedes.*

The Miniſters of *Norimberg* accuſed by the Pope's Legate.

The Popes Legate had accuſed the Miniſters of the Church of *Norimberg* of Preaching impious and unſound Doctrin, and demanded that they might be committed to Priſon: But the Princes told him, that they believ'd, he had been miſinform'd: That the Preachers alſo were highly honoured and eſteemed by the people; ſo that if any thing were attempted againſt them, the *Mobile* would look upon it as done purpoſely to ſuppreſs the Truth, which might cauſe ſome inſurrection: That nevertheleſs they would appoint a Committee, to enquire into all

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matters for the future, and do whatever ſhould be thought juſt and reaſonable. When they had in this manner anſwer'd all demands, they on their parts, propoſed what they would have had done by the Pope, and the Biſhops in *Germany*, and drew up their grievances into certain Heads and Articles, which they delivered to the Legate; praying the Pope that ſince the things they complained of were altogether unjuſt, and could no longer be ſuffered, that his Holineſs would with all ſpeed aboliſh them, for that otherwiſe they themſelves muſt needs take ſome courſe, to ſhake off from them that burden, and recover their ancient Liberty. They had made the ſame complaint in the Diet *at Wormes*, and having preſented the ſame Articles to the Emperor, they prayed *him* to interpoſe his Authority. Neither did they at that time conceal thoſe *things* from the Biſhops, who having hitherto made no reformation therein, *they* made their application to the Pope, becauſe as we ſaid before, he had given them ample and generous Promiſes by his Legate. Now the things which they deſired might be redreſſed, were all ſuch as encroached upon the rights and liberties of the Princes, drained *Germany* of Money, and kept men under moſt heavy Bondage. *As to the Tribute* payed by the Clergy, the caſe in ſhort is this, The *power of the* Pope daily increaſing, and growing to a head, among other ways of raiſing Money, this alſo was found out, That the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, ſhould according to the Rate of their Benefice, pay ſuch a Summ of Money yearly to the Pope, which was commonly called *Firſt-Fruits* and *Tenths*: Some do aſcribe this Device to Pope *John* XXII, and others to *Boniface* IX; the pretext was Specious and Popular, to wit, That there might always be a Treaſure in readineſs to be employed in the Wars againſt the *Saracens* and *Turks*: And becauſe at that time the Authority of the Popes was a Sacred thing, they eaſily perſuaded all People, the *Engliſh* only excepted, who for ſmall Benefices refuſed to pay: Now this Law continued in Force until the Council of *Baſil*; where, becauſe of the many Complaints brought from ſeveral Places, concerning that, a Decree paſt, That no more Money ſhould upon that account be exacted for the future; but *Eugenius* IV, evacuated the Decrees of that Council, as hath been ſaid before, and the Popes who came after him, that would not part with any thing, have kept up the Cuſtom, and would not confirm Biſhops and other Clergy-men in their Livings, but upon condition that they duly paid their Firſt-Fruits and Tenths; ſo that the Cuſtom is continued to this very Time, though not without much repining and many Quarrels: For in the Year of our Lord 1500, when the Emperour *Maximilian* held an Imperial Dyet at *Ausburg*, among other Matters, concerning a *Turkiſh* War; it was decreed that Ambaſſadours ſhould be ſent to Pope *Alexander* VI, to ſollicit his Aid, and that he would employ thoſe Revenues to this Uſe, for which chiefly they were in times paſt granted: Furthermore, the Pope beſtows upon the Archbiſhops and Metropolitans, a certain Badge of Honour and Dignity, made of Flax and Wool, which is called a *Pall*; but the Purchaſe of it coſts a round Summ of Money, to be paid within three Months too, according to the Conſtitutions of the Court of *Rome*: Nor is it lawful for Archbiſhops to Conſecrate any Biſhop, till firſt they have got their Pall, which is chiefly uſed in ſaying of Maſs; neither is that delivered before he who receiveth it, hath ſworn Fidelity and Obedience to the Pope. Now the *Firſt-Fruits*, we mentioned, are ſo called, becauſe every new Biſhop or Abbot is obliged to pay one Years Rent of his Living to the Pope. When all Debates were concluded, the Princes framed a Decree, relating in ſhort, what had paſt, and what Methods had been propoſed by them for Concord and Reconciliation, which were thoſe we mentioned before, charging all Men, under ſevere Penalties to obſerve the ſame. This Decree was on the ſixth of *March*, publiſhed in the Emperour's Name; for upon his Return into *Spain*, he had appointed a Council and Judicature to govern in his Abſence, as hath been ſaid above. In this Dyet *Frederick* Prine *Palatine* repreſented the Emperour's Perſon.

1523. The Grievances of *Germany* preſented to the Legate.

The Acts of the Dyet of *Norimberg* publiſhed.

About this Time two *Auguſtine* Fryers, *John* and *Henry* were apprehended at *Bruſſels*: *Hogoſtrate* a *Dominican*, among others, had the Examination of them: The firſt Queſtion put to them was, What they believed? They made anſwer, That they believed the Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, and the Apoſtles Creed, which contained the Articles of our Faith. Again, Whether or not the Decrees of the Councils and Fathers? Such of them as agreed with the Holy Scriptures. Whether they did not think it a Mortal Sin, to tranſgreſs the Decrees of the Fathers and Pope of *Rome*? That God's Commands alone had the Prerogative of Condemning or Abſolving? Seeing they perſevered herein, they were condemned to die: But they gave Thanks to God, That they were accounted worthy to ſuffer

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1523. any thing for the Glory of his Name. Being brought to the Place of Execution, they moved all the Spectators by their Conſtancy; and were burnt the firſt Day of *July*: But before they ſuffered, they were degraded, as in the like Caſe Prieſts commonly are, and that is performed in this manner; He that is condemned of Hereſie by the Eccleſiaſtical Judge, is cloathed in the ſacred Veſtments of a Prieſt, and hath a Chalice with Wine and Water, and alſo a gilt Pattin, with a Wafer, put into his hands; ſo being made to kneel down, the Biſhop's Vicar taketh from him the things above-named one after another, commanding him at the ſame time never to ſay Maſs more for the Living and the Dead. Then with a piece of Glaſs he ſcrapes his Fingers, enjoyning him never to conſecrate any thing for the future; and afterwards ſtrips him of all his Veſtments, uſing certain Curſes and Imprecations at every ſeveral action. Being thus degraded from the Order of Prieſthood, he is likewiſe deprived of all the inferior Orders that are antecedent to it. When he is thus ſtripped of all his Sacerdotal Ornaments, he is cloathed in Secular Apparel, and delivered over to the Civil Magiſtrate; the Biſhop's Vicar in the mean time interceding with him, that he would not uſe any ſeverity againſt his Perſons, nor put him to Death: For this Ceremony is uſed, leſt they who deal in holy things, ſhould ſeem to have a hand in taking away the life, or ſhedding the Blood of any Man.

Two *Auguſtine* Friers burnt at *Bruſſels*.

The Decree of *Norimberg* being variouſly interpreted by many, and ſlighted by ſome; *Luther* wrote to the Princes, acquainting them that he had reverently and with great pleaſure read it, and alſo propoſed it to the Church of *Wittemberg*; but that through the craft and ſnares of the Devil, it had not the authority which it ought to have; for that there were ſome of the higheſt Quality, who both refuſed to obey it, and put various Conſtructions upon the ſame: Wherefore he thought fit to declare in Writing how he underſtood it, truſting that his Opinion was conſonant to their meaning and intentions. That whereas they command the Goſpel to be taught according to the Interpretations received by the Church, moſt Men thus underſtood it, That Miniſters were to Preach according to the manner hitherto in uſe, and the Rules preſcribed by *Thomas Aquinas*, *Scotus*, and Others, who have been approved by the Popes of *Rome*; but that he took it to be meant of the more ancient Authors, as St. *Hilary*, St. *Cyprian*, St. *Auſtin*, and the like; and that neither were thoſe ſo much to be depended upon, but that the holy Scriptures ought to be preferred far before them: That he made no doubt but this was their ſenſe; and it was to him an argument to make him believe ſo, that ſome who could not endure to hear of a true Reformation of the Church, refuſed to ſubſcribe to this Edict, and ſuffered it not as yet to be propoſed to their People. In the next place, That Biſhops ſhould appoint fit Men to be preſent at Sermons, and mildly admoniſh, if there were occaſion for it: It was well decreed on their parts, but that they to whom the Charge was given, though they were willing, could not fulfil the Decree, becauſe they wanted learned Men, and made uſe of thoſe who had never learned any thing but Sophiſtry: That whereas alſo they decreed, That no more Books ſhould be publiſhed, unleſs they were firſt approved and licenſed by learned Men choſen for that purpoſe: He was not indeed againſt it; but however that he underſtood it ſo, as not at all to be extended to the Books of the Holy Scripture; for that the publiſhing of thoſe could not be prohibited: That what, in the laſt place, they had enacted concerning Prieſts that married Wives, or forſook their Order, That they ſhould be puniſhed according to the Canon Law, it was too hard; for if the Goſpel was to be taught in purity (as they themſelves confeſſed) then ought that Pontifical Law to be qualified. Then he goes on, and bewails the miſery and obſtinacy of our times, that when the Light of the Goſpel ſhon out ſo clear, that Law of Single-Life was not abrogated, which gave occaſion to ſo many grievous and ſcandalous Crimes: That they nevertheleſs who were ſatisfied with the Puniſhment enjoyned by the Canon Law, were much to be recommended for that Moderation; but that they who clapt up in Priſon and in Chains, Rack'd, Tormented, and put Prieſts to Death for contracting Marriage, or forſaking their Order, were greatly to be deteſted. Wherefore he beſought the Princes, that ſeeing their Adverſaries did not obey the Decree they had made, but boldly and licentiouſly oppoſed it; they would alſo pardon thoſe, who through frailty of Nature, that they might not wound their own Conſciences, or run into manifeſt Sin, ſhould not exactly obſerve that laſt Clauſe of the ſame; for that it was very unreaſonable that their potent Adverſaries ſhould have liberty to violate thoſe things which they ought and might moſt eaſily obſerve; and that other poor Men ſhould be puniſhed, for tranſgreſſing a Law, which it was not in their power to obſerve

Luther's Interpretation of the Decree of *Norimberg*.

obſerve, ſince all had not the Gift of Continence; and that Vows of Chaſtity were not only fooliſh, but contrary alſo to good Manners, and honeſt living. Afterwards he publiſhed a Book, at the deſire of ſome, about the Ordaining of Miniſters, and dedicated it to the Magiſtrates of *Prague*; to which he annexed a Treatiſe, wherein he proved, that the Church had the Right and Power of judging all Doctrins, and of appointing Miniſters. In the firſt place he defined the Church to be, wherever the purity of the Goſpel was taught; but that Biſhops, and ſuch other Prelates, were Images, and Heads without Brains; that none of them did their duty in any Nation, or among any People, and eſpecially in *Germany*. Not long after, he wrote about avoiding the Doctrins of Men; affirming nevertheleſs in the Preface to his Book, that he did not at all juſtifie thoſe who boldly deſpiſed all Human Laws and Traditions, and in the mean time did nothing that belonged to the duty of a true Chriſtian. Afterwards he preſcribed a Form, how Maſs and the Communion ſhould be celebrated in the Church of *Wittemberg*, ſaying, That hitherto he had proceeded leiſurely, *becauſe of the infirmity of many*; and being ſatisfied only with *Doctrin, had made it his aim to root out Errours* and pernicious Opinions of *Mens minds*. But that now when many were *confirmed, it was time* not to ſuffer *ungodly* Rites and Ceremonies any longer in the Church; but that the purity of Doctrin ſhould be accompanied with ſincerity of Worſhip, without Hypocriſie or Superſtition. To this Piece he ſubjoyned another Treatiſe, concerning decent and pious Ceremonies to be obſerved in the Church; and another of the Abomination of Private Maſs, which they call the Canon; in the Preface to which, he mentions how that in his Books and Sermons having often exhorted Men to the Abrogation of the Popiſh Maſs, he had been therefore called Seditious; but that it was an injury done unto him; for that he had never taught the People publickly to aboliſh falſe Worſhip by their own authority; nor had he indeed allowed that to the Magiſtrate, unleſs the Rulers of the Church ſhould obſtinately maintain Errours; and becauſe that was a horrid Profanation of the Lord's Supper, as the more learned now acknowledged, he had therefore been at the pains to write that Piece; that the People might alſo underſtand, and that they might avoid thoſe uſual Sacrifices of the Maſs, as they would the Devil himſelf; and to confirm what he ſaid, he ſet down the whole Canon of the Maſs, and ſhewed it to be full of Blaſphemies againſt God. 1523.

Among the other learned Men of *Germany* that favoured *Luther*, *Ulrick Hutton*, a Nobleman of *Franconia*, was one; who about the latter end of *Auguſt* this year, died in the Territory of *Zurich*. There are ſome Pieces of his extant, which ſhew him to have been a Man of an excellent and ſharp Wit. *Ulrick Hutton* dies.

In the former Book we mentioned, how *Luther* anſwered *Henry* King of *England*; which when the King had read, he wrote to the Princes of the Houſe of *Saxony*, Duke *Frederick*, his Brother *John*, and to his Couſin *George*; and having made a heavy complaint of *Luther*, he repreſented to them the great dangers that his Doctrin was like to bring upon them and all *Germany*; and that they were not to be ſlighted and neglected; for that the prodigious ſucceſs of the *Turks*, whoſe Cruelty ſpread now ſo far, owed its Riſe to one or two profligate Wretches; and that the neighbouring *Bohemia* was a warning unto them, how much it concerned them to prevent an Evil in the beginning. He alſo admoniſhed them not to ſuffer *Luther* to publiſh the *New Teſtament* in the Vulgar Tongue; for that his Artifices were now ſo well known, that there was no doubt to be made, but that by a bad Tranſlation he would corrupt and pervert the pureſt Orignals. To that Letter Duke *George* wrote a very kind Anſwer, bitterly inveighing againſt *Luther* alſo, whoſe Books he ſaid, as the *moſt* pernicious of Enemies, he had prohibited in all his Territories; for that ever ſince he had allowed him to Diſpute at *Leipſick*, he well perceived what he would come to at laſt: That it heartily grieved him alſo that he had writ ſo bitterly againſt his Majeſty; which Libel he had prohibited to be Sold or Read within his Dominion, having puniſhed the Bookſeller who firſt brought the Copy of it into his Country. *Henry* King of *England*'s Letters of Admonition to the Dukes of *Saxony*. *George* Duke *Saxony* Anſwers the King of *England*.

In the former Diet of *Norimberg*, beſides Matters of Religion, the Princes took alſo into deliberation, how they might ſettle Peace and eſtabliſh Judicatures; what Puniſhments were to be inflicted on thoſe who obeyed not the Laws of the Empire; and how they might raiſe preſent and conſtant Aids againſt the *Turk*. But as to theſe two laſt Points nothing could be concluded; wherefore they were put off to another time and Diet: And becauſe ſome things were enacted in that Diet, which the Cities of the Empire perceived would redound to their prejudice, they all ſent

1523. Embaſſadors upon that account to the Emperor in *Spain*. Theſe arriving at *Valladolid*, *Auguſt* the Sixth, and having Audience three days after, the Emperor gave them a very Gracious and Princely Anſwer within a few days, but withal told them, That the Pope had complained to him by Letters, of *Straſburg*, *Norimberg* and *Auſburg*, as if they favoured the Doctrin of *Luther*: That he expected better things of them; but that however he could not paſs it by in ſilence; that they might have a care to obey his and the Pope's Edicts, which he was confident they would do. They juſtified themſelves, aſſuring his Majeſty that their Cities were no ways wanting in readineſs to fulfil his Will and Pleaſure. In the mean time, *September* the Thirteenth, Pope *Adrian* dies; to whom ſucceeded *Clement* VII, of the Family of *Medices*. Of all the *Switzers*, none but the People of *Zurich* followed the Doctrin of *Zuinglius*; moſt of the other Cantons vexed and murmured at it: And therefore in a Convention of States, held for that purpoſe at *Berne*, there were ſome who grievouſly accuſed *Zuinglius*; and to raiſe the greater hatred againſt him, affirmed, that he had been often heard to ſay in the Pulpit, That they who entred into a League with Foreigners, ſold Blood, and fed on Mens Fleſh. When upon the return of the Deputies of *Zurich*, *Zuinglius* came to know of this, he juſtified himſelf by Letter, declaring that he had not ſpoken ſo; but that in general he had ſaid, That there were ſome who abhorred, as a wicked thing, the eating of Fleſh, becauſe forbidden by the Pope's Law; but thought it no Crime to ſell Mens Fleſh for Mony, and to deſtroy it with the Sword: That he had named no Nation in particular, nor was it his cuſtom ſo to inveigh againſt his Brethren the *Switzers*, whom, for Country ſake, he tenderly loved: That it behoved him neceſſarily to reprove Vice, which now exceedingly abounded, but that good and harmleſs People were no ways concerned therein. Among other things, *Zuinglius* preached that Images were to be removed out of Churches, and that the Maſs was to be abrogated as a wicked thing. For which the Senate called another Aſſembly in their City; whither in the Month of *October* many repaired, and for three days the Diſputes laſted. However the Senate, that they might do nothing raſhly, wrote to the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, who had ſent none to the Aſſembly, praying him that he would alſo give them his Judgment in the Matter.

Pope *Adrian* dies.

Much about this time, ſeveral Prieſts married Wives, both in *Straſburg*, and in other places alſo; which occaſioned much Strife and Contention: For when they were accuſed for it, they made anſwer, That they had done nothing contrary to the Commands of God; and that all Men indifferently were permitted by the Law of God to Marry. The Senate of *Straſburg* had a long Debate about this matter with the Biſhop of that City; who at length, on the Twentieth of *January*, cited the Prieſts to appear before him by a certain day, at *Saverne*, there to hear Sentence pronounced againſt them, for having contracted Matrimony; whereby he ſaid they had tranſgreſſed the Law of the Church and holy Fathers, of the Popes, Emperor and Empire, done the higheſt injury to their Order, and were guilty of Treaſon againſt the King of Heaven. The Prieſts having received this Citation, petitioned the Senate that they might make their defence, and plead their Cauſe before them; proteſting that they were willing to ſuffer Death, if they were found to have done any thing againſt the Commandment of God. The Senate therefore again interceded with the Biſhop; and that ſeeing they declined not a lawful Tryal, and that nothing could be attempted againſt them, without ſome dangerous Commotions, eſpecially ſince others of their Order, who publickly kept their Concubines, were not puniſhed for it: They prayed him that he would at leaſt delay the matter till the Concluſion of the Diet which then was held at *Noremberg*; for that there was no doubt but there were actions of the like nature in other places alſo, which they had reaſon to expect would all be Tryed and Adjudged in that Aſſembly. This is the ſame Diet, which being prorogued to another time, as was ſaid before, happened to meet again this year. Hither alſo Pope *Clement* ſent his Legate Cardinal *Campegio*, and with him a very loving Brief to *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, dated the Thirteenth of *January*: Therein he tells him, that he was very glad to hear of this Diet, and that he particularly was to be preſent in it; for that he conceived great hopes that ſome things might be done there, which would tend to the welfare of Chriſtendom; and that therefore he had ſent Cardinal *Campegio*, a Man of great Vertue, who would inform the Princes how ſolicitouſly he was concerned for the Publick good, and diſcourſe privately with him about the meaſures of ſetling Peace, which he earneſtly exhorted him to endeavour, and to be Aſſiſtant to his Legate therein; ſince at that time nothing

Prieſts Marry at *Strasburg*.

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could be more Neceſſary and Laudable, nor more for the Dignity and Proſperity of all who were in Magiſtracy: That he bore ſingular Love and Affection towards *Germany*, which he hoped would not deviate from its Ancient Virtue, but forgetting preſent Diſcontents and Animoſities, contribute to the quieting the Diſorders of Chriſtendom: Wherefore he prayed him kindly to receive his Legate, from whom he would have a further Account of all things. 1524.

An Aſſembly of the *Switzers* at *Lucern*.

January 26 the *Switzers* held an Aſſembly at *Lucern*: There a Decree was made, That no Man ſhould preſume to ſcoff at, or deſpiſe the Word of God, which had been taught for above theſe fourteen hundred Years, nor the Maſs, wherein the Body of Chriſt is conſecrated to his own Honour, and the Comfort of the Quick and the Dead: That all who being of Age, received the Lord's Supper, ſhould in *Lent* time Confeſs their Sins to Prieſts, and perform all other things in the accuſtomed manner: That all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church ſhould be obſerved: That every one ſhould obey their own Paſtors, receive the Sacraments from their Hands, and pay them yearly the Money which they ought, and uſed to pay: That Prieſts ſhould be reverenced and honoured: That no Fleſh ſhould be eaten on Days prohibited; nor Eggs and Cheeſe in *Lent*: That nothing of *Luther*'s Doctrin againſt the received Practiſe and Cuſtom of the Church ſhould be publickly or privately taught: That in Taverns and Publick-houſes, at Feaſts and Entertainments, no mention ſhould be made of *Luther*'s, or any other New Doctrin: That no Indignity ſhould any where be offered to the Images of Saints: That the Miniſters of Churches ſhould not be obliged to give an Account of their Doctrin to any but to the Magiſtrates: That in caſe of any Troubles or Inſurrections, they ſhould be protected and defended: That ſuch as carried about the Relicks of the Holy Ghoſt, the Virgin *Mary*, or S. *Anthony*, ſhould not be jeered nor laughed at by any: That the Laws concerning Religion, made by the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, ſhould be obſerved: And that they who tranſgreſſed this Decree, ſhould be preſented to the Magiſtrate and puniſhed.

Cardinal *Campegius*'s Letter to *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*.

Before *Campegius* arived at *Norimberg*, Duke *Frederick* was gone from thence; wherefore on the laſt of *February* he wrote him a Letter, and therewith ſent the Brief which he had received from the Pope: In his Letter he tells him, That it fell out very unluckily, that he could not have the Opportunity to Diſcourſe with him; for that he had many things to impart to him in the Pope's name, which could not ſo conveniently be done by Letters or Meſſengers; and that the Affair was ſuch, as could hardly admit of any Delay: But that ſince it could not be helped; after kind Salutations both from the Pope and himſelf, he comes to tell him, at length, That though it was a common Report, that he was a Favourer of the new Hereſies that now were broaching, yet neither his Holineſs nor he, could as yet be perſuaded of it; for that from the very firſt time he had known him, he had obſerved many Noble and Excellent Virtues in him, and eſpecially that he was Devout in his Religion, and a moſt obedient Son of the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church: So that he would not truſt the Judgments of others, nor have the former good Opinion he had of him, before he underſtood the Matter from himſelf: That within theſe few Years, *Germany*, indeed, was in a manner transformed, and had taken to it ſelf new Rites; but that he very well knew what difference to put betwixt the Mobile and the Nobility and Princes, the Diſpencers of Laws, among whom he had the Preheminence both for his own Virtue atd Deſert, and the Merits of his Anceſtors, who had always much honoured the Church of *Rome*: That therefore it was the Deſire and Wiſh of his Holineſs, That in theſe troubleſome Times, he would imitate the Examples of his Fore-fathers, and by his Carriage and Conduct, make that Virtue more Illuſtrious and Conſpicuous: For that ſince Seditions and dangerous Commotions followed the Heels of one another, there was a Neceſſity of Fortitude and Reſolution in the Magiſtrate; not only in diſliking the Licentiouſneſs of the People, but alſo in ſeverely puniſhing the ſame: That this Severity of Diſcipline, was the rather and the more exactly to be practiſed in his Country; that a greater Combuſtion might ariſe there, if not timely prevented: For it was obvious enough to be underſtood, what they themſelves were to expect, if the Reformation of the Laws and Ceremonies of the Church, were left to the Diſcretion of the People; and that *Bohemia* and *Hungary* were ſad Inſtances of that, in which Places the Troubles and Seditions that were heretofore raiſed for the like Cauſes, were not to this very preſent quieted, as they ought to be: That the States of *Germany* would be much the ſame, if the Raſhneſs and Boldneſs, rather than Liberty of the People, were not repreſſed: That

1524. they who wantonly contemned the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Church and Church Men, would without doubt, at length, attempt upon the Civil Magiſtrates alſo, whom otherwiſe they had no great Kindneſs for: That ſome took delight to ſee the Prelates of the Church, and the Court of *Rome* ſo toſſed and deſpiſed; But in the mean time conſidered not, in how great Danger they were themſelves: But that the Pope, who as the Pilot of a Ship, ſat aloft to watch and look carefully out, foreſaw this approaching Storm, and had therefore ſent him as his Legate, to forewarn all the Princes, and himſelf in particular, of their Danger, and to fit them up to the ſuppreſſing of thoſe Diſorders, which threatned not ſo much the City of *Rome*, as *Germany* it ſelf, with Ruine: That for the ſame Cauſe he had received Letters from him and Injunctions; to treat with his Highneſs about all theſe things, that ſo Peace and Tranquility might be reſtored to *Germany*: For that he was ſent for this Purpoſe, that he might raiſe up thoſe that were fallen, and receive Penitents again into Favour; and that though he was not altogether ſo fit for theſe things, yet truſting to his Highneſſes Favour, *he reſolved to ſet about* them with all Diligence: That ſince then, *he had undertaken ſo painful and tedious a Journey*, wholly upon *that Deſign*, he prayed his Highneſs, That he would be *pleaſed* to favour and *aſſiſt him*, and ſend him a ſpeedy Anſwer, what he thought beſt to be done; and that for his own part, he would be ready to do any thing for his Highneſſes ſake.

Campegius's Speech to the Princes of the Empire.

He made afterwards a Speech in the Colledge of the Princes, and having premiſed ſome Apologies for himſelf; told them, That no Man could be found at *Rome*, who was willing to undertake that Legation; but that, at length, he had been charged therewith, who owed all his Fortune and Promotion to the *Germans*: That he had Inſtructions to treat of two things chiefly, to wit, of Religion, and the *Turkiſh* War: And that in the firſt place, he did, indeed, very much wonder, That ſo many great and honourable Princes, ſhould bear with this Change of Doctrine, and ſuffer the Religion, Rites and Ceremonies, wherein they were born and bred, and their Fathers and Progenitors died, to be thus aboliſhed and trampled upon at the Humour and Perſuaſion of a few Men; without conſidering with themſelves, What would be the End and Event of ſuch an Innovation; which certainly, if it were not timely prevented, could not but produce moſt dreadful Troubles, and the Rebellion of Subjects againſt their Magiſtrates: That his Holineſs *having* ground to fear theſe things, had ſent *him* as *his* Legate, *to joyn with them in deviſing* of Means to Remedy *this Evil*; not *that he would preſcribe to them*, or demand any thing of them; but only aſſiſt *with his* Counſel, and apply ſome healing Medicine to the publick Sore: That if they refuſed the good Offices of the Pope, who as a kind Father and dutiful Paſtor, wiſhed well to his Children and Flock, the Blame could not be hereafter laid at his Door. That as to the *Turk*, he did not deny, but that all the Money which had been raiſed and carried to *Rome* for theſe Wars, had not been employed that way; but that therefore the Publick ought not to be neglected in theſe Calamitous Times: That no Man was ignorant of the Miſchiefs that moſt cruel Enemy had done; that the thing it ſelf ſpoke, and it was plain to be ſeen by all Men; how that through the Security and Slothfulneſs of the Chriſtians, he had lately taken *Rhodes*, and the chief Strength of *Hungary*, and had now opened to himſelf a Way to advance whitherſoever he pleaſed: That *the* Knights of *Rhodes* had, indeed, endured a long Siege, till being deſtitute of all things neceſſary, and no Relief ſent them, they had been forced to ſurrender: That the like was the Fortune of *Hungary*, which if wholly ſubdued, and brought under Subjection to him, it was to be feared, would become a more terrible Enemy to Chriſtendom, than the *Turks* themſelves were: But that after *all*, *it* was his Opinion, That unleſs the Differences about Religion were once removed, the Affairs of State could never proſper.

The Princes Anſwer to the Pope's Legate.

To theſe things the Princes made Anſwer; That they thanked him for the Goodwill he bore towards *Germany*, and were very glad that the Pope had employed him in that Legation: That they would chuſe ſome of their Number, with whom he might treat, and communicate his Thoughts to: That however, they ſuppoſed, he had Inſtructions and Orders of Proceeding, preſcribed to him by his Holineſs, and the Colledge of Cardinals, who were acquainted with the whole State of Affairs; wherefore it was their Deſire to hear what Counſel he had to give them: That they very well underſtood, and ſaw the Danger, which that Change of Religion threatned them with; and that therefore, when the Year before, there was another Legate from the Pope there, they had propoſed a Way and Method for Accommodating

modating the Affair: That they had alſo given to the ſame Legate their Demands to the Pope, in Writing, to be by him delivered unto his Holineſs; which he promiſed to do accordingly: That, therefore, if he had any Inſtructions in relation thereunto, they prayed him to declare them, that ſo they might have ſurer Grounds to proceed on: That the *Turkiſh* Affairs were, indeed, ſuch as he had deſcribed them to be, which was no ſmall Grief unto them: But that that Difficult and moſt Important War concerned not the Empire alone, but alſo all the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendom; for that unleſs they would be at Peace among themſelves, and contribute their Aid and Aſſiſtances, no laſting Meaſures could be taken: That nevertheleſs, ſince the *Turk* was making vaſt Preparations both by Sea and Land, they deſired alſo to know his Judgment as to that matter. 1524.

Hereunto, the Legate replyed, That whether or not any Method, for compoſing the Differences of Religion, had been propoſed by them, or delivered to the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals, he knew nothing at all of it: That his Holineſs was in a *Diſpoſition of doing any thing that* was convenient, and had given him *full Power* and Commiſſion to act; but that it belonged to them who knew the Men, and the Cuſtoms and Condition of the Country, to find out a Way, that might lead to the deſired End. That in the Dyet of *Wormes*, the Emperour, with their unanimous Conſent, had made and publiſhed a Decree, which was renewed again laſt Year; and that then it was judged convenient, that it ſhould take place all over *Germany*; but that nevertheleſs, ſome had obeyed it, and ſome not: That now he was ignorant of the Reaſon of that, and why there ſhould be ſo great a Diverſity and Incongruity in the Empire: That therefore it was his Opinion, That before any thing ſhould be decreed, they would conſider how it was to be executed: That he was not come thither to blow the Coals of Strife and Diſſention, (as ſome ſaid) but that all the Popes Thoughts and his tended to Unity, Peace and Concord, that thoſe who had erred and gone aſtray, might be reduced into the right way, and that the Decrees of Councils, and the Edicts of the Emperour and States might be obſerved: That as to their Demands, whether they were made to be ſent to *Rome* or not, he could not tell: That there had been only three Copies of them brought privately to *Rome*, whereof one had fallen into his Hands; but that the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals could not be perſuaded that they had been framed by the Princes; but thought that ſome private Perſons rather had publiſhed them in hatred to the Court of *Rome*; And that he had no Inſtructions, as to that Particular: That however, he was not to be ſo underſtood, as if he had not full Power and Commiſſion to act in that Affair; but that there were many things in theſe Demands, which did both derogate from the Pope's Authority, and ſavoured alſo of Hereſie, which he could not meddle in: But that for thoſe other Matters, which did not intrench upon the Pope, and were grounded on Juſtice, he did not refuſe to treat of them: That nevertheleſs, he thought, That what they had to ſay to the Pope, might have been more modeſtly propounded: That the *Spaniards* had lately done ſo, who having ſent Ambaſſadours to *Rome*, reſpectfully repreſented their Grievances: But that to Print and diſperſe them among the People, ſeemed to him to be a little too much; though there was no Doubt to be made, but that the Pope would do any thing for the ſake of *Germany*: That his Holineſs was not ignorant neither of the great Power of the *Turk*, and of his Preparations in this time of War, and thought that Peace and Concord among Chriſtian Princes was at preſent abſolutely neceſſary; for effecting whereof he would uſe his utmoſt Endeavours: That he had alſo great Summs of Money in Readineſs, and made *it his* Buſineſs to raiſe more, which he deſigned wholly for this War; but that it was their Part, becauſe of the Neighbourhood of *Hungary*, to aſſiſt the young Prince, who was related to them, both in Blood and Affinity: That the Pope would alſo ſupply him with Money, and had laboured from his firſt Entry into the Pontificate, that having made Peace betwixt the Emperour, the Kings of *England* and *France*, the *Turkiſh* War might be proſecuted with united Forces: That as the chief Paſtor, he made Peace his chief Care and Study; but that if the Sheep would not follow the Voice of the Shepherd, he could do no more: That for the ſame Cauſe, he had been ſent Legate into *Germany*; and that if all the Pains he had taken, muſt be in vain, his Holineſs and he both, muſt bear it patiently, and commit the whole matter to God's Providence.

The Legates Reply.

In *Switzerland*, the Animoſities and Claſhings about Religion increaſed daily, and the reſt of the Cantons, by their Ambaſſadours, made their Lamentation to thoſe of *Zurich*; That in times paſt, all things were Quiet, and no Contention about

The Cantons of *Switzerland* expoſtulate with thoſe of *Zurich* about Religion.

1524. about Religion; but that now ſome raſh, hot-headeded Men, had troubled that lovely Peace and Tranquility both of Church and State, and ſowed among them the Seeds of Diſcord: That it had been well done, to have remedied this growing Evil in the beginning, and in imitation of their Anceſtors, vindicated the Glory and Honour of Almighty God, the Virgin *Mary*, and other Saints, and therein have ſpent their Lives and Fortunes; and that now alſo the State of the Times required the ſame chiefly at their Hands; for that otherwiſe the Diſorders would bring upon them all, unavoidable Ruine, beſides the Loſs of their own Souls: That the Fruits of *Luther*'s new Doctrine, began now ſufficiently to appear: That the Rable and Mobile would hardly now be reſtrained: That they behaved themſelves Inſolently and Sawcily, grew Stubborn and Unruly, and ſeemed ripe for Rebellion, as they had plainly enough intimated of late: That the Contagion of this Evil had been conveighed to them by means of *Zuinglius* and *Leo Jude*, who ſo taught the Word of God, which ought to bring Peace and Concord with it, and interpreted it according to their own Fancy, that they opened all ways to Broils and Diſſentions: And that though they were not certain what their Doctrin was, yet they had daily Experience of the Abuſes which attended it: That on Days prohibited by the Church, Men did eat Fleſh and Egs without any diſtinction: That Prieſts, and the Religious of both Sexes, breaking their Vows, forſook their Profeſſion and Orders, and married: That the Service and Worſhip of God was wholly laid aſide: That there was no more Singing nor Prayers now in Churches; Prieſts were Diſhonoured, Monaſteries Diſſolved, Confeſſion and Penance neglected; ſo that ſome, without any regard to theſe, ſtood not in awe to come and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: That Maſs was railed at, the Virgin *Mary* and other Saints reviled, Pictures and Images pulled down, torn and broken, no Reverence nor Honour ſhewn to the Sacraments of the Church; and that Licentiouſneſs and Impurity was now grown to ſuch a height, That the moſt Holy Hoſt, that Unleavened Bread which repreſents the Body of Chriſt, was ſcarcely ſafe in the Prieſt's Hands. That theſe were matters of ſuch moment, as juſtly deſerved to be bewailed: That, for their parts, they could no longer endure them, eſpecially, ſeeing lately in their laſt Convention, ſome of the Clergy, their Confederates, had by a common and publick Deputation, implored their Aid. That theſe things being ſo, they prayed them, To leave their new Doctrine, and continue in the ancient Religion of their Fore-fathers: But that if they thought themſelves in any thing agrieved and oppreſſed by the Pope, and thoſe that depended on him, as Cardinals, Biſhops, Prelates, and the like, for that they invaded, ſold or exchanged Church-Livings, or that they uſurped to themſelves too great a Juriſdiction, and applyed that Power, which ought only to be exerciſed in Spiritual, to Civil and Temporal Affairs; That if theſe and many other things of that kind, were burthenſome and uneaſie unto them, they were not againſt the having of them reformed; for that they themſelves were extreamly diſpleaſed thereat, and would willingly conſult with them, how they might caſt off that Burthen.

The Anſwer of the Senate of *Zurich*.

On the one and twentieth day of *March*, the Senat of *Zurich* gave their Anſwer; That for theſe five Years now paſt, their Miniſters had preached the Goſpel among them; which in the beginning ſeemed to them to be a new kind of Doctrin indeed, becauſe they had not heard the like before; but that when they came to underſtand that the ſcope and end of it, was only to ſhew, That the only Author and Finiſher of Man's Salvation, was Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhed his precious Blood, and laid down his Life for the Sins of the World, and alone delivered wretched Men from Eternal Death, being the only Mediator betwixt God and Man; they could not but with fervent Deſires imbrace ſuch glad Tydings: That great had been the Harmony and Conſent which was in ancient Times among the Apoſtles, and thoſe, who in the Ages after them embraced the Doctrine of Chriſt; which they hoped would be new alſo among all, who applyed their Minds to it, rejecting Human Traditions, that had no Ground in the Word of God: That if *Luther*, or any Man elſe taught ſo, it was well done; and yet his Name ought not to be objected to any, as if they believed the Doctrine only becauſe he taught it; for that that was a malicious Aſperſion, and reproachful to the Word of God: That, moreover, though they adored Chriſt alone, and had their recourſe to him, yet did they not therefore offer any Injury either to the Virgin *Mary* or the other Saints; for that all theſe when they were upon Earth, expected Salvation only through the Name of Chriſt: That there was now ſuch a Light revealed, that moſt People within their City diligently ſearched and read the Scriptures; nor could the Miniſters of the Church

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wreſt the Scripture, which all Men had in their Hands; ſo that Schiſm and Hereſie 1524.
ought not to be objected to them, but might be juſtly imputed to thoſe, who for worldly Gain, Pomp and Honour, turned the Word of God to what Senſe they pleaſed: That they were charged with Errour, indeed, but that it could not be made out; that the Biſhops of *Conſtance*, *Baſil* and *Coyre*, and ſome Univerſities alſo, had been ſeveral times deſired to do it, but nothing of that kind had been hitherto performed: That beſides, to their laſt Aſſembly, none came from the Biſhops, nor from them neither, except ſome from *Schafheuſen* and *San Gall*; that they, who were then preſent, having diligently conſidered the matter, agreed in Opinion with them: That as to what the Biſhops ſaid, That it was not lawful for them to make the Scriptures ſo common, it was unreaſonable; for it being their Duty to take heed that the Sheep ſhould not go aſtray, it was but juſt that they ſhould bring into the Way ſuch as were out of it; but that ſeeing they did not do it, and referred all things to the Fathers and Councils, they were reſolved to hearken not to what Men decreed, but to what Chriſt commanded: That their Teachers and Miniſters *gave no Cauſe to Diviſions in the State*; but that that Fault lay at their *Doors*, who for their own Profit and Advantage taught Doctrins contrary to the Word of God, for that they were thoſe who led Men into Errour, and grievouſly offended God, who was therefore provoked to puniſh that Boldneſs with various Calamities: That all that Difference and Diſſenſion proceeded from their Covetouſneſs, who were afraid to loſe any of their Profits: But that if theſe Men followed the true Doctrin, and made it their Task, to enquire what God's Will was, and not what Men willed; there was no doubt, but that they would caſt off all Luſt, Pride and Avarice, and apply themſelves to the Study of Peace and Concord: That many Vices, unknown in former Ages, had now overſpread the World, which the Miniſters of their City freely reproved, exhorting Men to the Fear of God; but that if moſt People were not reformed by their Sermons, and did not bring forth Fruit worthy of that Doctrin, it was not the Fault of the Seed ſown, but of the Ground that received it: That it was plainly to be ſeen, That the People within their Territories, did not live in that Rioting and Intemperance, which reigned every where elſe; and that particularly the Men of their Country followed not, as heretofore, Foreign and Mercenary Wars, which doubtleſs cheriſhed and fomented many Vices: That as to the eating of Fleſh and Egs, though it might be *awfully done*, and was not prohibited by Chriſt, yet they had made a Law to *retrain the raſhneſs of the People, who might thereby give Offence*: That God was he Author of Marriage, *who allowed it to all*: That S. *Paul* alſo enjoyned, That Miniſter of the Church *ſhould be the Husband of one Wife*; and that ſeeng Biſhops or a little Money, gave Prieſts leave to keep Concubines, a thing of foul Example, and that they neither could nor would be without Women; they thought it not good to reſiſt God, who inſtituted Matrimony: That the Caſe was the ſame with the Women, who are ſaid to have vowed Chaſtity; for they lookt upon that kind of Obligation and Vow not to be pleaſing to God; and that ſince all People had not the Gift of Continence, it was, in their Judgment, far better for them to marry, than to live in impure Celibacy: That Convents and Colledges of Regulars, were heretofore inſtituted for the Poor and Needy; but that now theſe Revenues were for the moſt part enjoyed by thoſe, who had enough of their own beſides to live on: Nor was it reaſonable that one Man ſhould poſſeſs alone what was ſufficient for the Subſiſtence of many: That therefore it ſeemed juſt to them, that theſe Goods ſhould be again converted to the uſe of the Poor; wherein, nevertheleſs, they uſed that Moderation, that the preſent Poſſeſſors ſhould enjoy them during Life, that no Man might have cauſe to complain: That the Ornaments of Churches belonged not to the true Worſhip of God, but that God was exceeding well pleaſed, when the Neceſſities of the Poor were relieved: That Chriſt commanded the Rich Young Man, in the Goſpel, *Not to hang up his Wealth in Churches for a ſhew, but to ſell all his Goods, and give unto the Poor*: That they did not deſpiſe, but highly eſteemed the Order of Prieſthood, when Prieſts did their Duty, and taught the People aright; but for the reſt of the Rabble, that did no publick Good, but rather Harm, if by little and little they were diminiſhed without giving Scandal, and their Poſſeſſions converted to pious Uſes, they made no doubt but that it would be very acceptable Service to God: That it was to be queſtioned, Whether their Singing and Prayers were pleaſing to God or not; for that moſt of them underſtood not what they ſaid, and beſides were hired to do it: That what tacit and Auricular Confeſſion, which muttered

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1524. over Sins, was good for, they would not undertake to determine; but that they reckoned the other, whereby true Penitents confeſſed their Sins to Chriſt, their Mediator, to be not only profitable, but neceſſary alſo to Conſciences troubled, and born down under the Preſſure of Sin: That that uſual way of Satisfaction, which was very gainful to the Prieſts, was both Erroneous and Impious; that this was truly to Repent and make Satisfaction, when men reformed their Lives: That the Orders of *Monks* was a Human Invention, and no Ordinance of Gods: That they highly Reverenced and Honoured the Sacraments, which had God for their Author, and would not ſuffer any Man to deſpiſe them; but that they were to be uſed according to the Word of God, and Divine Inſtitution, and the Lord's Supper not ſo to be applyed, as if it were an Oblation or Sacrifice: That if the Clergy, who lately ſent Deputies to complain, could prove that they had moleſted them, or that they were guilty of any Errour; they did not refuſe to make them Satisfaction: But if otherwiſe, that it ſeemed reaſonable to them, that they ſhould be enjoyned to do their Duty; that's to ſay, Teach the Truth, and to abſtain from ſlandering of others; that they had been extreamly glad to hear from them, that they were deſirous to be delivered from the Rapine, Extortions and immoderate Power of the Pope and his Dependents; but that there was no better way of accompliſhing that, than to follow in all things the Word of God; for that ſo long as their Laws and Decrees ſhould be in force, there was no Deliverance to be expected; but that the preaching of the Word of God was the only means to ſhake all their Power and Dignity: That they were ſenſible enough of the great Force and Efficacy of the Goſpel, and of the Truth; and becauſe they diſtruſted their own Strength, therefore they had recourſe to Kings and Princes for Aid: That if in this Particular the Aſſiſtance of Scripture was to be made uſe of, the thing it ſelf required, That the ſame ſhould be alſo done in other matters, and that all things whereby God was offended ſhould be aboliſhed; that for the Reformation of all theſe Abuſes, they would freely beſtow not only their Labour and Counſils, but their Eſtates and Fortunes alſo; for that it was a thing, which ought to have been done long ſince: That therefore they prayed them to take in good part what they had ſaid, and ſeriouſly reflect upon the ſame; that for their parts, they deſired nothing more earneſtly, than that all might live in Peace: That, in like manner, they would do nothing contrary to the Articles and Conditions of the League; but that in this Cauſe, which concerned their Eternal Salvation, they could not do otherwiſe than they did, unleſs they were convinced of their Errour: That therefore, as they had lately, ſo again they earneſtly deſired them, if they thought their Doctrin to be repugnant to Holy Scripture, that they would make it ſo appear to them, within a certain time, to wit, before the End of *May*; for till then they would expect an Anſwer from them, and from the Biſhops, and from the Univerſity of *Baſil*.

The Biſhop of *Conſtance*'s Book to thoſe of *Zurich*.

In the mean time the Biſhop of *Conſtance* having held a Synod, made Anſwer to thoſe of *Zurick*, in a little Book compoſed for that purpoſe; wherein he treats of Idols and graven Images, what they were of old; how the Jews and Gentiles worſhipped them; why the Church received Images and Pictures, what time they were firſt introduced, wherein the Idols of the Jews and Gentiles differed from the Images of Chriſtians, and concludes; that when the Scripture ſpeaks of putting away graven Images, it was only to be underſtood of the Idols of the Jews and Gentiles, and that therefore, the Images received by the Chriſtian Church, were ſtill to be retained. In the next place, he handled the Maſs, and alledging many teſtimonies of Popes and Councils, endeavours to prove it to be an Oblation and Sacrifice. This Book which was pretty long, he ſent to the Senate about the beginning of *June*, and ſeriouſly exhorted them not to ſuffer Images to be removed, the Maſs aboliſhed, nor the people to be any otherwiſe taught. He cauſed the Book to be afterwards Printed, and ſent it about, and among others, to the Canons of *Zurick*; giving for his Reaſons, that though it had been written for the private uſe of the Senate, who craved it of him, yet becauſe he had heard that queſtions and animoſities did ariſe in other places alſo upon the ſame account, he was willing to make but one buſineſs of it, and to conſult the intereſt of the reſt alſo; that therefore he adviſed them to follow the received cuſtom of the Church, and not to be perſuaded by any mans Reaſons to the contrary.

Their Anſwer to it.

The Senate replied to this, *Auguſt* the eighteenth, that they had carefully read the Book over and over again, and were extremely glad that he had publiſhed it; for that ſo it would appear which of the two maintained the better Cauſe: Then they tell what was the opinion of their Doctors

Doctors and Learned men, and confute his Arguments by Scripture: But before they wrote back unto him, the Senate had already commanded that all Images both within the City, and in all other places alſo within their Juriſdiction, ſhould be pulled down and burnt, but all without tumult: This was done on the fifteenth of *June*, and ſome months after, the Canons treated and came to a compoſition with the Senate, who both together agreed upon a way how the goods and revenues of the College ſhould be diſpoſed of. 1524.

Images aboliſhed at *Zurich*.

The Emperor ſent *John Haunart* to the Diet of *Norimberg*, before mentioned, to complain that the Decree of *Wormes*, which was made with their unanimous advice and conſent, had been to the great prejudice of *Germany*, infringed, and to command that it ſhould be carefully obſerved for the future: To which the Princes Anſwered, That they would obſerve it, as far as they could. At length, *April* the eighteenth, it was Decreed, That with the Emperors conſent, the Pope ſhould, with all convenient ſpeed, call a free Council in ſome proper place in *Germany*; that *November* the eleventh, the States ſhould aſſemble again at *Spire*, to conſult what was to be followed, until the Council ſhould commence; and that the Princes in their ſeveral Provinces, ſhould appoint ſome pious and learned men, to collect out of the Books of *Luther* and others, all diſputable points, to be preſented to the Princes in the next Diet, that they might proceed more orderly, when they ſhould come to be examined in Council: Furthermore, that the Magiſtrates ſhould take ſpecial care that the Goſpel ſhould be purely and ſoberly taught, according to the ſenſe and interpretation of Expoſitors approved by the Church; that no infamous Libels and Pictures ſhould any more be publiſhed; and laſtly, that thoſe things wherewith the Princes had lately charged the Court of *Rome* and the Clergy, ſhould be treated of and diſcuſſed in the next Diet of *Spire*. As concerning the Council *Campegius* promiſed to make a Report to the Pope, as the Princes at this Dyet had deſired him; who were *Lewis* Prince *Palatine*, *William* and *Lewis* Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, *Caſimire* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, the Biſhops of *Treves*, *Bamberg*, *Wurtzburg*, *Trent*. and *Brixen*, and *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, Maſter of *Pruſia*.

The Receſs or Decree of the Dyet of *Norimberg*.

You have heard before what the Senate of *Strasburg* offered to their Biſhop, concerning the Prieſts, whom he had cited to appear before him at *Savern*: But they not appearing at the Day, he wrote to the Legate *Campegius*, complaining, That he was hindered by the Senate, in the execution of his Juriſdiction; ſo that he could not puniſh thoſe who contrary to the Sacred Canons, had married Wives: And beſides that, contrary to the Pontifical Conſtitutions, the Senate made Prieſts Freemen of the City. *Thomas Murner*, a *Franciſcan* Fryer, went at that time from *Strasburg* to *Norimberg*, and made a grievous Complaint of the Senate to the Cardinal: But the Deputies of the Republick that were ſent to the Dyet, hearing of the Biſhop's Complaint, went to the Legate to purge themſelves, and juſtifie the Senate, who, they ſaid, had not hitherto, nor were they yet purpoſed to be any Lett or Hindrance to the Biſhop; but on the contrary, that they had expreſly ſignified to him by Letters, That if he had any Action againſt married Prieſts, grounded on the Law of God, he might freely put it into Execution; and that he would be aſſiſtant to him therein: That however, the Senate took it ill, that the Biſhop ſhould flinch from his Agreement; for that it had been ſtipulated, That when he had any Action againſt a Clergy-man, he ſhould try it before his City-Official: but that without any regard to this Agreement, he had cited the Defendants to appear out of the City; and that when in their own Defence, they pleaded the Articles of the Compact, and did not appear, they had been condemned without a Hearing: That if the Senate ſhould now ſuffer any Sentence to be executed againſt them, whilſt they appealed to Law and Equity, there was no doubt, but that it would occaſion a Tumult and Uproar among the People: That as to their making Prieſts Free-men of the City, it had been an ancient Cuſtom ſo to do; that the Senate alſo had not long ſince been deſired by the Biſhop, to take the Clergy into their Protection, and that that was the uſual way of doing it. To theſe things the Legate made anſwer, That having read the Biſhop's Letter, and the ſtate of the Caſe which he had ſent him, he found that their being cited to appear without the City, was not contrary to the Order and Courſe of Law, and that the Biſhop had the ſame Power that his Vicar had; that therefore he prayed, That the Senate would aſſiſt the Biſhop in puniſhing them. After a great deal of Diſcourſe, wherein the Deputies maintained that Juſtice was to be adminiſtred in the Capital City; they furthermore told the Legate, That the greateſt part of the Clergy of *Strasburg* gave very bad Example by their lewd and ſcandalous Lives, keeping Concubines in their

The Biſhop *Strasburg*'s Complaint to Cardinal *Campegius*.

The Senate's Juſtification.

Campegius's Plea with the Deputies of *Strasburg*.

1524. Houſes, to the great offence of the People, which was altogether connived at, and no Man as yet puniſhed by the Biſhop for the ſame: That if now, the Senate ſhould ſuffer him to puniſh thoſe who obſerved not the Pope's Law, whilſt they who broke the Law of God, had liberty to Whore, and give all the bad Examples of a moſt filthy and vicious Life; who would doubt but that they would thereby expoſe themſelves to a great deal of Danger? To this he replyed, That he knew not what Agreements there were betwixt them; but that the Crime of thoſe Men was notorious, and needed not any great Tryal at Law; ſince they were, *ipſo facto*, excommunicated: That therefore, the Biſhop was to be aſſiſted: That the Whoredom and diſhoneſt Lives of other Men, did not excuſe their Crime: That they who lived ſo did very ill, and that the Biſhop neglected his Duty in conniving at them: That he knew it to be a received Cuſtom in *Germany*, That the Biſhops for Money allowed Fornication to the Prieſts; for which they were to render an account ſome time or other; but that it was not Lawful therefore, for thoſe to marry: And that it was a far greater Sin for Prieſts to have Wives, than to keep ſeveral Concubines; for that the one were perſuaded that they did right, and the other knew and confeſſed that what they did was ſinful: That all Men had not the Continence of S. *John Baptiſt*; and that no Inſtance could be given, That it was lawful for them to forſake Single Life; no not among the *Greeks*, who in Rites differed from the Church of *Rome*: That therefore, he again intreated them to aid and aſſiſt the Biſhop. To theſe things the Deputies ſaid, That if the Biſhop would begin, and puniſh the Whoring Prieſts firſt, then the Senate could much more conveniently aſſiſt him afterwards in any lawful Proceeding againſt the others. But he again urged, That they ſhould firſt aſſiſt their Biſhop, and if he puniſhed not the Fornicators, that he would come in Perſon, and ſee it done, as they ſeverally deſerved.

The Reſolution of ſome Catholicks at *Ratisbone*.

After the Diet of *Norimberg*, the Archduke *Ferdinand*, *Campegio* Archbiſhop of *Saliſburg*, the Dukes of *Bavaria*, the Biſhops of *Trent* and *Ratiſbone*, with the Deputies of the Biſhops of *Bamberg*, *Spire*, *Straſburg*, *Auſburg*, *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, *Freiſingen*, *Paſſaw* and *Brixen*, met at *Ratiſbone*, and on the Sixth of *July*, came to this Reſolution: That whereas the Emperor, in compliance with the Opinion and Deſire of Pope *Leo* X, had by a publick Decree, at *Wormes*, condemned the Doctrin of *Luther* as impious and erroneous; and that whereas it had been decreed both in the former and laſt Diets of *Norimberg*, That all ſhould obey it, as much as lay in their power. They therefore, at the Suit of Cardinal *Campegio*, who had full Power and Commiſſion from the Pope in that Affair, did will and command, that that Edict, and the Decrees lately made in the Diet, ſhould be obſerved throughout all their Dominions and Jurisdictions: That the Goſpel and all other Scriptures ſhould be taught in Churches, according to the Interpretation of Antients, who were conſpicuous for purity of Life, and confirmed their Doctrin by Sufferings and Martyrdom: That all who taught old Hereſies, or any thing elſe that was reproachful to Chriſt, his Mother, or the Saints, or which tended to Sedition, ſhould be puniſhed according to the Tenor of the Edict: That no Man ſhould be admitted to Preach, without a Licence from the Biſhop: That they who Preach'd already, ſhould be Examin'd, and that no Place ſhould be given to private and clandeſtine Sermons: That the Eccleſiaſtical Regulations made by *Campegio*, with common conſent, againſt Vice, and for reforming of Manners, when once they were publiſhed, ſhould be obſerved: That no Alterations ſhould be made in the Sacraments, Maſs, and other Rites of Worſhip, but all things done as formerly, in the times of their Anceſtors: That they who without Confeſſion and Abſolution, received the Lord's Supper; they who on day's prohibited, did eat Fleſh and other forbidden Meats; all Monks and Nuns who forſook their Order; and all Prieſts, Deacons and Subdeacons that Married, ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed: That nothing ſhould be Printed without the Magiſtrates leave; but eſpecially, that none of the Books of *Luther* and his Adherents ſhould be Publiſhed or Sold: That thoſe within their Dominions who ſtudied at *Wittemberg*, ſhould within three Months after they had notice of this Decree, return home, or go ſome where elſe, where *Luther*'s poyſonous Doctrin had not reached: That they who were diſobedient herein, ſhould be deprived of all their Benefices, and loſe their Inheritance: That they who continued in that Univerſity, ſhould be incapable of any Church-Living, or of the Privileges of Teaching Youth. And that for the more effectual putting theſe things in execution, ſome fit Men ſhould be commiſſioned, to make diligent enquiry into all Matters, and therein aſſiſt the Governors of Places: That the guilty ſhould be committed

committed to Priſon, and puniſhed according to their Deſervings: That they who ſhould be proſcribed and baniſhed, ſhould have no place of refuge within their Territories: And that if any Stirs or Inſurrections happened within any of their Limits, by reaſon of this Decree, that they ſhould mutually help and aſſiſt one another; but ſo, that it ſhould be no derogation to any League that they might have with others. Moreover, becauſe, as they ſaid, the vicious Lives of the Prieſts had given cauſe to *Luther*'s Hereſie, by the Advice of the Legate *Campegio*, they made theſe following Laws, for Reformation of the Clergy: That they ſhould live Vertuouſly, be cloathed Decently, not Traffick, avoid Taverns and Publick-Houſes, not be Covetous, nor extort Money for adminiſtration of holy Things: That ſuch as kept Concubines ſhould be turned out of Place: And that the number of Holy-days ſhould be moderated. *Campegio* had a great mind to have had theſe things enacted in the Diet of the Empire; but ſeeing he could not accompliſh that, by reaſon of the averſion that ſome had to Popery he held this ſeparate Convention. 1524.

The Regulations for Reformation of the Clergy.

When *Luther* underſtood that the Emperor and moſt part of the Princes urged the execution of the Decree of *Wormes*, he bewailed the ſtate of *Germany*, which being ſo often admoniſhed, neglected its own Intereſt: He expoſtulated alſo with the Princes themſelves, that being palpably and groſsly cheated by the Popes of *Rome*, they ſhould ſo zealouſly maintain their Dignity, and attempt the Deſtruction of him a ſingle Man, who wiſh'd their Welfare and Proſperity: Wherefore in regard of their high Ingratitude, and inexcuſable Obſtinacy, he ſaid there was a dreadful Tempeſt hanging over *Germany*: He admoniſhed them alſo not to be raſh in engaging in a War, or contributing Money againſt the *Turk*, who in Counſel and Moderation far exceeded our Princes: That while our Lives and Manners were ſuch, there was no Victory to be expected: That it was a very ridiculous and abſurd thing, for the Emperor, who could not add a minutes time to his own Life, to call himſelf *Defender of the Faith and Church*: That the King of *England* was guilty of the like boldneſs, in taking to himſelf the ſame Title: But that he prayed God to ſet ſuch Magiſtrates over his People, as might prove zealous in promoting the Glory of his Divine Majeſty.

Luther's Admonition to the Princes of *Germany*.

The Pope ſent the Golden Roſe, which he had lately conſecrated; as the Cuſtom is, three Weeks before *Eaſter*, to *Henry* King of *England*, as a certain Pledge, in token of his ſingular Good-will and favour towards him.

The Pope ſends a Golden Roſe to the King of *England*.

At this very time came forth a Treatiſe, written by *Eraſmus*, concerning Free-will; which *Luther* afterwards anſwered in a Book, entituled, *de Servo Arbitrio*, or Bond-will. The King of *England* and Cardinal of *York* put *Eraſmus* upon the handling of that Subject, as he himſelf acknowledges, in a Letter to the Cardinal, which is printed. Now alſo, *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain*, ordered by Proclamation, That ſince *Luther*'s Doctrin was condemned by the Pope and Emperour, and by the moſt famous Univerſites, none of his Subjects ſhould in their Sermons teach any ſuch Doctrin; that they alſo who had any of *Luther*'s Books, ſhould bring them in by a Day prefixt, or otherwiſe incur a Penalty by him appointed.

Eraſmus his Book of Free-will.

This Year *Henry of Zutphen*, was for preaching the Goſpel, put to a ſad and painful Death at *Dietmarſh*, upon the Borders of *Germany*; he had gone thither upon a Call, after he had preached two Yers at *Bremen*.

Henry of Zutphen ſuffers.

We told you before of a Dyet that in *November* was to be held at *Spire*; but that Deſign was altered, and when the Emperour knew of the Decree which appointed it, he wrote from *Spain* to the States of the Empire on the thirteenth of *July*, and blamed them very much for ſo doing: For that ſince ſome Years before, he had with the Advice and Conſent of all the States, in the Dyet of *Wormes*, ſolemnly condemned the Doctrin of *Luther* as peſtilent and Heretical, and had commanded his Books, which upon due examination, had been condemned by the Pope, to be burnt; he could not, he ſaid, but think it very ſtrange, and be troubled, that they ſhould only prohibit Scandalous Books and Pictures to be ſold; as if the Edict of *Wormes* had been illegally made: That he was alſo ſomewhat more troubled, that they ſhould both deſire to have a Council in *Germany*, and alſo make addreſs to the Legate *Campegius*, to write to the Pope about it, as if that did not concern the Pope or him, more than them; for if they thought it ſo much for the Intereſt of *Germany* to have a Council, why did they not make their Application to him, that he might obtain it from the Pope? That now, though he was ſenſible, how much that Decree of theirs entrenched both upon the Pope's Authority and his own; yet conſidering with himſelf, That the Courſe propoſed

1524. might be profitable and advantagious to the Publick, he therefore, approved of a Council alſo, but conditionally, That it were called by the Pope's Authority, and held in Time and Place convenient, ſo that he himſelf might be preſent thereat, as he was fully reſolved to be: But, that they had appointed another Dyet to begin the eleventh of *November*, wherein they reſolved to adjuſt matters of Religion, until the ſitting of the Council: That they had alſo appointed ſome learned Divines to collect and judge of the chief Points of Doctrin, he could by no means, nor would he conſent to it; but as by Duty he was obliged, being Protector and Defender of the *Roman* Church, he utterly diſapproved that Decree, leſt he ſhould offend both God and the Pope: For what could be more Reproachful to the Church of Chriſt, than to ſee the Reverence which was done to the Supreme Power thus proſtituted? to ſee *Germany*, which had been ever celebrated above all other Nations for Piety and Obedience, alone to attempt ſo weighty an Affair, as no Princes, no not the Pope himſelf durſt undertake; which was to renounce and aboliſh that Religion, which had ſo long flouriſhed in the Chriſtian World; from *which* Religon no Man ever made defection, but he felt the heavy Hand of God puniſhing *him for* his Crime? That *Luther*, indeed, now oppoſed it, and by alluring Words and crafty Inſinuations, ſeduced Men into Snares, and made himſelf Popular; juſt ſo as *Mahomet* formerly had done; who by his Doctrin wrought more Miſchief to Chriſtendom, than any armed Force could ever have done; but that when Errours of that Nature, under a Colour of Truth, once made an Impreſſion upon the Minds of Men, it was not eaſie to efface it again: That he prayed God, to look favourably upon *Germany*, and not to ſuffer ſo great a Calamity to overſpread it during his Life. That therefore they ſhould obey the Edict of *Wormes*, unleſs they would ſmart for it, and not to meddle in Controverſies about Religion, till the Pope and he, who were their chief Magiſtrates, ſhould think fit to call a Council. To the ſame purpoſe alſo, he wrote privately to ſome of the States, and among others to the Senate of *Strasburg*, ſo that that Decree for a future Dyet, was vacated; for the Emperour being ingaged in a War with *France*, endeavoured by all means to gain the Pope.

The Duke of *Bourbonne* Beſieges *Marſeilles.*

This Summer *Charles* Duke of *Bourbonne*, Conſtable of *France*, who the Year before, partly of himſelf, and partly at the Emperour's Sollicitation, had revolted, beſieged *Marſeilles*; but in vain: Upon his Retreat from thence into *Italy*, the King purſued him in great haſte, and having ſeized moſt of the Places in *Lumbardy*, and taken the City of *Milan* it ſelf, towards *Winter* he laid Siege to *Pavia*, a Town upon the River *Teſino*.

An Inſurrection of the Boors.

In the Month of *November* the Boors of *Schwabenland* began to riſe againſt their Lord, the Count of *Lupſie*, pretending to be overcharged by him. The ſame did afterwards ſome of their Neighbours alſo, againſt their ſeveral Magiſtrates; ſo that the Council of the Empire, which, as we ſaid, managed the Government in the Emperour's abſence, and ſate then at *Eſling*, were obliged to ſend Commiſſioners to compoſe ſome Controverſies: However, this Tumult ceaſed not, for all that, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, but was the beginning of an extraordinary and dangerous Commotion; which in proceſs of time imbroiled a great part of *Germany*.

Complaints of the Popiſh Clergy againſt the Senate of *Strasburg.*

As *Luther*'s Doctrin began more and more to ſpread, ſo the Clergy beſtirred themſelves more vigorouſly to oppoſe it, finding that their Goods and Fortunes lay at ſtake: And ſome of the Church-men of *Strasburg*, made a heavy Complaint to the Council of the Empire, That the Senate did many ways invade and infringe their Liberties and Priviledges, that they promoted married Prieſts and Monks, as *Capito*, *Bucer*, and others, to Churches: That they received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both Kinds, and that they had in a tumultary manner caſt the Images out of their Churches. Wherefore *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, and *Philip* Marqueſs of *Baden*, two of the chief of the Council of the Empire, which then was at *Eſling*, wrote to the Senate of *Strasburg*, in the Month of *January*, admoniſhing them to deſiſt, and to reſtore all things as they were before.

1525.

Oecolampadius preaches at *Baſil.*

Some of the *Switzers*, as particularly they of *Schafhauſen* and *Baſil*, where *John Oecolampadius* preached, began by little and little to relent in their ſpight againſt the *Zurichers*; but the reſt, eſpecially *Lucerne*, *Uri*, *Switz*, *Underwaldt*, *Zug* and *Friburg* could by no means be appeaſed. And when the Governor of *Turegie*, to which Country *Zurich* adjoyns, was carrying off a Prieſt whom he had apprehended in the Night-time, he called out for help, and preſently raiſed a Tumult of the People,

A Tumult at *Zurich.*

People, as is uſual in ſuch caſes; ſo that the Allarm flying into the Country, all were preſently in Arms. The *Zurichers* alledged that this was an injury done unto them, becauſe the Man had been taken within their Jurisdiction: And having received many other Affronts beſides, on the Fourth of *January* they wrote to all their Confederates and Allies to this effect; Chriſt, ſay they, commands, *That if one ſmite us on one Cheek, we ſhould turn up to him the other.* In obedience to this Doctrin, we have indeed ſuffered many things, and that patiently too: But now that there is no end nor meaſure of Wrongs and Injuries, we are forced to betake our ſelves to that which Chriſt himſelf made uſe of; and if we have done any evil, we deſire to be convicted of it. Since then we lye obnoxious to ſo much envy, and are every where evil ſpoken of, the thing it ſelf certainly requires and extorts an Anſwer from us. And therefore we will ſhew the Cauſes of this hatred, refute the Accuſations brought againſt us, and make it appear how we ſtand affected towards the common Country. And in the firſt place, when *Francis* King of *France* had long and earneſtly ſolicited a League, and had therein obtained your conſents; though you had often dealt with us to engage therein, yet we abſolutely refuſed it; and that for divers reaſons, but chiefly this, That we did not like that courſe, of letting out our Men to others for Money, that they may fight againſt thoſe who never did them any injury; for that it was a thing of bad Example, and accuſtomed them to idleneſs; and if they ſhould chance to die in the Wars, they muſt leave their Wives and Children in extreme poverty: Nay we looked upon it alſo as baſe and unworthy with our own loſs to ſneak ſo to any King, as in a manner to enſlave our Countrymen to his Will and Pleaſure: Wherefore we judged it our Duty to retain the liberty of Bodies and Eſtates which our Anceſtors with great Valour and bloody Hands purchaſed for us, and to defend it with the like Courage and Conſtancy. Now this ſeemeth to be the ſource and cauſe of all the grudge and prejudice that is entertained againſt us; for we verily believe, that if we had approved the League with the reſt, we ſhould not have heard of any Quarrels nor Animoſities: For when ye often dealt with us, that we would not ſeparate from the reſt, we always told you what our Thoughts were, That we would live quietly, and entertain friendſhip with the King, according to the Treaty of Peace long ago concluded, and would obſerve the Conditions of our ancient League contracted for the defence and welfare of our common Country: And becauſe we ſtuck to that, we have drawn upon our ſelves hatred from abroad. After that the Light of the Goſpel began to ſhine among us, we have ſhaken off that Burthen which the Pope and his Party had laid upon us ignorant Men, and aboliſhed manifeſt Errors. Some of you have laid hold on this occaſion, and by your Deputies required us to reform: But we made anſwer then, as we had done many times before, That we acted according to the Preſcript of God's Holy Word: That if any Man could convince us of Error, we would change our Purpoſe; but if not, that it was but reaſonable that we ſhould obey God rather than Man. With that, *Egly* the Governor of *Lucern* ſtood up and told us, That unleſs we did renounce the Sect of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, thoſe of *Lucern*, *Uri*, *Switz*, *Underwaldt*, *Zug* and *Friburg* would ſit no more in Aſſembly with us. And not long after they had made a Law among themſelves to that purpoſe, the Governor of *Turegie* apprehended *John Oxline*, a Miniſter of the Word, in his own Houſe, in the Night-time, and carried him away Priſoner; whereby we have received a double injury: Firſt in that it was a Treſpaſs not only upon a Man of ours, but alſo upon our Limits: And then, in that, when upon his crying out for help, many armed Men flocked together, and, as it is uſual in ſuch caſes, committed many Inſolencies; our Men, who crouded out promiſcuouſly with the reſt, and we who were innocent, bear all the blame of the Fact. Now the ſecond thing wherewith you charge us, proceeds from that Convention which laſt year *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Auſtria* held at *Ratiſbone* with the Governors of his Country, the Biſhops and others, who cannot endure the pure Doctrin of the Goſpel. But it is plain enough that for a long while it has been their deſign to raiſe Diſſenſions among us, and, to divide us one from another: And it grieves us the more, that ye ſhould truſt ſuch; for there are ſome among them, whom you have ſometimes accounted lewd and wicked Men, and whom we, underſtanding their ſnares and treachery, baniſhed out of our Territories. Theſe very Men now, finding that we would not give ear to their tricks and artifices, are fled to you, and now accuſe us, as if we had broken that League, which was once made with the Houſe of *Auſtria*. They ſay that we gave aid to our Neighbors of *Waldhuſt* againſt *Ferdinand* their Prince, but

1525.

The *Zurichers* expoſtulate with the reſt of the Cantons.

it

1525. it is falſe. For when they of *Waldhuſt* were in danger for the profeſſion of the Reformed Religion, and were not admitted to plead their own Cauſe; ſome of our Men of their own accord, unknown to us, ran thither to defend harmleſs People from violence and force; but ſo ſoon as we were informed of it, we recalled them: So then that head of Accuſation falls of it ſelf. But if *Ferdinand* have any thing elſe to object unto us, as to the violation of the League, let him alledge it, and he ſhall have an Anſwer; ſo that all Men ſhall plainly ſee, which ſide hath kept to their Articles. But that you ſhould have treated privately with Archduke *Ferdinand*'s Embaſſadors, our Deputies being excluded from the Conference, is a thing that we have good reaſon to wonder at; for if the Treaty had been about the old League, it was but juſt that we ſhould have been admitted; but if it was about Religion, why do ye not proceed with us upon the conditions that we have many times offered unto you? There was a ſtrong report, that you have combined together for the Subverſion of the *Lutheran* Religion; which if true, yet ſeeing we are joyned in League, as well with him as with you; and that we follow not the ſteps of *Luther*, but the dictates of holy Scripture, we ought not to be reckoned of that number: But ſince we are ignorant of what was done betwixt you, and yet are maliciouſly accuſed, as if without your knowledge we had ſolicited ſome Cities for Aid; we proteſt it is a meer Calumny. Of the ſame nature is that other report alſo, That we reſolved, by a Signal given, to Muſter Men together of a ſudden, and to ſurprize *Baden* and ſome other places; for theſe are Lyes deviſed by them to incite you to ſeize thoſe places, and to put Gariſons in them againſt us: And if that were once done, they make no doubt, but that it would raiſe ſuch Stirs and Commotions, as may kindle a Domeſtick and Civil War among us. There are beſide many other Calumnies forged againſt us; as, among others, That we teach, that *Mary* the Mother of *Chriſt*, had ſeveral Sons; and that it was *James* the Younger, and not *Chriſt* himſelf that died for us. Theſe and ſuch other Slanders we would have refuted at *Lucern*, but our Men were hindred by you from ſpeaking to the People. When *Eckius* alſo gave it out, that he would convince *Zuinglius* of his Errors, we were very glad of it, and gave him and others alſo a ſafe Conduct, earneſtly exhorting him to come, and promiſing to receive him with all Good-will and Affection. We are told alſo, that our pulling down of Images and Pictures hath given very great offence; but we have already given Reaſons for our ſo doing. Since therefore we have done nothing againſt the Articles and Conditions of the League; ſince we refuſe no danger for the ſafety and welfare of our common Country, and that we have the ſame Love and Affection for you, that we have always had, as far as you give us leave, why do we ſuffer this Diviſion among us? It is well known, what the ſtate and condition of ſome of our Anceſtors was, who being content with their own Limits, and by hard labour getting a Livelyhood for themſelves and Families, were oppreſſed by the Nobility with heavy Bondage: But God looked favourably upon them; for having driven out the Tyrants, they recovered their liberty; and being inriched by the Goods of thoſe whom they ejected, they ſtrengthned themſelves by a League, under the Protection whereof they valiantly defended themſelves againſt all Foreign Force, and have many times triumphed over their Enemies: Many have alſo laboured to infringe and diſſolve that Society, but in vain: Now what Aid and Aſſiſtance our Anceſtors contributed in thoſe difficult times, we doubt not but you will remember. And this, in ſhort may ſuffice to be ſaid of the Original and Beginning of our League: Nor do we think it needful to relate what Diligence, Fidelity and Zeal we have ever ſince ſhewn in promoting the Honor and Dignity of our common Country; for we ſtill retain the ſame good Intentions that hitherto we have had: Which being ſo, it exceedingly grieves us, that at the inſtigation of others, who ſeek their own Ends, you ſhould be ſo exaſperated againſt us. Conſider rather with your ſelves what Friendſhip hath always been among us, when in ſeveral places, as well at home as abroad, we ran the ſame Fortune of War, and did many brave Actions. Certainly the thoughts of theſe things ought to unite not only us, but our Poſterity alſo, in the ſtricteſt Bonds of Amity. If the cauſe of Religion, or any thing elſe that we have done, give you offence, why do we not amicably debate the matter among our ſelves, as it becomes Allies and Confederates, linked together in a kind of Brotherly Fellowſhip? We ſhall not be moroſe, obſtinate or perverſe; but willingly ſubmit to better Information, as we have often declared. Now therefore, ſince the Profeſſion of the Reformed Religion, the Refuſal of the *French* League, beſides

ſides many other Calumnies forged againſt us, have alienated your Minds from us, and changed your former Good-will; we were neceſſarily obliged to write theſe things, to clear our Honor and Reputation: For unleſs, as it hath been often ſaid already, it be proved by Scripture that we have erred, we cannot part from thoſe Decrees which we have made about Religion, what Force ſoever be bent againſt us for the ſame. 1525.

The Senate of *Strasburg* gives an Anſwer to the Council of the Empire.

The Senate of *Straſburg*, by Letters which on the Thirteenth of *February* they [illegible] to the Imperial Council, refuted all that had been laid to their charge, affirming that three Informers had falſely taken to themſelves the Name of the Repreſentatives of a Party; when indeed no Man moved in the matter, but they only who were reſtleſs buſie Men that had left the City, to raiſe Diſturbances: That for their own parts, they had done nothing but what they might do by Law; and that for avoiding of greater Commotions, they could not but allow the People the exerciſe of the Reformed Religion, which grew now daily more and more publick: That they begg'd therefore that they would not give credit to thoſe Informers, but judge ſo of them, as of thoſe who in imitation of their Forefathers, directed all their Thoughts to the Peace and Welfare of the Empire. The Preachers alſo and Miniſters of the Churches, whom theſe had informed againſt, as was ſaid before, wrote at the ſame time a long Apology for themſelves, giving the ſame Counſellors the Reaſons of their Doctrins and Practices: And ſeeing they had acted nothing contrary to the Law of God, they earneſtly pray them not to give credit to malicious Informers, nor to come to any Determination, before the Matter were fully examined.

The Apology of the Miniſters of *Straſburg*.

The War was hot at this time in *Italy*, betwixt the Emperor and *Francis* King of *France*, who marching thither, as I ſaid, and having in the Winter-time laid Seige to *Pavia*, about the latter end of *February* they came to a Battel; where he was made Priſoner, and carried to the Emperor in *Spain*. In this War, Pope *Clement* ſecretly ſided with the *French*, but upon the change of Fortune, he gave the Officers of the Imperial Army a great ſum of Money to pay off their Soldiers. *Pavia* was kept out by *Antonia di Leyva*, and a Gariſon of *Spaniards* and *Germans*. The King had a vaſt Army before it, inſomuch that the Imperialiſts, almoſt in deſpair of preſerving *Lombardy*, were thinking of drawing off their Forces, and marching to *Naples* for the defence of that Kingdom; but being encouraged by the Speech of *Ferdinand d'Avalos* Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, they engaged in Battel; and having routed the Enemy, and taken Priſoner a moſt powerful King, obtained a moſt glorious Victory, and rich Booty. *Charles de Lanoy*, a *Dutchman*, Commanded in Chief; who pretending at firſt to carry the King to *Naples*, when he was out at Sea, changed his courſe, and ſailed ſtreight to *Spain*, that ſo the Treaty of Peace might be the more expeditious. This Battel was fought on the Twenty fourth of *February*, the Emperor's Birth-day.

The *French* King made Priſoner.

A little before we took notice of the Inſurrection of the Boors, which was quieted; but this Year, in the beginning of the Spring, there happened in *Schwabia*, and the neighbouring Parts of *Germany* that lye upon the *Danube*, another Riſing of the Common People againſt ſome of the Prelates of the Church; and theſe had ſworn a League and Covenant, for the defence, as they pretended, of the Doctrin of the Goſpel, and the delivering of themſelves from Bondage. The Magiſtrates offered to examin their grievances, and to reform what was amiſs; but they continued, and daily encreaſed: However they did not as yet take the Field, but met now and then on certain days, upon occaſion of Weddings, and ſuch like publick Feaſts. And at the ſame time ſome of their Demands, to the number of twelve, were publiſhed; wherein they deſired Satisfaction from the Magiſtrates, as you ſhall learn in the following Book: Theſe being forthwith communicated to others, occaſioned new Stirs in many places.

Ulrick Duke of *Wertemberg* in vain attempts to recover his Country.

While theſe things were a brewing, *Ulrick* Duke of *Wertemberg*, whom ſome years before the Confederates of the *Schwabian* League had driven out of his Country, as ſhall be mentioned hereafter in its proper place, got together an Army of ſome thouſand *Swiſſes*, for the recovery of his own; and beſides other places, took the Suburbs of *Sutgart*, and there poſſeſſed himſelf, that he might alſo make himſelf Maſter of the Town: But the States of the *Schwabian* League, and *Ferdinand*'s Officers alſo, who were in Poſſeſſion of that Country, raiſing Soldiers; the Officers and Soldiers in like manner being tamper'd with to deſert him, and he wanting Money, he was forſaken, and forced to deſiſt. In the mean time, the Army of the Boors much encreaſed; and the *Schwabian* Confederates, whom we named, having

1525. having repulsed the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and regained the Towns which he had taken, marched to *Ulm*, with their Forces against them, who then also had taken the Field, and divide their Army into three Bodies, posting them, one near to *Bibrach*, another in *Algow*, and the third by the Lake of *Constance*: But upon the Mediation of the Citizens of *Ravensburg* and *Kempen*, some of the Commanders of the Boors Army coming with Safe-Conduct to *Ulm*, a Cessation of Arms was agreed upon for some Days, but not observed, for which they mutually blamed one another, and so fell to Hostilities; wherefore the Council of the Empire fearing Danger of this popular Tumult, sent Deputies to *Ulm*, to the Commissioners of the *Schwabian* League, to treat of a Peace, and these were *Simon Pistorius*, in the Name of *George* Duke of *Saxony*, and *James Sturney*, a Nobleman and Senator of *Strasburg*, in the Name of his own City; and sent Letters in the Emperour's Name, commanding both Parties, under the highest Penalties, to lay down their Arms. The Deputies at first proposed a Truce, but that was in vain, because the Confederates alledged, That the Boors, breaking the Cessation, had given cause to the War: Nevertheless, at the interposition of some of the Cities of *Schwabia*, of which number were *Constance*, *Memminghen*, *Kempen*, and *Bibrach*, the chief Commanders of the Boors, came again to *Ulm*, on the second of *April*; to them the Deputies of the Empire shewed their Commission, and told them, That they were come to treat of a Peace; but they alledging, That no Treaty of Peace could be set on Foot, unless a Truce were first agreed upon; said that they were therefore come, that they might know what their Enemy's Intentions were as to that; but when a Truce could not be obtained, and all things tending to Action, next Day they returned to the Camp: And the same Day some Troops of Horse and Foot, marching from *Ulm* to *Elching*, a Town upon the *Danube* below *Ulm*, killed a great many of the Boors, and brought several Prisoners also to the Town. Afterwards *George Truchses* of *Walpurg*, General of the *Schwabian* League, marching with his Forces to *Lippen*, a small Town near the *Danube*, two Miles below *Ulm*, where a great number of the Boors lay, without staying for the Foot or great Guns, charged them with a Brigade of Horse, and cut off a great part of them; the rest threw themselves into the River, and there were drowned; the Town was surrendred and plundered, and many of the Enemy beheaded. After that Victory, when *Truchses* would have marched against the rest, the Foot, who were commanded by *Willian* of *Fustemberg*, refused to march, and as if they had fought a Battle, demanded their pay: This Matter having been debated for some Days, and it being alledged, That it was no Battle, and that the Enemy was fled before they came, was at length taken up.

The Boors take the Field.

The Boors worsted.

The Mediators of the Cites of *Schwabia*, which we named before, again moved for a Truce; but the Confederates would not hear of any new Agreement with them, who had lately broken it, though they did not refuse a Truce with those who were in *Algow* and the neighbouring Places, and were Levellers; all Proposals of a Truce being then laid aside, the Confederates told the Mediators and Deputies of the Council of the Empire, and of the Cities, That if they had any thing to offer concerning a Peace, they should propose it. The matter being long and much debated, when the Confederates persisted in their Resolution, and advanced with their Army in order to an Ingagement, the Boors in *Algow* dispersed themselves, some flying for it, and others yielding upon Discretion, and delivering up their Colours, which happened *April* 13.

The Boors Army in *Algow* dispersed

In the mean time, in another part of *Schwabia*, about *Hall*, and in *Franconia*, the Boors were got together again in vast Numbers; and on the sixteenth Day of *April*, which then was *Easter-day*, they surprized *Winsperg*, where they took some, and killed other Gentlemen, who were in Garrison in it; of the Prisoners, they put *Willian* Count *Helfenstein* and others to Death, in a Military but most cruel manner, running them through on all Hands with their Spears; and this they did with the greater Cruelty and Inhumanity, in that they would not be moved to Pity by his Lady, the Natural Daughter of the Emperour *Maximilian*, who carrying a young Infant, a Son of his in her Arms, fell at their Feet, in a most forlorn Dress, and with Floods of Tears begged them to save the Life of her Husband, and of the Father of the poor Babe. Afterwards they divided their Forces; whereof one Body marched into the Country of *Wirtemberg*, and having possessed themselves of many Places there, advanced streight to *Esling*, where the Deputies of the Council of the Empire, *James Sturne*, and *Mangolt* a Lawyer, in vain treated with them about a Peace; and from thence they removed to *Ulm*; but *Truchses* the General of the

The Cruelty of some Boors at *Winsperg*.

Schwabian

Schwabian League, whom I mentioned before, having forced thoſe that were in the Territory of *Ulm*, *Algow*, and at the Lake of *Conſtance*, to yield themſelves, as we ſaid before, marched ſtreight againſt theſe, and put them to flight alſo, having ſlain ſome thouſands of them: He ſeverely puniſhed the Priſoners, eſpecially thoſe who murdered Count *Helfenſtein*; and one of them he faſtened to a Stake by a Chain, that was long enough to let him run about, and he himſelf, with ſome other Perſons of Quality, fetching Wood, made a Fire about him, and burnt him: Afterwards he burnt the Town of *Winſperg* to the Ground, commanding that it ſhould never be built again. The other Body marched into *Franconia*, and having there burnt above two hundred Caſtles, beſides Noblemen's Houſes and Monaſteries, they took the Town of *Wirtzburg*, and beſieged the Caſtle: But *Truchſes* coming upon them, out of the Country of *Wirtemberg*, at the Village of *Engleſtadt*, charged, diſcomfited, and put them to flight. Afterwards he retook *Wirtzburg*, raiſed the Siege of the Caſtle, and put a great many to Death, being aſſiſted by *Ludovick* Prince *Palatine*, who was there in Perſon. 1525.

This *Combuſtion* ſpread it ſelf as far as *Lorrain* alſo; ſo that *Anthony* the Duke thereof, attended amongſt others, by his Brother *Claude*, Duke of *Guiſe*, who had gathered together the remains of the *French* Army, after the Battle of *Pavia*, advanced as far as *Saverne*; at which Place the *Lorrainers* as well as *Alſatians*, were in great numbers aſſembled; and ſome thouſands of Boors coming in to their Aſſiſtance, he detached ſome Troops of Horſe and Foot, which near the Village *Lupfſtein* killed fifteen hundred of them, putting the reſt to flight: Next Day he made a great Slaughter of thoſe who were gathered together about *Saverne*; wherein, nevertheleſs, he kept not his Word; for having promiſed them Pardon, if they would lay down their Arms; whilſt they were marching homewards unarmed, and paſſed through the Lines of the Horſe and Foot, upon ſome ſlight Occaſion of a Quarrel, moſt part of them were killed: Afterwards the furious Soldiers plundered the Town and the Biſhop's Palace, killing Citizens and all pell-mell, without any diſtinction, When the Duke was returning home, after this Slaughter, another Army of Boors had poſted themſelves in the Streights of the Valley of *Wilet*, with deſign to intercept his Paſſage; but having joyned Battle, above four thouſand of them were killed. In that Fight he loſt the Count *Iſenburg*; but returned home with much Spoil and many Priſoners. In thoſe three Places we named, eighteen thouſand were reckoned to have been ſlain, and this was in the Month of *May*. The like Succeſs they met with every where elſe; and at *Peterſheim*, a Town of the Territory of *Wormes*, a great number of them were killed by the Soldiers, after they had yielded, and thrown down their Arms: At this Slaughter the Prince *Palatine*, and *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Treves* were preſent, and the Prince did what he could to reſtrain the Rage of the Soldiers, but the Archbiſhop is reported, not only to have approved what they did, but alſo to have killed many with his own Hands. However, in ſome Places, through the dextrous management of the Magiſtrates and Mediators, matters were peaceably accommodated: And when, upon an Inſurrection in *Briſgow*, they had ſurprized *Friburg*, the chief Town in thoſe Places, *Erneſt* Marqueſs of *Baden*, who had great Poſſeſſions there, fled to *Strasburg*, and prayed the Senate to intercede for him; whereupon *James Sturney* and *Conrad Joham* were ſent as Deputies from the Senate, who with the Deputies that came from *Baſil*, and ſome other Places, dealt fairly with them, and perſuaded them to return home; ſo that after the Difference had been debated and concluded at *Baſil*, on the twenty fifth Day of *July*, they broke up from *Lava*, four Miles from *Strasburg* and diſperſed; but Promiſes were not punctually obſerved to them neither, for many of them were executed after they came home. The *Switzers* alſo zealouſly beſtirred themſelves in quieting an Inſurrection in *Sontgow*, a neighbouring Province, belonging to Archduke *Ferdinand*, and the Dominion of *Auſtria*, making it appear to the Seditious what the Magiſtrates Duty was, and what the Peoples. Now their Demands were almoſt the ſame in all Places, which beginning firſt in *Schwabia*, ran immediately all about like Wild-fire, as we told you before; ſo that from *Thuringe*, and the Borders of *Saxony*, as you ſhall hear hereafter, it reached as far as the *Alpes*; there having been a Riſing alſo in the Country of *Saltzburg*. But all things being ſetled in *Franconia* and *Schwabia*, the Army of the *Schwabian* League marched thither alſo, and deſtroyed and baniſhed many; among whom was their General *Geiſmeier*, who with part of his Forces, by difficult and inacceſſible Paths, croſſed the *Alpes*, and fled to the *Venetians*; who having beſtowed a yearly Penſion upon him, he went to live in *Padoua*, where he was at length treacherouſly aſ-

An Inſurrection of the Boors alſo in *Lorrain*.

And 18000 of them are ſlain.

Another Slaughter of the Boors at *Wormes*.

Geiſmeier the General of the Boors aſſaſſinated.

 aſſaſſinated

1525. ſaſſinated in his own Houſe. And this was the end of the Boors War, which from a ſmall beginning grew to ſuch a height, and ſpread ſo far; for the Contagion was diffuſed over moſt parts of *Germany*, and not only in the Country, but alſo in Cities and Towns, many Tumults and Riots happened, as particularly in *Cologn*; where for the ſpace of a whole Month, almoſt, the City Companies daily met in Arms, continuing ſo, even in the Night-time alſo, and were deſigning the Deſtruction not only of the Clergy, but of the Senate likewiſe; but the Tumult was quieted without any Blood, ſave of one or two Seditious, who many Months after were executed for it. All do not agree upon the Number of thoſe that were ſlain in this War, which laſted but one ſummer; they who ſpeak the leaſt ſay, That in all places there died fifty thouſand. That *Schwabian* League, ſo often mentioned, was made long before, firſt for eight Years, then for three, afterwards for twelve, and then again for ten; but in the year of our Lord 1522, it was renewed for eleven Years, a little before the Emperour returned to *Spain*. Thoſe who ingaged in this League, were, firſt, the Emperour as Archduke of *Auſtria*, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, who had been lately poſſeſſed of the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the Prince *Palatine*, the Biſhops of *Saltzburg*, *Bamberg*, *Wurtzburg*, *Aichſtadt* and *Auſburg*, the Brothers *William* and *Lewis* Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Otho*, *Henry* and *Philip*, the Prince *Palatines*, Brothers, *George* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and *Albert* his Nephew, *Philip* Landgrave of *Heſſe*, beſides many others of the Nobility and Clergy, to whom were joyned moſt of the Cities of *Schwabia*, and among theſe all *Norimberg*.

A Sedition in *Cologn*.

The number of thoſe that were killed.

The Princes and Cities ingaged in the *Schwabian* League.

Maſs aboliſhed at *Zurich*.

April 13, Maſs was aboliſhed in *Zurich*, by Command of the Magiſtrates; and that not only in the City, but over all their Territory alſo, in place whereof the Lord's Supper was appointed, all Ceremonies being laid aſide; the Reading of the Scriptures, Prayers and Preaching ſucceeded; and a Law was publiſhed againſt Fornication and Adultery, and Judges were appointed to determine Matrimonial Cauſes.

BOOK

1525.

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK V.

The CONTENTS.

Thomas Muncer *broaching a new kind of Doctrin, That all Goods ſhould be had in Common, drew a vaſt number of Country People after him, one* Phifer *being his Companion and chief Counſellor. After the Death of Duke* Frederick, *the neighbouring Princes raiſe an Army againſt the* Muncerians, *nor did his Seditious Preaching, nor vain Promiſes hinder, but that many of his Companions were killed, and he himſelf loſt his Head.* Luther *had already written againſt him to the Senate of* Mulhauſen. *Here are recited the Demands of the Boors; to which* Luther *anſwers, ſhews the Nature of the Diſorder, and exhorts the Magiſtrates to puniſh ſuch Villains. The Emperour knowing of theſe Troubles and Diſorders, calls a Dyet at* Ausburg. Caraloſtadius *leaving* Wittemberg, *endeavours to purge himſelf, in a Book that he publiſhed.* Luther *marries a Nun, and comes to* Marpurg, *that he might confer with* Zuinglius *about the Lord's Supper. Whilſt the* French *King was Priſoner, Pope* Clement *having received Letters from his Mother, incites the Parliament of* Paris *againſt the* Lutherans. Le Fevre *was forced to fly out of* France; *the King being informed of that, ſent Orders, That they ſhould not moleſt Men of Learning. The Maſter of* Pruſia *is made Duke, and receives the Reformed Religion.*

THIS great and terrible War, was in a great meaſure occaſioned by buſie and pragmatical Preachers, of whom *Thomas Muncer*, mentioned before, was the Ring-leader; who at length leaving off the Preaching of the Goſpel, broached an odd and new kind of Doctrin, at *Alſtet*, a Town belonging to the Elector of *Saxony* upon the Borders of *Thuringe*: There he began to teach, firſt of all, not only againſt the Pope, but againſt *Luther* alſo; condemning both their Doctrins, as Corrupt and Erroneous: That the Pope bound Men's Conſciences with ſtrict Bonds and hard Laws; which *Luther* did, indeed, looſe, but then run to the other Extream, allowing too much Liberty, and not Teaching thoſe things which were of the Spirit: That it was lawful to neglect the Decrees of the Pope, as not conducing to Salvation; for obtaining whereof, Men muſt, ſaid he, firſt of all avoid manifeſt Sins, as Murther, Adultery, Blaſphemy, Inceſt, and Mortifie the Body by Faſting and ſimple Cloathing; look gravely, ſpeak little, and wear a long Beard: Theſe and ſuch like things he called the Croſs, the Mortification, and Diſcipline of the Fleſh. Thoſe, he ſaid, who were in this manner prepared, muſt retire from Company, and the Speech of Men, and fix their Thoughts upon God, that they may know what he is, if he taketh any Care of us, if Chriſt ſuffered Death for our ſake, and if our Religion be to be preferred before that of the *Turks*: That we were to crave of God a Sign alſo, to aſſure us that he taketh care of us, and that we are in the true Religion; that if he did not preſently give us a Sign, we muſt nevertheleſs perſevere in inſtant Prayers, nay, and expoſtulate ſeriouſly with God, that he dealt not well with us: For that ſince the Scripture promiſeth, That he will grant ſuch things as are asked of him, it was not juſt to deny a Sign to Man that ſought after the true Knowledge of him; This Expoſtulation and Anger, ſaid he, was very acceptable unto God, who thereby perceived the fervent Zeal and Inclination of our Minds, and that there was no doubt, but that being importuned in this manner, he would diſcover himſelf by ſome manifeſt Sign, quench the Thirſt of our Souls, and deal with us as he did with the Patriarchs of old:

Muncer a great Sectarian.

1525. He alſo taught, That God revealed his Will in Dreams, laying in them the Foundation of his Deſigns; and if a Man dreamt a Dream, that he could make any thing of, he would run out upon his Praiſes in his Sermons. When, by this means, he had drawn many over to his Party, he proceeded by degrees to what he had long before intended, and in the Town we mentioned before, he began to make a Liſt of the Names of thoſe who entred into an Aſſociation by Oath, and promiſed their Aſſiſtance to deſtroy all wicked Princes and Magiſtrates, and ſet up new ones in their Places; for he pretended to have a Command from God to do ſo. So long as he talked only of Dreams, and the like, *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* bore with him, eſpecially ſeeing *Luther* wrote in his behalf; but when he began to preach Seditiouſly, he was baniſhed, and after he had abſconded for ſome Months, came to *Norimberg*; and being ſhortly after ſent packing thence, he came to *Mulhauſen*, a Town of *Thuringe*; for whilſt he lived at *Alſtet*, he had perverted ſome Citizens of *Mulhauſen*, by whoſe means afterward he obtained the Liberty of Preaching there; and becauſe he was diſliked of by the Senate, he got the Rabble in a Tumultuary manner to make new *Magiſtrates*, which was the beginning of great Troubles. After that the Townſ-people caſt out the *Monks*, and ſeized their Houſes; of which the chief and richeſt Monaſtery fell to *Muncer*'s ſhare; who now acted the part, not only of a Preacher, but Magiſtrate alſo; for all things he ſaid were to be determined by the Bible and Divine Revelation, and he arbitrarily decided all Caſes; ſo that what he ſaid, was lookt upon as Sacred and Holy. He taught alſo, That it was moſt conſonant to Human Nature, that all Goods ſhould be common, and that without any diſtinction of Dignity and Quality, they ſhould be indifferently enjoyed by all Men. This Doctrin took mightily with the common People, who leaving off their Work, made bold with the Rich, taking from them what they wanted, without asking their Leave. Thus he went on for ſome Months: And when now the Boors of *Schwabia* and *Franconia* had got together, to the Number of forty thouſand, and had driven out a great part of the Nobility and Gentry, taken, plundered and burnt, ſeveral Forts and Caſtles, as hath been ſaid; he himſelf began to ſet Hand to the Work, thinking the time now come of doing his Buſineſs; and having caſt ſome great Guns in the Monaſtry of the Grey Fryers, he allured to him many Country People, in hopes of bettering their Fortunes. He was aſſiſted in all his Counſels by one *Phifer*, a bold and deſperate Fellow, who bragged much of Dreams and nocturnal Viſions; and among others, they gave it out, That he had in his Sleep ſeen a prodigious number of Mice in a certain Stable, and chaſed them all away, which he interpreted to be a Command from God, to take up Arms, and march into the Field, for the extirpation of all the Nobility and Gentry. But though *Muncer* preached ſeditiouſly to the People, yet he was ſomewhat more reſerved, and was not willing to hazard all, before the whole Country was up in Arms: And that he might the more eaſily accompliſh this, he wrote to all the Labourers, who wrought in the Mines in the Country of *Mansfield*, adviſing them by all means to fall upon their Princes, without any reſpect, for that thoſe who were up in *Franconia*, would draw nearer to *Thuringe*. In the mean time *Phifer*, who was impatient of all Delay, marching out with his Men, waſted the neighbouring Country of *Iſefield*, ſpoiled Caſtles and Churches, drove away many of the Nobility and Gentry, and put ſome of them into Irons; after which he returned home, loaded with Booty. This happy Succeſs encouraged the Rabble exceedingly, eſpecially ſeeng their Neighbours were alſo in Arms, and invaded the Country of *Mansfield*: Wherefore *Muncer* thinking that the Inſurrection was now Univerſal, ſet out from *Mulhauſen* with three hundred Men, and joyned thoſe of *Franckhauſen*.

Muncer preaching at *Mulhauſen*, got new Magiſtrates created. and the Monks ejected; whoſe Monaſteries he and others took poſſeſſion of.

Phifer, *Muncer*'s Companion, and his enthuſiaſtick Pretences.

Frederick Elector of *Saxony* dies.

At the ſame time dyed *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, without Iſſue, having never been married, to whom ſucceeded his Brother *John*. In the mean time *Albert* Count *Mansfield*, having ſpeedily raiſed ſome Troops of Horſe, fell upon the Boors, and killed two hundred of them: This ſo terrified them, that they proceeded no further, but went to *Franckhauſen*, and there waited for more Forces; ſo that being thus ſtopt in their Carere, by this ſmall ruffle, the neighbouring Princes raiſed fifteen hundred Horſe, and a few Foot-Soldiers: Theſe were *John* Elector of *Saxony*, and his Couſin Duke *George*, *Philip* Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*: The Boors had poſted themſelves on a Hill, not far from *Franckhauſen*, and ſo fenced themſelves with Waggons and Carts, that it was hard to attack them; but they wanted great Guns; were, beſides, ill armed, and for moſt part unskilful in Fighting; ſo that the Princes moved with Compaſſion, ſent Meſſengers unto them, and adviſed them to deliver up the Authors of the Sedition, lay down their Arms, and go home, promiſing them Pardon, if they would do ſo.

The Princes Forces againſt the Boors.

Muncer

1525.

Muncer's ſeditious Speech.

Muncer being now apprehenſive of his own Danger, came forth, and with a grave and demure Countenance, ſpake to them as follows: Ye ſee, ſaid he, my Brethren and fellow Soldiers, Tyrants not far from you; who, though they have conſpired our Deſtruction, yet are ſo faint-hearted, that they dare not attempt any thing againſt us; but offer idle and ridiculous Conditions, that they may perſuade you to lay down your Arms. Now it is well known to all of you, That I undertook not this Enterprize by my own private Authority (for I never applyed my ſelf that way) but at the Command of God: Which being ſo, it is the Duty of you and me to obey, and not to forſake this Station, where God himſelf hath placed us: He commanded *Abraham* of old to Sacrifice his own Son; and he, though ignorant what might be the Event, diſpoſed himſelf to Obedience, without gainſaying, wherefore God both preſerved his Son, and conferred great Bleſſings alſo upon himſelf: So we in like manner, who are exactly in the ſame Condition, ought to perſevere and commit the Event to God, and there is no Doubt to be made but all things will ſucceed according to our own Hearts Deſire: Ye your ſelves *ſhall plainly ſee God's* helping Hand with you, for we ſhall put *all our Enemies to flight.* In ſeveral places of Scripture God hath promiſed to aſſiſt *the poor and wretched,* and to bear down the Ungodly: *Now this* Promiſe belongeth properly to us; for we are poor and afflicted; and becauſe we deſire *to maintain* and ſet forth the Knowledge of God, we cannot doubt of Succeſs and Victory: Let us on the other hand, conſider the Condition of our Enemies; They are called Princes, indeed, but in reality are Tyrants; they take no Care of you, but deprive you of your Goods, which they ſquander away in moſt wicked and unlawful Courſes. Among God's peculiar People, which he choſe of old, Kings were not to ſpend their Wealth unprofitably; but were commanded rather to be diligent in turning over the Book of the Laws, which God himſelf made: But what do our Tyrants, or how do they ſpend their Time? they think not themſelves at all concerned with the Publick, they hear not the Cauſes of poor afflicted Men, they neglect Juſtice, ſuffer the High-ways to be infeſted by Robbers, puniſh not ſuch, nor other Offenders neither, defend not the Fatherleſs and Widow, and take no care of the Education of Youth: They not only neglect God's Worſhip themſelves, but alſo hinder others, and mind nothing but the getting of all other Men's Eſtates to themſelves; and therefore they daily deviſe new ways of raiſing Money, not directing their Counſels to the maintaining of Peace; but that having enriched themſelves, they may live in Pride and all ſorts of Voluptuouſneſs; *for it is but too* well known, what great Stirs and Wars they have raiſed for very idle and *ſlight* Cauſes, whereby, at length, all that poor Men had left is utterly conſumed and deſtroyed. Theſe, theſe are the noble Arts and Virtues of your Princes, wherein they exerciſe themſelves; it is not therefore to be imagined that God will bear any longer with thoſe things, but that as of old he deſtroyed the *Canaanites*, ſo will he now root out theſe. For granting that what we have now mentioned, might be born with, do you think that they'll go unpuniſhed, for defending and maintaining that moſt abominable Impiety of the Clergy? for who knoweth not how great Wickedneſs is committed in that Trafficking and Bartering with Maſſes? not to mention other things. Surely as Chriſt of old caſt the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, ſo now alſo will he drive out theſe Maſs-Prieſts and their Defenders: Be therefore ſtrong and valiant, and do God good Service, in deſtroying this unprofitable Rout; for we ſee not how we can lawfully and with Safety make Peace with them; ſince they will not leave off their old Courſes, neither reſtore to us our Liberty, nor ſuffer the true Worſhip of God: Now *it is far* better to die, than that we ſhould approve their Wickedneſs, and ſuffer the Doctrin of the Goſpel to be taken from us: Be then aſſured that God will be with us, and that the Victory will be ours; for he himſelf hath ſo promiſed to me; he, I ſay, who cannot lye nor be deceived, commanded me to proceed in this manner, and to puniſh all Magiſtrates; for in this the Power of God is chiefly magnified, when a vaſt multitude of Enemies are deſtroyed by a ſmall handful of Men: It is known to you what Exploits *Gideon* did with a few, *Jonathan* accompanied only with one Servant, and *David* all alone, when he fought againſt the Giant *Goliah*, who was ſo terrible in his Looks and Stature: Now it is not to be doubted, but this Day will be made Famous by a like inſtance, and be ſpoken of to all Poſterity; for though we ſeem not to be ſo well provided of Arms and other things neceſſary, yet ſhall we overcome the Enemy; and this Frame of Heaven and Earth will ſooner change, than God will forſake us: So was the Nature of the Sea changed of old, that the *Iſraelites* might eſcape from *Pharaoh*, who purſued them. Be not now moved at the ſuggeſtions of your own Reaſon, neither be troubled at a certain Shadow and Appearance of Danger that ſtands in your way; but fight valiantly againſt poor wicked and accurſed Enemies, and be not afraid

of

1525. of their great Guns, for in my Coat will I catch all the Bullets that they ſhall ſhoot at you. See ye not how gracious God is unto us? behold a manifeſt Sign and Token of his perpetual Good-will towards us; lift up your Eyes, and ſee that Rain-bow in the Clouds; for ſeeing we have the ſame painted in our Banner, God plainly declares by that Repreſentation, which he ſhews us from on high, That he will ſtand by us in the Battle, and that he will utterly deſtroy our Enemies; fall on then couragiouſly, and with certain Hope of Divine Aid, for God will have us to have no Peace with the Wicked.

A Conſternation in *Muncer's* Camp.

For all this Speech, his Men were generally in horror and conſternation, becauſe of the greatneſs of the preſent danger; but all things were carried on in a tumultuary manner, without Order or certain Command: Beſides, there were ſome bold and profligate Rogues among them fitted for any villany: Theſe being naturally inclined to all ſorts of miſchief, were the more inflamed by that Sermon: But nothing excited them more than the Rain-bow, which, as has been ſaid, appeared in the Clouds, and which they lookt upon as a certain *Sign of Victory*. *Beſides*, they were about Eight thouſand ſtrong, and *the place commodious for making a Defence.* Wherefore theſe Blades I now *mentioned*, gave a ſhout, calling to all to Arm *and* bravely advance againſt *the* Enemy; and withal ſinging a Hymn, wherein they implored the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt. There had been ſent to them before, a young Gentleman of Quality, whom *Muncer*, contrary to the Law of Arms and of Nations, cauſed to be put to Death. The Princes being the more exaſperated by this, gave the Signal of Battel, and drew up their Men in order. Then *Philip Langrave* of *Heſſe*, though the Youngeſt, rode about the Army, exhorting the Soldiers to behave themſelves valiantly; for that though all they laid to their Charge were true, yet it was not lawful for private Men to riſe in Arms againſt their Magiſtrates, as might be proved by many places of Scripture: That however he would not excuſe neither his own Faults, nor thoſe of other Princes: That he confeſſed there were failings, and many things that ought to be reformed; but that nevertheleſs Men ought to abſtain from Rebellion; for that God hath ſtrictly commanded, that the Magiſtrate ſhould be honored: That whereas they complained that they were overcharged with Burthens; that could be no lawful ground for them to renounce their Duty and Allegiance; though yet if things were rightly examined, it would be found that they had no cauſe of Complaining: That they paid indeed Subſidies and Cuſtoms; but for that, they enjoyed on the other hand many Advantages: That they had Houſes, Wives and Children, laboured the Land, bred up Cattel, and many ways got Eſtates by the favour of the Magiſtrate, under whoſe Protection they were: That what they alledged moreover, that they were not allowed to have the Doctrin of the Goſpel preached among them; that was no juſt cauſe neither of Riſing in Rebellion: That when *Peter* ſmote with the Sword, Chriſt ſharply rebuked him for it: That if any Princes did perſecute the true Religion, yet ought they rather to ſubmit and ſuffer Puniſhments, than reſiſt by force of Arms: That they pretended Religion and the Goſpel, but in reality intended nothing but Robbery, Rapine, and ſuch like villanous Crimes: And that they were the greater Villains, in that they impudently cloaked their wicked and bloody Deſigns under ſo ſpecious a Title; for that they aimed at nothing leſs, than to ſeize other Mens Goods and Eſtates, deſtroy all Magiſtrates, force other Mens Wives and Children, and to have free liberty to commit all ſorts of Crimes: And that ſeeing they committed ſuch horrid Abominations under a veil of Purity and Sanctity, it was not to be doubted but God would revenge that Blaſphemy: That therefore they ought to fight valiantly againſt them, as againſt notorious Robbers, in defence of the publick Peace, their own private Fortunes and Eſtates, Wives and Children: That the cauſe of the War was moſt juſt; and that they would never have taken up Arms, if they had not known it to be acceptable Service to God, who put the Sword into the hands of Magiſtrates; not that they ſhould Rob others, but defend their Subjects from unjuſt Force, Robbery and Oppreſſion. This Speech being made, they charged the Enemy, and firſt played upon them with their great Guns; but the poor Wretches ſtood like Men amazed and out of their ſenſes, neither defending themſelves, nor flying for it, but ſinging that *Dutch* Song wherein the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt is implored; for moſt of them truſting to *Muncer's* Promiſes, expected Aid from Heaven. After the great Guns were diſcharged, when they began to break into their Camp, and put all they met to the Sword; then at length they fled towards *Franckhauſen*; but ſome of them betook themſelves to the other ſide of the Hill, and for a ſhort time made Head againſt a few Horſe, and ſkirmiſhed with them in an adjoyning Valley, killing one or two of them: For when the Enemy was every where

The Speech of the *Langrave* of *Heſſe* to his Soldiers

The Princes Army overcome the *Muncerians*.

Put

put to flight, the Horſe diſperſed themſelves to follow the purſuit where-ever they ſaw any running for it; But having loſt ſome of their Men, as has been ſaid, Anger and Revenge made them more eager in purſuing, ſo that they killed about five thouſand of the Fugitives. Preſently after the Battel, *Franckhauſen* was taken, and therein about Three hundred ſeized and put to death. *Muncer* had fled into the Town, and hid himſelf in a Houſe not far from the Gate; whither a Gentleman accidentally came, and his Servant going up to view the Houſe, found a Man lying abed in a Garret: Having asked who he was, if he had fled from the Fight, and if he was one of the Rebels? he denied, and ſaid he had been a long while ſick of a Fever and Ague. His Purſe by chance lay by the Bed; which the other ſnatched up, that he might take what was in it; and having opened it, he found therein a Letter written by *Albert* Count *Mansfield* to *Muncer*, wherein he admoniſhed him to deſiſt from his Enterprize, and not inflame the Common People into a Rebellion. After he had read it, he asked him if the Letter were directed to him; but he denying, the other offered him violence; whereupon he begg'd quarter, and confeſſed himſelf to be *Muncer*. Being therefore taken, he was carried Priſoner to *George* Duke of *Saxony*, and the *Langrave*; who asked him, why he had ſo ſeduced poor miſerable Men? To which he anſwer'd, That he had done nothing but his Duty; and that the Magiſtrates, who could not endure the Preaching of the Goſpel, were in that manner to be curbed. The *Langrave* replied, and proved by Texts of Scripture, that Magiſtrates were to be honoured; That all Sedition and Rebellion was prohibited by God, and that it was not lawful for Chriſtians to revenge Wrongs by their own private Authority. To that he was ſilent, and crying out for pain upon the Rack, *George* Duke of *Saxony* told him, *Thou art now* (ſaid he) *in pain* Muncer, *but conſider on the other hand the ſlaughter of thoſe poor Wretches, who being baſely abuſed by thee, have periſhed to day.* At which, burſting out in laughter, he ſaid, *They would have it ſo.* Being afterwards carried to *Heldrunghen*, a Town in the Dominion of *Mansfield*, and there ſeverely tortured, he confeſſed his Deſign, and diſcovered many of his Accomplices in the Conſpiracy. The Princes going from *Heldrunghen* to *Mulhauſen*, put a great many of the Rebels to death, and among the reſt, *Phifer*, whom we named before. Hither alſo *Muncer* was ſhortly after brought into the Camp; who in thoſe ſtreights was mightily dejected and troubled in mind, and could not rehearſe the Articles of his Creed, as is uſually done on ſuch occaſions, but as *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* ſaid it before him. However, when he was about to die, he openly acknowledged his Error and Crime; and being invironed with Soldiers, exhorted the Princes to ſhew more Mercy to poor Men, which would be a means to prevent the like danger for the future; adviſing them likewiſe diligently to peruſe the *Chronicles* and Books of *Kings* that are contained in the Scriptures. Having made an end of his Speech, his Head was ſtruck off, and for an Example ſet upon a Pole in the open Fields. When *Muncer*, as we ſaid before, being baniſhed *Saxony*, wandred up and down, and that there was a report that he intended to go to *Mulhauſen*; *Luther* being informed of this, wrote to the Senate, ſeriouſly admoniſhing them not to receive him: That he was a ſeditious Perſon, and deſigned nothing but Robbery and Violence: That it was known what he had attempted at *Alſtet* and *Zwikaw*: That he had Spies and Emiſſaries, who every where crept into the Congregations of Men: That they could not be prevailed with ſo much as to come to a fair Tryal: That their Doctrin was not only Seditious, but Frivolous alſo, Silly, and full of Nonſence; which they ſhould therefore carefully avoid, for that the cheat of it would ſhortly be diſcovered: That if they thought it not fit to do ſo, they would at laſt delay for ſome time, until they might learn what they were to think of them: That he gave them that Advice, as one who was their Friend, and concerned for their Welfare; but that if they ſlighted it, and fell afterwards into any calamity, he would not be blamed for it, who had given them ſuch fair and timely warning: That the Senate would do well to ask him who had given him Commiſſion and Power to Preach, and from whence he had his Call: And that if he named God for his Author, that then they ſhould bid him ſhew ſome evident Sign of his Call; but that if he could not produce any ſuch thing, he ſhould be rejected; for that it was God's uſual method, when he would alter the accuſtomed and received way, to declare his Will by ſome Sign.

1525.

Muncer taken; His Diſcourſe to the Princes;

His unſeaſonable laughing upon the Rack.

Luther adviſes to have a care of *Muncer*.

When the Diviſions and Diſſenſions of *Germany* ſeemed to tend to Troubles and Commotions, and the Boors had not as yet riſen in Arms; *Luther* publiſhed a Book, wherein he adviſed all Men to abſtain from Sedition; for that although ſome terrible Judgment ſeemed to threaten the Clergy, yet he did not think that any at all, or at leaſt ſuch a Calamity would overſpread all their Jurisdiction, or overturn their Power;

He publiſhed a Book, dehorting the Boors from Sedition.

1525. Power; for that it was a far different Judgment which hung over their Heads, and as the Prophet *Daniel*, and after him St. *Paul* foretold, *no human force, but the coming of our Saviour Christ, and the Spirit of God, must crush their tyranny*: That his Opinion was grounded on this; which was the cauſe alſo that he never greatly withſtood them who attempted the matter by force of Arms, being aſſured that they laboured in vain: That alſo though ſome perhaps of the Clergy might be killed, yet that havock was not to reach all: That they did indeed now quake and run to and fro, and he heartily wiſhed that they might quake more and more, if ſo they might repent of their Sins; but that the Wrath of God was kindled, and they were troubled at the danger their Lives and Fortunes were in, but never thought how they might make their Peace with God; nay rather, did ſecurely ſlight ſuch plain Admonitions, and in a manner laugh at the denunciation of the Wrath of the Almighty: And although they had no great cauſe to be afraid of Arms, yet ſince the preſent ſtate of Affairs required Counſel, he would freely declare his Judgment.

And in the firſt place, That it was the *Magiſtrates Duty* to endeavor that the People ſhould not ſuffer any *Prejudice through the fault of others, and to* take care that Religion ſhould not be corrupted by falſe Doctrins: That that was *their Duty*, and that all the Power wherewith God had endowed them, ſhould be employed for the Glory of God, and the Welfare of the People; but that ſince they acted far otherwiſe, letting and hindring one another, and ſome of them alſo maintaining erroneous Doctrin, they would not eſcape unpuniſhed: That it was not his purpoſe that the *Papiſts* ſhould be ſuppreſſed by force of Arms, but that the Magiſtrates ſhould oblige them to their Duty, and therein exerciſe their Power and Prerogative; ſo as neither by lenity nor connivance to confirm their boldneſs and perverſneſs: That as to the *Mobile* and ignorant Common People, they were to be ſeriouſly admoniſhed not to ſtir, unleſs commanded by the Magiſtrate; for all that labour would be in vain, and God himſelf would be the Avenger, ſeeing ſo great Wickedneſs was not to be expiated by ſo ſlight a Puniſhment; for that Princes acted ſo ſlowly and remiſly, that they ſuffered ſo great Indignities, and were not moved by thoſe manifeſt Injuries and Shams of the Clergy; God permitted it ſhould be ſo, that he alone might avenge his own Quarrel, and pour out all his Wrath upon them: That though a Tumult or Inſurrection might alſo break forth, and that God ſhould reſt ſatisfied with ſo eaſie a puniſhment; yet all that way of acting was not only diſcommendable, but unprofitable alſo; for that in Seditions and Tumults all Reaſon was baniſhed, and moſt commonly the Innocent were the greateſt Sufferers: That no Man neither who raiſed Stirs and Tumults could be excuſed, how juſt a Cauſe ſoever he might have; for a Popular Sedition once growing to a Head, good and honeſt Men muſt neceſſarily periſh with the wicked and bad: Men ought then to fix their eyes upon the Magiſtrate, and ſo long as he ſtir not, nothing was to be attempted privately; for that all Sedition was repugnant to the Command of God, who hath ordered all the Controverſies of private Men to be legally determined. But that when Sedition was nothing elſe but a private Revenge, no Man could doubt, but that God diſapproved and abhorred it: That the Sedition and Rebellion which ſeemed now impendent, was raiſed by the Devil, the Enemy of Mankind, who not being able to endure the Light of the Truth, raiſed up Stirs by Men that profeſſed the Goſpel, that ſo he might bring into hatred and contempt the true Doctrin, which for ſome years had been by the bleſſing of God reſtored, as if that proceeded not from God, which ſeemed to have given occaſion to ſo many Evils: That the very ſame thing was already confidently objected by the Adverſaries, but that their Judgments were not to be valued; and for his part, he utterly deſpiſed them: That he had never ſpoken or written any thing which might blow the coals of Sedition: That by thoſe who now asked what was to be done then, and how long were thoſe Indignities to be ſuffered, while the Magiſtrate connived at the ſame? This method was to be obſerved; firſt, That they ſhould acknowledge their Sins; whereat God being offended, had ſuffered that Tyranny of the Clergy to continue ſo long, and ſpread ſo far: That this cruel and impious Dominion, was the reward of our Wickedneſs and Crimes; from which if we would be delivered, we muſt by reforming our Lives, make our Peace with God: That, in the next place, with hearty and ſincere Prayers, Divine Aid was to be implored againſt the Popiſh Kingdom, after the Example of *David*, who often prayed God to break the Pride and Power of the wicked: That laſtly, the Doctrin of the Goſpel ſhould be preached, and the Juggles and Impoſtures of the Popes made manifeſt to Chriſtians, that their Errors being detected, and the Truth known, Men might ſlight and wholly contemn whatever ſhould proceed from them: That this was the readieſt way to leſſen

their

their Power: That nothing was to be done by force of Arms, for commonly they got ſtrength by Wars; but that by comparing the Pope with Chriſt, and his Doctrin with the Goſpel, it would, at length, appear, how great a Difference there was betwixt the Light of the Sun and Darkneſs, and how great a Bleſſing God had beſtowed upon us, in opening to us a way to the Knowledge of him, and in removing all Letts and Impediments out of it; that then would all their Might and Reputation fall and come to nought; as might appear by his own Example, who had given a greater Blow to the Popiſh Monarchy, than any armed Force could ever have done: That therefore there was no other Sedition or Rebellion to be wiſhed for; Since that the preaching of the Goſpel now revived by Chriſt himſelf, was powerful and ſmart enough to overturn all Popery: That they were to fix their Eyes and Thoughts on this: That it was not his own Work he was about (for no Human Strength nor Wit was ſufficient for that), and that the progreſs it had already made, was quite contrary to his Expectation; ſo that he made no doubt, but he who had laid the Foundation of the Work, and given *increaſe to the ſame, would alſo bring it* to a happy end and concluſion, *in ſpight of all the Enemies that ſhould withſtand it*: That long before, the Devil *foreſaw this* glorious Change a coming, and had therefore endeavoured to prevent it, and had raiſed ſome Men in their publick Writings to propheſie of theſe Times, that he might render this ſaving Doctrin odious; but that when he perceived his Endeavours fruſtrated, he betook himſelf to another Stratagem, and tempted Men to Rebellion, thereby to hinder all revolting from his and the Pope's Dominion; but that he ſhould not be able to accompliſh his Deſigns, for that by the Preaching of the Goſpel, their Kingdom ſhould be more and more confounded: That Men ſhould make it their Care and Study to perſevere in that Doctrin, and make it appear that Human Decrees availed nothing to Salvation: That Men were likewiſe to be admoniſhed, Not to put themſelves under the Yoak of Monaſtick Vows; and that ſuch as were already ſo engaged, ſhould ſhake off the Obligation; as alſo that they ſhould give no Money to thoſe frivolous and idle uſes of the Church, as for Tapers, Bells, Pictures, Veſſels, Images, Works, Ornaments, and the like; ſince the Chriſtian Life conſiſted not in theſe things, but in Faith and Charity: That if the People were taught in this manner, there was no doubt, but that in a few Years all the Authority and Dominion of the Pope and his Adherents, would fall to the Ground; but that if this Doctrine ſhould be neglected, and theſe Errours and falſe Opinions not rooted out of Men's Minds, Popery would continue, though never ſo many Conſpiracies might be made againſt it. That they ſhould weigh and conſider with themſelves, How much he himſelf in ſo ſmall a time had done; merely by his Doctrin, which his very Adverſaries acknowledged, when they complained that their Profits and Advantages were much impaired; whence it might eaſily be perceived, What might be done, if but for two Years longer, this Doctrin ſhould have its courſe: That therefore the Devil did now beſtir himſelf, and endeavoured by Tumults and Seditions to hinder that deſign; but that we were to act prudently, and magnifie and extol this Bleſſing of God, who had thus enlightened us with the Knowledge of his Truth: That the Cheats, Ignorance, Rapacity, Tyranny and all that Sink of Impoſtures, wherewith the Papiſts had ſo long deluded the World, were now detected: That they who had heretofore been ſo formidable, were now reduced to this, That they had no ſafety, but in Arms: That therefore, ſince they now appeared naked, and their Uncleanneſs being ſeen of all Men, were forced to flie to the Sword, it was impoſſible that their Kingdom could long ſtand; and if any of their Power remained, which the Preaching of the Goſpel had not cruſhed, it would be totally aboliſhed by the coming of Chriſt: That ſo we were to proceed couragiouſly in that Courſe, but *ſtill* with Order and Moderation; for that ſome went on prepoſterouſly, who being deſtitute of all Learning, ſo ſoon as they had heard a Sermon or two, pretended preſently to great matters, called themſelves *Lutherans*, and ſharply cenſured others, who as yet underſtood nothing; which was a great Fault, and ought not to be done: Wherefore he prayed, That no Man would make uſe of his Name, but labour rather, that ſince we profeſſed the Name of Chriſt, we might juſtly deſerve to be called Chriſtians: That he who took upon him to teach, ſhould conſider whom he had to deal with; for that there were ſome ſtubborn Tempers, who not only contemned ſound Doctrin, but led others alſo into Errour; that ſuch, were not at all to be medled with, according to Chriſt's Command, Pearls were not to be caſt before Swine: But that when theſe Men, not content with their own Ignorance or frowardneſs, laboured to ſeduce others, and pervert them from the true Doctrin, then were they to be briskly withſtood, not indeed, for their own ſakes, but that ſome of the People, at leaſt, might be ſaved: That again, there were others, 1525.

1525. who were not, indeed, obſtinate, but ſimple and ignorant, and theſe were tenderly to be dealt with, not raſhly and in hurry, ſhewing them calmly and in order, wherein the Salvation of Mankind conſiſted, and accommodating the Diſcourſe to their Capacities, till by little and little they increaſed in knowledge and were confirmed.

In the former Book we ſpake of the Boors, who in *Schwabia* were in Arms before *Muncer* took the Field: Theſe were ſomewhat more moderate at firſt, and publiſhed a Declaration of their Grievances, and what they demanded from the Princes and Magiſtrates, as we hinted at before, proteſting that if they were miſtaken and abuſed, they would not be obſtinate, but ſubmit to ſounder Counſils.

The Boors Demands.

The firſt of their Demands was, That they might have Liberty to chuſe ſuch Miniſters as ſhould ſincerely preach the Word of God, without the mixture of Human Traditions. In the next place, That hereafter they would pay no Tithes, but of Corn, and that theſe ſhould be employed at the Diſcretion of good Men, partly for the Stipends of the Miniſters, partly for relieving the Poor, and partly for Publick Uſes. Again, That it had been unworthily done, to have uſed them hitherto, as if they had been Bond-ſlaves, ſince by the Blood of Chriſt all Men were made free: That they did not, indeed, diſown the Magiſtrate, whom they knew to be appointed of God, and whom in all honeſt and lawful things they were willing to obey; but that they would not for the future ſuffer that Bondage, unleſs it were proved by Texts of Scripture, that they ought in reaſon to do ſo. Moreover, That it conſiſted not with Equity, that they ſhould be prohibited to take Wild Beaſts, Fowls and Fiſh; and much leſs that in ſome Places they durſt not hunt Wild Beaſts out of their own Paſtures: That from the Creation of the World God had given man Right and Dominion over all kind of Animals; not that they deſired to take any thing by Force from thoſe who had bought the whole or part of a River; but they craved that ſome Equality might be obſerved, and that regard ſhould be rather had to the Profit of a Multitude, than of a few Perſons. That beſides, Woods and Foreſts were in the Hands of a ſmall number, not without great Prejudice to the People: That therefore it was their Intention, That ſuch Woods as had not been bought by Private Perſons, ſhould be common, that every Man might freely take of them for daily uſe, and building alſo, when there ſhould be occaſion; yet ſo ſtill, that they ſhould not do it, but by the Authority of Overſeers, who ſhould be appointed for that effect: But that if there were no Woods, but what belonged to private Men, then they ſhould agree amicably with the Owners: That furthermore, they lay under ſeveral ſorts of Burthens, which grew greater and greater daily; wherefore they deſired that the Princes would regulate that according to Equity and the Rule of the Goſpel, and lay no more Burthens upon them than what had been accuſtomed of old: That it was their Deſire alſo, That they who helds Lands, Goods and Poſſeſſions, by the Favour and Grant of the Prince and Magiſtrate, ſhould not be charged higher for them than had been covenanted at firſt: That in like manner, ſince ſome of them paid yearly Taxes and Impoſitions more than their Eſtates could bear; it was but reaſonable that the Princes ſhould therein remit ſomewhat, that they who laboured the Land, might have ſome Profit at leaſt for their Pains, and not be reduced to Poverty: That in Money-Fines they deſigned alſo greater Equity: That new Laws were daily made, and Money often extorted from them, not for reforming them, but for Favour, Hatred, or ſome other by-End: That they therefore demanded, That Penalties might be inflicted according to the Form and Manner anciently preſcribed, and not according to the particular Affections of Men: That ſome alſo took in Lands and Meadows which were Common; that they would have all things of that Nature laid open again, unleſs any private Man ſhould purchaſe the ſame. Laſtly, That whereas, upon the Death of a Tenant, it was a Cuſtom, That his Wife and Childred ſhould pay ſomewhat for a *Heriot*, that that was a moſt unreaſonable thing; and therefore they would have the Magiſtrate wholly to aboliſh it.

Luther's Anſwer to the Grievances of the Boors.

To this their Publick Declaration, *Luther*, to whom they had appealed, made Anſwer, and turning his Diſcourſe to them: It is true, ſaid he, and I confeſs, That Princes who admit not of the Preaching of the Goſpel, who many ways burthen and oppreſs the People, juſtly deſerve that God ſhould caſt them down from the Throne; for they have no excuſe to make for themſelves: And though this be true, yet muſt you take heed, that you bring with you a pure and unblameable Conſcience; otherwiſe you will caſt away both Body and Soul: Nor ought you to conſider, how great your own Strength is, and how much your Adverſaries are to be blamed; but how Juſt and Lawful the Cauſe is which you defend: Conſider therefore diligently, and believe not what all Men preach; for Satan hath under Pretence of the Goſpel, at this time raiſed

raiſed up many Seditions and Bloody Preachers. For my part, I will give you true and ſincere Counſel, and it is your Duty to liſten to good Advice, when it is given you. Neither am I moved at the Calumnies and Reproaches of Men, if I can ſave but ſome from the Wrath and Vengeance of God: I mind not the reſt of the Rabble, but as they deſpiſe me, I fear not them. But to the purpoſe; You take to your ſelves, indeed, the name of God, and call your ſelves a Congregation of Chriſtian People, giving it out, That you will in all things follow the Law which God hath ſet before you. But without doubt, you know that the Name of God is not to be taken raſhly and in vain, for God threatens a Puniſhment, which is due to you alſo, if you go not about this Buſineſs in the right way: He that drowned the whole World by the Flood, and deſtroyed *Sodom* with Fire and Brimſtone, can eaſily ſweep you away alſo; what Power ſoever you may have now, it may eaſily be proved, that in your Actions you take the Name of God in vain: So that it is not hard to conjecture what the end will be; for he deceiveth not that ſaith, *They who take the Sword, ſhall periſh by the Sword:* That is, They *who boldly take to themſelves the* power of Correction, whereas, nevertheleſs, S. *Paul* commandeth all Men in general *to obey the Magiſtrate with fear and reverence.* What will you anſwer to this, who pretend to follow the Rule of God's Word, and notwithſtanding take the Sword, and reſiſt the Magiſtrate, whom God hath appointed? Is not that to take the Name of God in vain? But you'll ſay, The Magiſtrate behaves himſelf ſo, that he is altogether Intolerable; for he deprives us both of the Doctrin of the Goſpel, and in all things elſe oppreſſes us to the higheſt degree: Grant it be ſo, yet you are not therefore to raiſe Stirs and Commotions, for it is not every Man's part to curb Malefactors, but that belongeth to him who hath the Right and Power of the Sword, as the Scripture plainly teaches. Again, it is evident, not only from poſitive Laws, but even from the Law of Nature, That no Man ought to be Judge in his own Cauſe; for we are all corrupt, and blinded with Self-love. Nor can it be denyed, but that this Tumult and Sedition of yours is a Private Revenge, for you take upon you to be Judge in your own Cauſe, and alſo to revenge the Injuries that you fancy to be done to you, by your own Authority, which is a thing repugnant to the Laws of God, of Nature and common Equity. And ſeeing it is ſo, you have no Colour of Reaſon or Juſtice, whereby you can defend your Fact; or if you have any Command from God, to do as you do, the ſame muſt be proved by you, by *ſome ſignal Miracle*: But it is verified in you, what Chriſt ſaith, *you clearly ſee the faults of other men, but perceive not the wickedneſs and injuſtice of your own cauſe.* The Magiſtrate acts *unjuſtly*, but more *unjuſtly* you, who in Contempt of God's Command, invade the Juriſdiction of another, who leave nothing for the Magiſtrate to do; for what remaineth, when you have taken from him his Power and Authority? I appeal to your ſelves: He that taketh from any Man a conſiderable part of his Goods, but leaveth him ſome; and he that taketh away both Goods and Life, what think you, which of the two is the more Cruel? The Magiſtrate takes from you your Poſſeſſions, it is unjuſt: But you take from him his Juriſdiction, wherein conſiſts all his Fortune, both as to Body and Eſtate; you are therefore more Criminal than the Magiſtrate. But, ſay you, we attempt not their Lives nor Fortunes; believe that who will, I do not. He that taketh from a Man the chief thing he hath, will not ſtand in aw to take the reſt alſo, which dependeth thereon. But be it as you ſay; Let them enjoy their Eſtates and Lives in Safety, yet what you have already done, exceedeth all Bounds, when depriving them of all Power and Authority, you your ſelves will be Lords and Maſters. Conſider with your ſelves, I pray, in caſe your Enterprize ſhould ſucceed, there would be no Judicature, no Magiſtrate at all, and every private Man might uſe his Neighbour after his own Will and Pleaſure, and what is there then to be expected, but mutual Murders and Robberies? for no ſooner will one Man think himſelf wronged by another, but preſently he'll eſſay to revenge himſelf as he thinks beſt: Now if this be in it ſelf *unjuſt*, and not to be ſuffered in any perſon, how much leſs ought it to be allowed to any multitude of Men? Or if it be granted to them, is it to be born with alſo, in Private Perſons? Now, if in your own Aſſembly matters ſhould come to that Licentiouſneſs, that every private Man did revenge his own Quarrel; pray, what would you do? certainly they would be made to anſwer for it before a Publick Judicature, appointed by you: What Excuſe have you then, who contemn Judicatures, and reject the Magiſtrates, whom God hath ſet over you? This Law we now ſpeak of, is imprinted on the Minds of all Men, and obſerved by the moſt Barbarous: For elſe all things would be in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable; which, though you carefully obſerved, yet in that you would be no better than very *Turks*, or any ſuch other People that know not our Religion; For to ſubmit to the

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1525. Publick Judicatures, and to obey the Magiſtrate, maketh not a Man a Chriſtian, ſince Neceſſity obliges Men to that even againſt their Wills. Wherefore when you root out that very Law, which is grafted in the Minds, and common to all Men, ye are a great deal worſe than Heathens, ſo little do ye deſerve the Name of Chriſtians; which Title becauſe you arrogate to your ſelves, and do injury to the Name of God, not deſerving to be called *Turks*, for your Violation of the Law of Nature; how will you ſtand before the Face of Chriſt, when he ſhall come to Judge us all for our Actions? Take heed therefore again and again, what ſort of Men your Preachers are; for I am afraid that bloody minded Men have crept in among you, who by their Sermons inflame you; that relying on your Aſſiſtance, they may invade Dominion and Rule, and never mind your Welfare neither here nor hereafter. God reſerves all Revenge to himſelf, and the Scripture commands us to obey the Magiſtrate, though he be wicked: You ought therefore to he obedient; for otherwiſe you will raiſe a Storm that will break upon your own Heads: Think not that God will ſuffer your licentiouſneſs to go unpuniſhed; and while you ſeek after Liberty, you will procure to your ſelves the loſs of Body, Goods, and Soul alſo. The Wrath of God is waxed hot againſt you, and the Devil, the Enemy of Man's Salvation, hath ſent falſe Teachers into your Aſſemblies. Follow therefore my Council, beware and amend in time.

Now will I ſpeak of the Chriſtian or Evangelical Law; for ſince ye take to your ſelves that Name, it is but reaſonable that we ſhould examine what your Right is. And in the firſt place, Chriſt commandeth us not to reſiſt evil; but when Men *ſmite us on one Cheek*, to *turn to them the other alſo*; if one *take our Coat from us*, he bids us alſo *give him our Cloak*: He enjoyns us to *do good to our Enemies, and pray for them*: To which purpoſe there are many places in Holy Scripture. Now look you to it, how that Enterprize of yours agrees with the Command of Chriſt: Conſider whither your Teachers have led you. It is indeed the duty of Chriſtians to ſuffer and bear the croſs, not to reſiſt, revenge, nor ſmite with the Sword; But does there any ſuch thing appear among you? The Profeſſion of a Chriſtian is a very hard task, and but very few perform what they really ought: For the better underſtanding whereof, I will give you an Inſtance of this Law we are ſpeaking of. St. *Peter*, to defend his Lord and Maſter, ſmote a Servant of the High-Prieſt's; Had he not a juſt Cauſe? ſince they not only ſought after the Life of Chriſt, but took alſo from his Diſciples the Doctrin of the Goſpel, wherein their Salvation conſiſted, by putting to death their Maſter Chriſt. Now you have not as yet ſuffered ſuch a heinous Injury: But what did Chriſt in the mean time? He commanded *Peter* to deſiſt, pronouncing a ſevere Sentence againſt thoſe who ſmote with the Sword; that is, who, in contempt of the Magiſtrate, practiſed private Revenge. What did he do himſelf, when nailed to the Croſs, when he was forbidden to diſcharge the Office of Teaching, committed to him by God the Father? He even bore all patiently, committed his Cauſe to God the Father, and prayed and made Interceſſion for his Perſecutors. This Example you muſt imitate, or lay aſide ſo ſpecious a Name. Now if you followed the ſteps of Chriſt, God would make known his Power; and as after the ignominious Death of his only Son, he propagated the Goſpel far and near, in ſpight of all Oppoſition; ſo alſo without doubt would he look down upon you, and abundantly ſupply you with his ſaving Doctrin: But now that you will carry on the work by force of Arms, you ſhall never obtain what you would have, and your Arms ſhall be beat out of your Hands. Now will I ſay ſomewhat of my ſelf alſo. The whole World conſpired and bent their utmoſt force againſt me; and nevertheleſs the more violently they proceeded, the greater progreſs did my Doctrin make. Why ſo? I uſed no Force, raiſed no Commotion, neither was I deſirous of Revenge; but reverently ſubmitted to the Civil Magiſtrate, and, as far as I was able, wrote in his Behalf; and what was the chief thing of all, committing the Cauſe to God, I wholly reſted on his Protection: So that I am preſerved alive to this very day, though the Pope and my Adverſaries vex and fret thereat, and my Doctrin at the ſame time hath been preached to many People. But ye ruſh on head-long, and while you think you further the work, perceive not hrow geat a hindrance you are unto it. What I hereby drive at, is, that in this cauſe you would lay aſide that Title and Name of Chriſtians; for though it were never ſo juſt, yet, as I ſaid before, it is not lawful for a Chriſtian to fight, nor reſiſt evil; and therefore I cannot allow you that Denomination. Not that I would by this juſtifie the Magiſtrates, for they do many unjuſt things I acknowledge; but nevertheleſs this your proceeding is altogether inconſiſtent with the Character of Chriſtians, inſomuch that if you obſtinately retain that Name, and gild your bad Cauſe with that ſpecious colour, I declare my ſelf your Enemy; becauſe under the

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pretext of the Goſpel, ye act quite contrary to the Doctrin of Chriſt. Therefore will I make it my Prayer to God, that he would look upon you from a far, and diſappoint your Deſigns; for I perceive clearly enough, that the Devil, who hath not been hitherto able to oppreſs me by means of the Pope of *Rome*, now goeth about to undo me by thoſe blood-thirſty Preachers. Therefore I will pray, as I have ſaid, though I had rather you would ſo behave your ſelves, that I might not have cauſe to make my Prayers againſt you: For though I be a Sinner, yet the Cauſe of my Prayer is juſt, and I make no doubt but it will be heard; for God will have his Name to be ſanctified, and hath taught us ſo to pray. Wherefore I exhort and beſeech you, that you would not make ſlight of mine and other Mens Prayers; for you'l feel, to your great hurt and ſorrow, what they will avail. Now you cannot come to Prayer with any ſuch confidence; for both the Scripture and a guilty Conſcience declare that your Actions are profane and ungodly. How many of you, I pray, have betaken themſelves to God in this caſe? Not one I doubt; for you place all your ſafety in your *numerous Forces* and your Arms. However true Chriſtians do nothing violently, but ſuffer; and apply themſelves to God by inſtant and fervent Prayer, as the Practice of godly Men in all Ages makes it appear; for this only is the right courſe, which alſo affords great peace and tranquility of Mind. Now therefore ſince ye neglect this way, and neither pour out your Prayers to God, nor ſuffer with Patience, but truſt in your own Strength, and expect all from your ſelves, you are not to hope for any Bleſſing from God. It is poſſible indeed, that by God's permiſſion you may have ſome ſmall Succeſs, but that will turn at length to your own Deſtruction. 1525.

By what hath hitherto been ſaid, it will be eaſie to Anſwer your Demands; which though they were grounded on Equity, and were conſonant to the Law of Nature, yet in the main they cannot ſubſiſt; becauſe you would by Force wreſt them from the Magiſtrate, which is contrary both to Equity and common Right; and he that penned them for you, is no good Man; for the Texts of Scripture whereby he incenſes you, and expoſes you to danger, are neither intirely nor faithfully cited by him; and being narrowly examined, they are ſo far from making for you, that indeed they ſtrongly militate againſt you. The chief thing you complain of, is, that you are deprived of the Preaching of the Goſpel: But that cannot be, ſince the Doctrin of the Goſpel is not reſtrained to any one place, but freely moves all over the World; like to that Star which guided the Wiſe Men of the Eaſt to the place where Chriſt was born and lay. It is indeed in the Power of the Magiſtrate to hinder one from coming to the place where the Goſpel is preached; but it is in our Power alſo to leave the Country, and follow this Doctrin into thoſe places where it is taught. The Place it ſelf is not to be taken violently, and forcibly detained by you; but to be left to the Magiſtrate or Lord of it, and you to remove elſewhere, as Chriſt himſelf teacheth. The firſt of your Demands, about Chuſing your Miniſters, is not amiſs, if it proceed orderly: For if the Revenues wherewith the Miniſters of the Church are maintained, have been given by the Magiſtrates, it is not now lawful for the People to give them to whom they pleaſe; but the Magiſtrate is to be firſt petitioned to appoint a Paſtor; and if he refuſe, the People may chuſe one, and maintain him at their own Charges: If the Magiſtrate will not ſuffer this neither, then let him who is choſen by the People fly, and whoſoever pleaſe with him; for if any other courſe be taken, it muſt needs be criminal and injurious. What you pretend to concerning Tithes, is *moſt* unreaſonable; for what is it elſe, but to aboliſh all Magiſtracy? Be liberal, but let it be of your own, and not of other Mens Goods, yea, act altogether, as if you were abſolute Maſters, and had the diſpoſal of all things, whereby it may be eaſily known what your intent and purpoſe is. You would alſo take away all Servitude. What? did not *Abraham* and many other holy Men poſſeſs Bond-men? Read St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, and he will inſtruct you concerning Bond-men. That Demand therefore ſavoureth of Rapine and Violence, and is repugnant to the Goſpel; for he that is a Servant, may nevertheleſs be Pious, and enjoy Chriſtian Liberty, as well as he who is in Priſon, or on a ſick Bed: But you aim at this, that all Men ſhould be Equal, and of one and the ſame Condition; which is fooliſh and abſurd; for Civil Society and Goverment cannot ſubſiſt, unleſs there be a diſtinction of Perſons, ſome Maſters, and ſome Servants; ſome to Command, and ſome to Obey. As for the reſt, concerning Wild Beaſts, Paſtures, Woods, Rivers, Taxes, and the like, I leave them to be diſcuſſed by Lawyers; for they belong not to my Office, which is to inſtruct Men in Religion and Spiritual Matters. And this, Brethren, is my Judgment and Advice, which you deſired to know. Now it will be your parts, who

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1525. ſay that you will conform to the Teſtimonies of Scripture, to hearken to the ſame; and not cry out when theſe ſhall come to your hands, that I am become a Flatterer of the Civil Magiſtrate, as if I taught you not what is juſt and right; but firſt weigh ſeriouſly the whole matter, and the Arguments which I uſe; for certainly it is your Intereſt that lyes at ſtake. But above all things, beware of thoſe Teachers who ſpur you forwards: I know what ſort of Men they are; they lead you to a Precipice, that they my get Honor and Riches by your Dangers.

The reaſon why *Luther* upbraided them ſo much with the falſe Title they took to themſelves, was this, That in all their Declarations for inviting and alluring others to enter into Confederacy with them, they gave it out, That they had taken up Arms by the Command of God, and out of Love to the Publick, that the Doctrin of the Goſpel might proſper, that Truth, Juſtice and Honeſty of Life might flouriſh, and that they might for the future ſecure them and theirs from Violence and Oppreſſion. And when they had thus declared the reaſon of *their Proceedings*, in a few words they charged and commanded their Neighbors, *that they ſhould forthwith* Arm and come to their Aſſiſtance; wherein if they failed, that they would *with all ſpeed* come upon them with their whole Forces.

Luther's Monitory to the Princes and Nobility.

When *Luther* had thus anſwered *them*, he addreſſed likewiſe a Monitory to the Princes and Nobility: Wherein he tells them; For all the Troubles and Commotions that are now on foot, ſaith he, ye only are to be thanked; ye eſpecially, who have the Name of Church-men, and leave not off to this preſent to perſecute the Doctrin of the Gospel, even againſt your Conſcience. In the next place, ye who are Magiſtrates, and bear Rule in Civil Affairs, mind nothing elſe, but how, *right* or wrong, you may get Money to ſupport your Luxury and Pride; ſo that the poor People are no longer able to bear the Burthen. Great Dangers certainly threaten you, and hang over your Heads like a Sword hanging by a twined Thread: And nevertheleſs you are ſecure, as if you could not be moved; but this Security will doubtleſs be your Ruine. God ſometimes poured out his Indignation upon Princes, as you read in the *Pſalms*: I have oftener than once admoniſhed you to beware of that Evil; but you run headlong to deſtruction, and no warning will ſerve; wherefore the Wrath of God will fall upon your Heads, if ye amend not your Lives. The Prodigies which happen and are ſeen in many places, portend no good. We may eaſily know that God's Anger is waxed hot againſt us, in that he ſuffereth falſe Teachers to have ſo much Power over us, as to miſlead us into error and darkneſs, that ſo we may be deſervedly puniſhed: And we have an Inſtance of this before our Eyes; the preſent popular Inſurrection, which will utterly deſtroy *Germany*, unleſs God, moved by our Prayers, be pleaſed to ſend ſome Remedy. For this is now the preſent ſtate of Affairs, that Men neither can, nor will, nor indeed ought to ſuffer our Arbitrary Rule any longer. You muſt be wholly transformed, and give place to the Word of God; for if the People bring it not to paſs at this time, others ſhall ſucceed; and though you kill and deſtroy moſt of them, yet God will raiſe up others in their place; for the Work is his, it is he that warreth againſt you, and calls you to an account for your Impieties. Some of you have bragg'd, That you would ſpend your Lives and Fortunes in the utter Extirpation of *Luther*'s Doctrin: And does that not ſeem to be in a fair way now to be done? But theſe are Matters not to be Jeſted with. The *Jews* of old, ſaid that they had no King; but at laſt they have been reduced to this condition, to want a King for ever. Some of you alſo, as if your former Crimes had not been enough, caſt a new Reproach upon the Goſpel, and ſay that all theſe Stirs are the fruits of my Doctrin. Well, go on in your Railing; but that ye will not know what my Doctrin is, nor hear the voice of the Goſpel, it is a ſign of an obſtinate and malicious Mind. For my part, I have from the very firſt, always taught modeſtly, abhorred all Seditions, and earneſtly exhorted the People to Obedience to their Magiſtrates; nay, and adviſed them too, to bear with your wicked and tyrannical Domination: And in this I appeal to your ſelves. This Inſurrection then proceeded not from me; but thoſe blood-thirſty Prophets, who are my Enemies no leſs than yours, have raiſed the Plague by ſeducing the People, and have been carrying on the work theſe three years paſt and more, while no Man withſtood them, as I have done. If God now, for your Sins permit the Devil, by means of thoſe Prophets, to ſtir up the Rage of the People againſt you, and if matters come to that paſs, that it is out of my power to prevent this Storm; wherein pray, am I or the Goſpel to be blamed for that, when the very Doctrin which I profeſs, hath not only hitherto ſuffered your Cruelty, but alſo pours out Prayers to God for you, and hath always maintained and highly commended your Dignity to the People? Now if I delighted to be revenged

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for the Injuries you have done unto me; I might laugh in my Sleeve, and be an idle Spectator of the Tragedy, or elſe joyn with the raging Multitude, and as it is commonly ſaid, Pour your Oyl into the Flame, and ſcratch the Sore. Wherefore moſt noble Princes, I earneſtly beſeech you, That you would not deſpiſe my Admonition, nor ſet light by this Inſurrection: Not that I fear they will be too hard for you (for I would not have you be afraid of that) but that you would ſtand in awe of the Wrath of God; for if he intend to puniſh you, as you deſerve, you will not avoid the Danger, though the Power of the Enemy be never ſo ſmall. And therefore, if there be any Place left for Counſel, I pray you give way to rage, and wiſely prevent the eminent Storm: And ſince the Event is uncertain, and the Will of God unknown; you ought to try well all ways firſt, and take heed, that ſuch a Fire be not kindled, as may conſume all *Germany*. For certainly our Sins, whereby we have ſtirred up God's Wrath againſt us, are manifeſt, ſo that we ought to be afraid of the leaſt Noiſe; much more when ſo great a number of Enemies are got together, with violent Deſigns: Lenity and Clemency can do you no hurt; and though it ſhould, it will afterwards make Satisfaction with great Advantage: But if you oppoſe Force to Force, you may be in Danger, perhaps, of loſing all. And when you may obtain more by other Means, why will ye run ſo great a Risk? They have propoſed twelve Demands, whereof ſome are ſo conſonant to Equity and Reaſon, that you have juſt Cauſe to be aſhamed: However, they refer all to their own Profit, and prove not ſufficiently what they alledge: And beſides there are many other things of greater concern to the State of *Germany*, which may be objected unto you, as we have made it appear in a Book, written for that purpoſe; but becauſe you, to whom they were particularly addreſſed, have rejected them, you are now deſervedly urged with far harder Conditions. Their firſt Demand is, That ſuch Miniſters may be lawfully appointed, as may ſincerely preach the Word of God. And although they have in this, an Eye to their own Profit, when they would have their Stipends paid out of other Men's Tiths; yet what they demand, cannot in Reaſon be denied; for it is lawful for no Magiſtrate, to debarr their People from the Doctrin of the Goſpel. The other things they crave, concerning Serving-men, and the like, are alſo grounded on Reaſon; for it is not the part of the Magiſtrate, to afflict and haraſs the People; but rather to defend and preſerve their Fortunes and Eſtates. But now there is no end of Exactions, and how can 1525.

that continue? for if the Country-people reap more plentiful Crops of their Lands and Farms, than perhaps they expected; and their Magiſtrates and Landlords therefore raiſe their Taxes and Rents, all which they profuſely ſpend in Luxury and Riot; Pray, what Profit have the poor Wretches, and wherein is their Condition bettered thereby? This Luxury and Profuſion ought, certainly to be reſtrained, that ſomething may be alſo left for them to live on. The reſt of their Demands, I ſuppoſe you have learnt from their Publick Declaration.

Luther's common Epiſtle to the Nobles and Boors.

Having ſeverally admoniſhed both Parties, he wrote to them a common Epiſtle, adviſing them, That ſince they both maintained a bad Cauſe, that they would deſiſt from Arms, and amicably accommodate the Difference. To the Magiſtrates he repreſents, That the Ends of Tyrants have been always moſt ſad and fatal; and to the People, That the Succeſs of thoſe who have Rebelled, and riſen in Arms againſt their Magiſtrates, hath ever been Calamitous and Unfortunate. One thing he chiefly bewailed, That when on both Sides they fought with a bad Conſcience, the Princes in maintaining their Oppreſſion, and the People in rebelliouſly attempting to accompliſh their Deſires, all who periſhed in the Wars, muſt needs make Shipwrack of their Souls. In the next place he laments the Condition of *Germany*, which was like to be utterly ruined by this Civil War: That it was an eaſie thing to take up Arms; but not ſo eaſie to lay them down again, when we would. He adviſed them therefore to forbear, and not leave to Poſterity *Germany* in ſo troubled and bloody a State: That no permanent Good could be obtained by Arms; but much by the Reformation of Life. He exhorts them to refer the whole Matter to the Arbitration of Good Men, to be choſen on both Sides: That the Magiſtrates would remit ſomewhat of their Right; and that the Boors yield to good Admonition, and recede from ſome of their Demands: That this was his Counſel, and if they followed it not, he ſhould be the Spectator of the Ruine of both; for that it would be unlawful to be on either Side; ſeeing the Boors fought againſt the Princes, as againſt the Oppreſſors of their Eſtates and Liberties; and the Princes, on the other hand, againſt the Boors, as againſt Robbers, and ſuch as caſt a Reproach upon the Name of Chriſt. That in this their obſtinate Fierceneſs, he would pray to God, either to ſhew ſome way of Concord, or to confound and repreſs the Counſels and Attempts of both. Though by reaſon of the many Prodi-

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1525. gies which appeared, he was very anxious and much afraid, he ſaid, that the Wrath of God might no more be mitigated and appeaſed now, than at that Time, when by the Prophet *Jeremiah* he declared, *That the Jews had ſo highly provoked him to wrath and indignation, as that the Interceſſion of moſt holy men, ſhould not prevail with him to ſpare them, but that he would certainly afflict and plague them for their wickedneſs*; that therefore he wiſhed for nothing more, than that they would repent, and turn to the Lord, that the Calamity hanging over their Heads, might at leaſt be mitigated and delayed.

Luther ſends an Allarm againſt the Boors.

Whilſt *Luther* in this manner, endeavoured to compoſe the Tumult, the Boors in *Franconia*, and other Places, ſuddenly advancing, made War not only againſt the Papiſts, but the Nobility alſo, and did much Miſchief far and near, as hath been ſaid: Then publiſhed *Luther* another Book; wherein he exhorted and incited all Men to haſten to the Deſtruction of thoſe villanous Traytors, Robbers and Parricides, as they would run to the quenching of a publick Fire; for that they were ſuch, as had ſhamefully violated their Allegiance to the Magiſtrate, invaded other Men's Poſſeſſions by Force, and cloaked this horrid Villany and Impiety with the colour and pretext of Chriſtianity; than which nothing could be imagined more abominable and vile. He alſo in few Words refuted the Arguments they uſed, as hath been mentioned at large before: In the next place, he tells the Magiſtrates, That they ſhould not ſcruple nor fear to ſet upon and ſuppreſs that Seditious Rabble: That it was properly their Duty to do ſo: Nor was it lawful only for them, but alſo for every Private Man, by any way whatſoever to kill a Rebel, becauſe Rebellion was the greateſt of Evils that could happen in a State; and that the more they drew and halled in againſt their Wills into their Confederacy, or rather Madneſs and Fury, the greater was the Guilt, and the more ſeverely to be puniſhed: That at firſt they proteſted, They were willing to ſubmit to Arbitration, and to hearken to better Counſel if any ſhould convince them: And that therefore he durſt not then condemn them, ſo long as they kept themſelves within thoſe Bounds; but that now, ſince it plainly appeared, That all was but Hypocriſie and Diſſimulation, he was obliged to alter his Stile. That therefore he gave the Allarm, and adviſed all Men to fall upon them, in the ſame manner, as they would upon Wild Beaſts. This little Book of his was every where cenſured as too Sharp and Bloody: But he made a large Anſwer for himſelf, and juſtifies his Opinion, declaring, That no Mercy ought to be ſhewn to any of them, no not to thoſe who being compelled by the reſt of the Multitude, had acted any thing rebelliouſly: And that none ſhould be pardoned, as he had always ſaid before; but they who being admoniſhed, came in and ſurrendred themſelves.

The Emperour's Letters for calling the Dyet of *Ausburg*.

I told you before, That the Emperour, by Letters from *Spain*, prohibited the ſitting of the Imperial Dyet, which ſhould have met it *November* the Year before at *Spire*: But now that the State of *Germany* was much diſturbed at Home, and threatned alſo with great Danger from the *Turk* abroad, he wrote again from *Toledo*, *May* 24, and having reſumed the Reaſons why he would not have the former Dyet to be kept, he tells the Princes, That he would not have that ſo to be taken, as if, in the mean time no Conſultation ſhould be had about the other Affairs of the Empire; for that he acknowledged it to be his Duty, to defend the Chriſtian Religion, and the Holy Rites and Cuſtoms received from their Anceſtors; and to prohibit all pernicious Doctrin and Innovations in Religion: That therefore he propoſed, That with the Advice and Conſent of the Pope, a General Council ſhould be called. But ſeeing that might, perhaps, be too late, and that in the mean time, many things were done in *Germany*, contrary to the Decree of *Wormes*; and that he was informed alſo of Stirs and Seditions on foot againſt the Magiſtrates: That, moreover, becauſe there were many and great Controverſies among the Princes and States themſelves; and that the *Turk* alſo, the perpetual enemy of Chriſtendom, lay hovering upon their Borders: Beſides, that there were ſeveral things in the Judicatures and Council of the Empire, which needed Reformation: That for theſe Reaſons he called a Dyet of the whole Empire to meet at *Ausburg* the firſt of *October*, there to treat of the Affairs of the Publick, and particularly of continuing the Aids againſt the *Turks*: That if he could not be preſent at it himſelf, he would give Commiſſion to others to ſupply his place. Theſe Letters were not delivered in *Germany* till the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, which was ſomewhat too late: Wherefore by the Advice and Conſent of Archduke *Ferdinand*, whom the Emperour had made his Repreſentative, and others, the Day was prorogued to S. *Martin*'s Day, the eleventh of *November*, that they who lived more remote might have time to come.

Caroloſtadius,

Carloſtadius, whom we named before, diſagreeing with *Luther*, left *Wittemberg*, and became very familiar with thoſe clandeſtine Doctors, who pretended to Viſions and Conferences, with God, as hath been ſaid before; for this Reaſon chiefly the Elector of *Saxony* had baniſhed him his Country; but he, in the mean time, publiſhed ſeveral Pamphlets, wherein he enveighed againſt *Luther* and his Followers, and new Flatterers of the Pope; and as if they taught amiſs concerning the Maſs, Confeſſion of Sins, Images and the like. Theſe Words of Chriſt, *This is my Body*, he interpreted alſo thus, *here ſitteth my Body*. Nor did he ſpare the Elector neither, whom he ſhortly took up for his Baniſhment, and laid the Blame of it on *Luther*. To theſe things *Luther* made a long Anſwer, wherein he defended his own Doctrin, and affirmed, That the Elector had very good Reaſon, not to ſuffer him to abide within his Territories: But after the ſuppreſſion of that popular Inſurrection, when in all Places many were dragg'd to Execution; *Carloſtadius* being in great Straits, wrote a Book, wherein he took a great deal of Pains, to juſtifie himſelf againſt thoſe, who reckoned him among the Authors of the Rebellion, affirming it to be an Injury done unto him; and writing to *Luther*, he earneſtly prayed him, That he would both publiſh that Book, and alſo defend his Cauſe, leſt an innocent Man, as he was, might be in danger of loſing Life and Goods, without being heard. *Luther* publiſhed a Letter to this purpoſe: That though *Carloſtadius* differed very much in Opinion from him, yet becauſe in his ſtraits he betook himſelf to him, rather than to others, who had ſtirred him up againſt him, he would not diſappoint his Hope and Confidence, eſpecially ſince that was properly the Duty of a Chriſtian. He therefore, deſired the Magiſtrates, and all in General, That ſeeing he both denyed the Crime, that was laid to his charge, and refuſed not to come to a fair Tryal, and ſubmit to Judgment, the ſame might be granted him; as being moſt conſonant to Equity and Juſtice. Afterwards *Carloſtadius* ſent another little Book to *Luther*, wherein he proteſted, That what he had written concerning the Lord's Supper, was not to define or determine any thing, but rather by way of Argument and Diſputation to ſift out the Truth. *Luther* admits of the Excuſe; yet admoniſhes Men, That ſeeing he himſelf confeſſed he doubted, and defined nothing poſitively, to beware of his Opinion: Or if they themſelves, perhaps, doubted; to ſuſpend their Judgment ſo long, till it ſhould appear what they might ſafely follow: For that in matters of Faith we ought not to waver and doubt, but to acquire ſuch a certain and ſteddy Knowledge, as rather to ſuffer a thouſand Deaths, than to forſake our Opinion. Much about this time *Luther* married a Nun, whereby his Adverſaries were excited to load him with more Reproaches; for now he was down-right mad, they cried, and had ſold himſelf a Slave to the Devil.

1525.

Carloſtadius his Expoſition of *This is my Body.*

Luther marries a Nun.

At the very ſame time *Ulrich Zuinglius* Miniſter of the Church at *Zurich*, who almoſt in all other things agreed with *Luther*, diſſented from him alſo about the Lord's Supper. For *Luther* underſtood theſe Words of Chriſt, *This is my Body*, literally and properly, admitting no Figurative Interpretation, and affirming the Body and Blood of Chriſt, to be really in the Bread and Wine, and to be ſo received and eaten by Believers. But *Zuinglius* maintained it was a Figure, that many ſuch were to be found in Scripture, and the former Words he ſo expounded; *This ſignifies my Body*. With him agreed *John Oecolampadius* Miniſter of the Church at *Baſil*, and he ſo interprets them: *This is the Sign of my Body*. The matter was contentiouſly debated on both ſides, and much was written upon the Subject. The Saxons imbraced the Opinion of *Luther*, and the *Switzers* that of *Zuinglius*; others come after, who explained the Words in another manner; but all agree in this Opinion, That the Body and Blood of Chriſt are taken Spiritually, not Corporally; with the Heart, not with the Mouth. This debate laſted three Years and more; but at length a Conference was procured at *Marpurg*, chiefly by means of the *Landgrave*, as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place.

Zuinglius differs from *Luther* about the Lord's Supper.

The Dyet alſo, which at this time was held at *Ausburg*; becauſe very few reſorted to it, by reaſon of the Popular Inſurrection, beforementioned, was diſſolved, and all matters put off till the firſt of *May*, the Year following; againſt which time, *Ferdinand* gave Hopes, That the Emperour, his Brother, would be there in perſon from *Spain*, and *Spire* was appointed to be the place of the Dyet. It was decreed, though among other things, That the Magiſtrates ſhould take ſpecial care, That the Preachers did interpret and expound God's Word to the People, according to the Senſe of Doctors, approved by the Chriſtian Church, and that they ſhould not preach Seditious Doctrin, but ſo that God's Name might be glorified, and the People live in Peace and Quietneſs.

1525. Whilſt *Francis* King of *France* was Priſoner in *Spain*, his Mother *Aloiſia*, had the Adminiſtration of the Government, who to keep in with the Pope, acquainted him, among other things, How zealouſly ſhe ſtood affected towards the Church of *Rome*.

Pope *Clement*'s Letters to the Parliament of *Paris*.

Whereupon Pope *Clement* VII, writing to the Parliament of *Paris*, told them, How he underſtood from her, That the Contagion of Wicked Hereſies began alſo to infect *France*, and they had wiſely and providently choſen ſome perſons to enquire into, and puniſh thoſe who laboured to oppoſe the Faith, and Ancient Religion: That he alſo, by his Authority, approved the Commiſſioners, whom they had choſen; for that in ſo great and grievous a Diſorder of Affairs, raiſed by the Malice of Satan, and the Rage and Impiety of his Miniſters, every one ought to beſtir themſelves, to preſerve and maintain the common Safety of all Men, ſince that Rage and Madneſs tended not only to the Subverſion of Religion, but alſo to the confounding of all Principality, Nobility, Law and Order: That for his part, he ſpared no Care, Labour nor Pains, that he might remedy the Evil: And that they alſo, whoſe Virtue and Prudence was every where celebrated, ſhould make it their chief Buſineſs, that not only the true Faith, but alſo the Welfare of the Kingdom, and their own Dignity ſhould be ſecured againſt Domeſtick Dangers and Calamities, which that pernicious and peſtilent Hereſie carried with it into all places: That they needed not, indeed, to be exhorted, having already given Proofs of their own Wiſdom: But that nevertheleſs, in diſcharge of his own Duty, and as a token of his Favour and Good-will, he had been willing to make this Addreſs unto them, for that he was exceeding well pleaſed with what they had already done, and exhorted them, That for the future, they would with the like Zeal and Virtue beſtir themſelves for the Glory of God, and the Welfare of the whole Kingdom; that by ſo doing, they would render moſt acceptable Service to God, and merit the Praiſes and Applauſe of Men; and that therein they might expect all ſort of Aſſiſtance from him. This Brief dated at *Rome*, *May* the twentieth, was delivered to the Parliament at *Paris*, on the ſeventeenth Day of *June*.

The *Sorboniſts* perſecute *James Fevre*.

The *French* King writes in his behalf.

During the abſence alſo of the Captive King, the Divines of *Paris* ſo perſecuted *James le Fevre d'Eſtaples*, who hath publiſhed many Books both in Philoſophy and Divinity, that he was fain to leave *France*, and flie into another Country. The King being informed of this, by the means chiefly of his Siſter *Margaret*, who had a kindneſs for *Le Fevre*, becauſe of his Probity and Virtue, wrote to the Parliament of *Paris*, That he heard that there was a Proceſs brought before them againſt *James le Fevre*, and ſome other Learned Men, at the Inſtigation of the Divines, who particularly hated *le Fevre*; for that before his Expedition out of *France*, he had been grievouſly informed againſt him by ſome of that Faculty, though unjuſtly, and without a Cauſe: That then he had appointed ſome great Men, eminent for Learning, to inſpect his Books and Writings, for which he ſtood accuſed: But that they having carefully peruſed and examined them all, had given him a very ample and honourable Teſtimony: That ſeeing it was ſo, and that he was had in great Reputation by the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, for the opinion they conceived of his Learning and Virtue, as he hath ſince learnt; he would therefore take it ill, if that innocent Man ſhould be moleſted, or expoſed to any Danger. And ſeeing, that if at any other time, ſo now eſpecially, he would have Juſtice ſtrictly adminiſtred throughout all his Kingdoms: And again, becauſe for the future, he intended by all ways to favour Men of Learning, therefore he commanded them, That if any Proceſs had been commenced againſt them ſince his Departure, they ſhould make report of the ſame to his Mother, who managed the Government, that he might be certified thereof by her, and that they might expect his Will and Pleaſure therein, and not to proceed any farther, but to ſuperſede all Action, until either he ſhould return, which he hoped, by the Bleſſing of God, would ſhortly be, or elſe ſome Order ſhould be taken in the matter by himſelf, or his Mother. Theſe Letters, dated at *Madrid* in *Spain*, *November* the twelfth, were delivered to the Parliament of *Paris*, the eight and twentieth day of the ſame Month. It was a thing almoſt natural to the Divines of the paſt Age, to teaze and moleſt learned Men; and the reaſon was, becauſe they ſaw themſelves deſpiſed for their Ignorance.

A Change in *Pruſia*.

The Original of the *Teutonick* Order.

This Year there happened a change in the State and Government of *Pruſia*, a Province in the utmoſt parts of *Germany*, upon the *Baltick-Sea*. Let us trace the matter a little farther back: During the Empire of *Henry* VI, the Son of *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, when the Chriſtians were in War for the Recovery of *Jeruſalem*, the Knights of the *German* or *Teutonick* Order were inſtituted, who becauſe they fought for Religion, wore a white Croſs upon their Cloaths, as a Badge and cognizance of their Profeſſi-

Profeſſion. This happened in the Year of our Lord, eleven hundred and ninety. The firſt Maſter of that Order was choſen, as is reported, in the Camp before *Ptolemais*. Afterwards theſe Knights ſubdued *Pruſia*, in the time of the Emperour *Frederick* II: And after that, being grown ſtrong, they had for ſome time waged War with the Kings of *Poland*, they were overcome in Battle, and ſwore Allegiance to *Caſimire* king of *Poland*, the Father of King *Sigiſmund*. From the firſt Maſter to Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, there had been three and thirty Maſters: Now *Albert* was choſen in the Year of our Lord, one thouſand five hundred and eleven. For the ſpace of two Years, he had a bloody War with *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, and in the Year one thouſand five hundred and twenty one, a Truce was made for four Years. In the mean time Marqueſs *Albert*, often ſollicited the Emperour, and States of the Empire for Aid, and came himſelf in Perſon to the Dyet of *Norimberg*: We mentioned before, where he took his Place as a Prince of the Empire; for the cauſe of the War was, becauſe he refuſed to ſwear Allegiance to the King of *Poland*. But now, when the Emperour was ingaged in a War with *France*, the *Turk* invaded *Hungary*, and *Germany* was ſo embroiled by the Rebellion of the Boors, that no help was to be expected from thence; the Truce being likewiſe expired, he made Peace with the King of *Poland*, ſwore Allegiance to him, as to his chief Magiſtrate, and imbraced the Reformed Religion. Hereupon he changed his Order, challenged *Pruſia*, as his own, and being before but Maſter, was now by the King's conſent inaugurated Duke of *Pruſia*, and ſome time after married the Lady *Dorothy*, Daughter to the King of *Denmark*, founding alſo the Univerſity of *Coningſberg*. By this means he got the whole Order upon his Top: For although he was in Poſſeſſion of *Pruſia*, and under the Protection of the King of *Poland*; yet by common conſent *Walter Cronberg* was choſen in his place, who retained the Name, and repreſented the old Dignity of the Order, and in all Dyets grievouſly accuſed *Albert*, as you ſhall hear in the proper place. But he having publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, gave his Reaſons for what he had done, and declared, That being forſaken of the Empire, he was driven by extream Neceſſity, to ſubmit himſelf to the King of *Poland*. The Letters of Pope *Leo* X, to *Sigiſmund* and *Albert* are extant; wherein he exhorts them to Concord, and either refer the Difference they had to his Legate, whom he would ſend, or ſubmit it to the Determination of the Council of *Lateran*; becauſe it was moſt convenient that the Debates of Kings ſhould be decided by a Council.

The Maſter of *Pruſia* deſerts the Empire: Is made Duke, and imbraces the Reformed Religion.

1525.

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK VI.

The CONTENTS.

Luther *writes to the King of* England, *and* George *Duke of* Saxony, *to regain their favour: But both reject him. Now he had been put on to do ſo by* Chriſtiern *King of* Denmark, *The ſickneſs of the* French *King, who was Priſoner, haſtened the Treaty at* Madrid. *The King having obtained his Liberty, two of his Sons are left Hoſtages. While the Princes of* Germany *meet in the Diet at* Spire, *the Emperor of the* Turks *marches ſtreight into* Hungary. *A Diſputation begun at* Baden. *The Pope and* Venetians *make a League with the* French *King. The Emperor and King make bitter Complaints of one another.* Rome *being taken by the Duke of* Bourbon, *the King ſends* Lautreck *into* Italy. *The Errors of the* Anabaptiſts *begin to ſpread. A Diſputation appointed at* Berne, *about Reformation of Religion. A Contest between King* Ferdinand *and the Vayvode of* Tranſilvania. Berken *ſuffers Death at* Antwerp. *The Emperor ſends a Herald with a Challenge to the* French *King.* Lautreck *Beſieges* Naples, *but the Plague rages in his Camp. Maſs is aboliſhed at* Strasburg. *A Diſſention ariſes at* Baſil *about Religion. The Catholick* Switzers *make a League with* Ferdinand. *A Dyet held at* Spire, *and from thence the Name of Proteſtant had its Original. A Civil War among the* Switzers. *A Treaty at* Cambray. Solyman *Beſieges* Vienna. *A new Diſeaſe breaks out in* Germany. *The Proteſtants frame a League.* Eraſmus *his Book againſt the Proteſtants.* Sforza *is again received into favour with the Emperor.*

Luther writes to the King of *England.*

WE gave an Account before, of the King of *England* and *Luther*'s claſhing by Letters: But *Luther*, in the mean time, having heard of ſome things that ſounded to the King's Praiſe and Commendation, was mightily rejoiced at the News, and wrote very ſubmiſſively unto him, That he doubted not but that he had highly offended him by the Book he publiſhed; but that he had not done it ſo much of his own accord, as at the inſtigation of others, which made him in confidence of his Royal Grace and Condeſcenſion, ſo much applauded by many, take the boldneſs to write to him at preſent; and the rather, that he was informed his Highneſs was not the Author of the Book written againſt him, but that it was the work of ſome buſie and crafty Sophiſters. And here taking occaſion to ſpeak of the Cardinal of *York*, he calls him, *The Plague of* England. He heard alſo, he ſaid, to his great ſatisfaction, that His Highneſs diſliked that ſort of naughty Men, and applied his mind to the knowledge of the Truth: Wherefore he prayed him to pardon what he had done, and conſider, that he himſelf being a Mortal Man, ought not to entertain Immortal Enmity: That if he pleaſed to lay his Commands upon him, he would make a publick acknowledgment of his fault, and wrote another Book in Praiſe of his Princely Vertues. Then he intreats his Highneſs not to liſten to the Suggeſtions of Slanders, who called him a Heretick; ſince the ſumm of his Doctrin was this, That we muſt be ſaved by Faith in Chriſt, who bore the puniſhment of our Sins in his own Body; who having died and riſen again for us, reigns for ever with his Father; which was the Doctrin of all the Prophets and Apoſtles: That having laid this for a Foundation, he taught the Duties of Charity, what we ought to do for one another, how we ought to obey the Magiſtrate, and ſuit our whole Life to the Profeſſion of the Goſpel: That if there was any Error or Impiety in

that

that Doctrin, why did not the Adversaries make it out? Why did they condemn and excommunicate him before he was heard and convicted? That therefore he wrote against the Pope of *Rome* and his Adherents, because they taught contrary to Christ and his Apostles, for their own Gain and Profit, that they might rule and domineer over all others, and wallow in Luxury and Pleasures; for that all their Thoughts and Actions tended only to this scope; which was so notoriously known also, that they themselves could not deny it: But would they mend their Manners, and not lead such a lazy and sensual life, to the prejudice and loss of other Men, the difference might easily be brought to an end: That since a great many Princes and free Cities of *Germany* approved his Doctrin, and thankfully acknowledged God's Blessing in it, he earnestly wished His Highness might he reckoned one of that number: But, that the Emperor and some others made themselves his Enemies, it was no new thing: That *David* had prophesied many Ages since, That Kings and People should conspire against the Lord and his anointed, and cast off his Laws; That for his own part, when he considered such places of Scripture, he wondered to see that any Prince favoured the Doctrin of the Gospel. Last of all, he humbly desired that His Highness would be pleased to give him a gracious Answer. 1525.

Luther writes also to *George* Duke of *Saxony*.

Not long after, he wrote also to *George* Duke of *Saxony*, That it was God's usual way at first, to correct Men sharply and severely; but afterwards, tenderly to embrace and cherish them: That he struck the Jews with fear and terror, when he delivered the Law by *Moses*; but afterwards sent them glad Tydings, by the Preaching of the Gospel: That he himself also having followed that method, had dealt a little too roughly with some, and with him among the rest; but that in the mean while he had written some things full of Fruit and Consolation, whence it might be easily perceived, that he took all that pains out of no ill-will to any, but that he might do good to all: That he was informed however, that his Grace did not at all relent in the anger and offence which he had conceived against him, but was more and more exasperated daily, which was the reason why now he wrote unto him: That he earnestly begg'd of him, he would desist from opposing his Doctrin; not truly for his own sake, who had nothing to lose but his Life, but chiefly for his sake, whose Salvation lay at stake; for seeing he was certainly persuaded that his Doctrin agreed with the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles, he was therefore very much concerned for his Grace, who so bitterly hated and persecuted him. He admonished him also not to regard the meanness of his Person; for that the business was not his, but the work of the Almighty God; and though all Men should storm and rage, yet that Doctrin would abide for ever; and that therefore he was the more grieved, when he saw him so incensed and offended thereat: That he could not forsake this his Station, but seeing he was willing to gratifie him in any thing else, he humbly begg'd his Pardon, for that he had said some things too sharply against him: That he, on the other hand, would pray God to forgive his Grace, for his Contempt and Persecution of the Gospel; and made no doubt but that his Prayers would be heard, provided he would leave off in time, and not endeavour to put out that Light which by God's Blessing now shone in the World; for that if he went on in that way of Cruelty, he would implore the assistance of God against him; and then he would understand too late, what it was to withstand the Majesty of Heaven: That he had a firm and undoubted confidence in God's Promises, and knew that his Prayer was more powerful than all the Arts and Snares of the Devil; and that he always had his Refuge to it, as to a most strong Castle and Rock of Defence.

The King of *England*'s sharp Answer to *Luther*.

The King of *England* having received *Luther*'s Letter we mentioned before, returned him a sharp Answer, upbraiding him with Levity and Inconstancy. He also owned his Book, which he said had been very well liked of by many good and learned Men; That it was no strange thing to him, that he should revile the Reverend Father the Cardinal of *York*, since he stood not in awe to reproach both Saints and Men: That the Cardinal's Services were very useful both to him and the whole Kingdom also: And that as he had loved him very well before, he would now entertain a far greater Kindness for him, since he was calumniated and accused by him: That among other useful Services, his Eminence did also this good office, that he was zealous and diligent in preventing the Leprosie and Contagion of his Heresie from infecting any part of his Dominions. Afterwards he reproaches him for his Incestuous Marriage, than which no fouler Crime could be committed. This Cardinal was one *Thomas Woolsey*, a Man of mean Birth, but in high Favour with the King of *England*. Duke *George* of *Saxony* also made such an Answer to *Luther*, as it might easily appear how much he hated him.

When

1525. When the *French* Embaſſadors that were ſent to *Spain* to treat of Peace, among whom was *Margaret* the King's own Siſter, a Widow, could effect nothing: *Aloiſia* the Queen Mother, who had the Regency of the Kingdom for her own Security, prevailed with King *Henry* to enter into Alliance and Amity with her; and this was concluded about the latter end of *Auguſt*. The chief Article of that League, was, That they ſhould reſiſt the Invaſions of the *Turk*, and the Sect of *Luther*, which was as dangerous as the violence of the *Turk*. The Cardinal of *England*, who could do any thing with the King, was thought to have perſuaded his Majeſty to this Alliance; for he bore no good-will to the Emperor, becauſe he look'd upon him as the cauſe, why after the Death of *Adrian*, he was not choſen Pope, as the Imperialiſts have given it out in their Writings.

A League betwixt *France* and *England*.

Luther's Complaint of the King of *England*.

When *Luther* had read the King of *England*'s Anſwer, which was Printed, and therein found Inconſtancy objected unto him, as if he had changed his Opinion in Matters of Religion; which he looked upon not only as a private Injury done to himſelf, but alſo to the Reformed Religion: It much troubled him, he ſaid, that to gratifie his Friends, he had written ſo ſubmiſſively unto him: That *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark* had not left off to entreat and adviſe him, both Perſonally and by Letters, that he would write obligingly; and had told him ſo much of his courteous Diſpoſition, that he had put him in hopes, that being gently dealt with, he would receive the Reformed Religion; but that now he was ſenſible of his Error: That he had been juſt ſo ſerved by Cardinal *Cajetane*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Eraſmus* of *Rotterdam*, to whom, at the deſire of others, he had written affectionately; and all that he got by it, was to render them more fierce and untractable: That it was a fooliſh thing for him to imagin to find godlineſs in the Courts of Princes, to look for Chriſt where Satan bore rule, and to enquire after St. *John Baptiſt* among Courtiers who were clad in Purple: That therefore ſince he could do no good by that gentle and loving way of Writing, he would take another courſe for the future.

The *French* King ſick in Priſon.

The *French* King being anxious, and troubled in thoughts that the Treaty of Peace did not go forward, fell into a fit of Sickneſs; but being encouraged by the Emperor's diſcourſe, who bid him be of good cheer, and hope the beſt, he began at length to be ſomewhat better. The Emperor alſo conſidering with himſelf what a great loſs it would be unto him, if he ſhould chance to die, inclined daily more and more to Peace; So that *January* the Fourteenth, all things were at length concluded at *Madrid*; and in the Treaty of Peace it is ſtipulated among other things, that the Emperor and King ſhall endeavour to extirpate the Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion, and the Hereſies of the Sect of the *Lutherans*: In like manner, That Peace being made betwixt them they ſhould ſettle the Affairs of the Publick, and make War againſt the Turk, and Hereticks excommunicated by the Church; for that it was above all things neceſſary, and that the Pope had often ſolicited and adviſed them to beſtir themſelves therein: That therefore in compliance with his deſires, they reſolved to entreat him that he would appoint a certain day, when the Embaſſadors and Deputies of all Kings and Princes might meet in a convenient place, with full Power and Commiſſion to treat of ſuch meaſures as might ſeem proper for undertaking a War againſt the Turk, and alſo for rooting out Heretics, the Enemies of the Church. Again, that he would give leave to thoſe Princes who laboured in ſo holy and pious a Work, to collect and raiſe the Money which was uſual and cuſtomary in ſuch caſes; and alſo that he would impoſe a Tax upon the Clergy for the ſame purpoſe. In this Pacification, *Eleanor* the Emperor's Siſter, who had been married to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, was affianced to the *French* King. The Emperor promiſed in Dowry with her Two hundred thouſand Ducats, and ſome Places in Upper *Burgundy*, which were in Controverſie betwixt them. The King, on the other hand, promiſed within two Months after his return into *France*, to deliver up to the Emperor the Duchy of *Burgundy*, which the Kings of *France* had held ever ſince the Death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, almoſt now fifty Years: Beſides he renounced all Right and Title to *Naples*, *Milan*, *Aſta*, *Genoua* and *Flanders*: That he ſhould not aid nor aſſiſt *Henry* King of *Navarre*, *Charles* Duke of *Gueldres*, *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, nor *Robert* Count of *Mark*: That he ſhould carry on no ſecret Deſigns in *Italy*: That when the Emperor had a mind to go into *Italy*, he ſhould aſſiſt him with a Navy of ſixteen Galleys, fitted out and equipped with all things neceſſary except Soldiers, and alſo Two hundred thouſand Crowns to Arm and Man them: That the King ſhould pay the yearly Penſion, which the Emperor was bound by Agreement to pay to the King of *England*: That he ſhould reſtore *Charles* Duke of *Bourbonne*, and his Aſſociates, to all their Rights, Lands, and Poſſeſſions, ſuffering them to enjoy their Eſtates, and live where they pleaſed: And that the

1526. The Treaty of Peace at *Madrid* betwixt the Emperor and *French* King.

the King ſhould at any time ſtand a Tryal at Law with the Duke of *Bourbonne* for the Province of *Marſeillies*, to which he claims a Title. The King having ſworn to the Emperour to obſerve theſe Conditions, was ſet at liberty, and returned home; but upon his paſſing the Borders of *Spain*, he left behind him his two Sons *Francis* and *Henry*, little Boys, as Hoſtages, according as it had been agreed upon; and in caſe he ſhould fail in performance of Articles, he promiſed to deliver himſelf up Priſoner again. 1526.

The *French* King leaving his two Sons Hoſtages, is ſet at liberty.

After this, the Princes of *Germany*, in great Numbers, met at *Spire*, according to appointment, as we told you in the former Book; among whom alſo was *John* Elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip* Landgrave of *Heſſe*. The Emperour's Deputies were, *Ferdinand* his Brother, *Bernard* Biſhop of *Trent*, *Caſimire* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, *Philip* Marqueſs of *Baden*, *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Erick* Duke of *Brunſwick*. When theſe had opened the Dyet, *June* 25, and had told the Reaſons, why the Emperour had called it, they farther added, That above all things it was the Emperours Will and Command, That the States of the Empire would with unanimous Conſent, take ſome courſe, how the Chriſtian Religion, and the ancient Rites and Cuſtoms of the Church, might be entirely and univerſally retained: Again, How they were to be puniſhed and curbed that acted to the contrary, if peradventure they ſhould make uſe of Force: And how alſo mutual Aid and Aſſiſtance was to be given, that the Emperour's Edict of *Wormes*, publiſhed five Years before, and the Decree of the preſent Dyet, might be obſerved and put in execution. When a Committee of all the Princes and States had been choſen to treat of theſe things, among whom were the Landgrave, *James Sturmey* of *Strasburg*, and *Creſs* of *Norimberg*; the Emperour's Deputies again aſſemble all the States, *Auguſt* 3, and tell them, That they underſtood there was a Committee of the whole appointed to confer among themſelves about the matters propoſed, who, as they ſuppoſed, would firſt conſult about Religion; but that the Emperour's Will and Pleaſure might be obeyed, and that they might not treat of ſuch things, as they had no Power to determine, nor loſe Time to the Prejudice and Hinderance of other Deliberations; they would therefore impart to them, what Inſtructions they had from the Emperour, as to that matter; and thereupon cauſed the Emperour's Letter, dated at *Seville March* 23, to be read: The Subſtance whereof was; That he intended to go to *Rome*, to be crowned; and alſo to treat with the Pope about a Council: But that in the mean time, he willed and commanded, That the States ſhould not decree any thing in this Dyet, that might any ways be contrary to the ancient Cuſtoms, Canons and Ceremonies of the Church; but that all things ſhould be ordered within his Dominions, according to the Form and Tenor of the Edict of *Wormes*, which was made with their unanimous Advice and Conſent: That they ſhould patiently bear with this Delay, until he had treated with the Pope about a Council, which ſhould be ſhortly called; for that by ſuch private Regulations there was not only no good to be done, but the Errours and Licentiouſneſs of the Common People, were thereby the more confirmed.

The Dyet of *Spire*.

The Emperour's Letter to the States of the Empire about obſerving the Decree of *Wormes*.

About this time the Emperour of the *Turks* marching from *Belgrade*, and having paſſed the *Danube* and *Save*, advanced ſtreight towards *Hungary*: Wherefore King *Lewis* ſending again Ambaſſadours to *Spire*, demanded Aſſiſtance. Certain Intelligence came then alſo from *Italy*, That Pope *Clement* and the *Venetians* had made a League with the King of *France* lately returned home from *Spain*, againſt the Emperour, as *ſhall* be ſaid hereafter.

The *Turks* invade *Hungary*.

The Emperour's Letters, I mentioned before, being read, moſt of the Free Cities, eſpecially of *Upper Germany*, delivered in their Minds in Writing, as it is uſual: That they deſired by all means to obey and gratifie the Emperour, but that the Controverſie about Religion increaſed daily, eſpecially concerning Ceremonies and Corruptions: That hitherto the Decree of *Wormes* could not be obſerved, for fear of a Sedition and Inſurrection; but that now the Danger and Difficulty was much greater; as had been plainly made appear to the Pope's Legate, in the former Dyet: And that if the Emperour himſelf were preſent, and informed of the ſtate of Affairs, he would be of the ſame Opinion: That the Emperour, indeed, in his Letter promiſed a Council, but when he wrote that Letter, the Pope and he were on very good Terms together; but that it was far otherwiſe now, when the Pope having changed his Mind, brought his Forces into the Field againſt the Emperour; and that as Affairs ſtood it did not appear, how a Council could be called: That therefore it ſeemed moſt expedient to them, either to ſend Ambaſſadours to the Emperour, or by Letters to inform his Majeſty of the whole matter, and of the ſtate of Germany, and how dangerous a thing it would be to delay the buſineſs of Religion any longer, or to urge the Edict

The Judgment of ſome Cities in the Dyet of *Wormes*.

1526. Edict of *Wormes*: That in regard hereof, his Imperial Majeſty was to be intreated: That for avoiding of greater Troubles, he would ſuffer a National Council of *Germany* to be aſſembled, wherein all matters might be tried and examined: That this Courſe had been approved in the Dyet of *Norimberg*, when another Dyet was therefore appointed to be held in this City, and many of the States made preparation for the ſame: But its being countermanded by the Emperour, made way for Stirs, Seditions, and a bloody Civil War; which might have been prevented, if the Affair of Religion had at that time been lawfully decided. Now if the Emperour approved not a National Council, that he might be intreated to ſuſpend the Execution of the Edict of *Wormes* until the meeting of a General Council; for that elſe the Wound lately healed, would feſter again and grow worſe: Furthermore, That in this Diſcord and Diſſention, ſo long as every Man was forced to be ſolicitous about their own private concerns, it would be very difficult and uneaſie to contribute Money for the Aid and Aſſiſtance of others.

A Complaint of ſome Cities of *Germany* againſt Mendicant Fryers.

Beſides this Paper, which was preſented to the Princes *Auguſt* 4, they preferred alſo another: Therein they complain, That poor Men every where were over burthened by Mendicant Fryers, who wheadled them, and eat the Bread out of their Mouths: Nor was that all neither, but many times alſo they hooked in Inheritances and moſt ample Legacies, to the great Prejudice of many: That it was therefore their Opinion, That they ſhould not be ſuffered to propagate thoſe Fraternities any more: That when any of the Fryers dyed, there ſhould be none put into their place; and that ſuch of them as were willing to follow another courſe of Life, might have ſome yearly Penſion; and that the reſt of their Revenues ſhould be brought into the publick Treaſury: That, beſides, it was not reaſonable that the Clergy ſhould be exempted from all publick Burthens: That that Priviledge had been granted to them of old by the Bounty of Kings; but at ſuch a time, when they were both few in Number, and low in Fortune: But that now, when they were mightily increaſed both in Number and Wealth, the caſe was far different; for the Cauſe of the Priviledge being removed, the Effect alſo ought to ceaſe; and the rather, that they did as much as other People, nay more too, enjoy all theſe Advantages, for which Money, Taxes and Cuſtoms, uſed to be raiſed and paid. Again, That the great number of Holydays was prejudicial to the People, who were bound under great Penalties to keep them, neglecting their neceſſary Work and Buſineſs, and many ways offending God on thoſe idle Days. That the Law alſo for diſtinction of Meats, ought, in their Opinion, to be abrogated, and all Men left to their Liberty as to Ceremonies, until the meeting of a General Council; and that, in the mean time the courſe of the Goſpel ſhould in no ways be obſtructed.

Againſt the Immunities of the Clergy.

Againſt Holydays.

A Diſſention among the States at *Spire* about Religion.

After that Letter of the Emperour's was read, the Biſhops refuſed to proceed in the matter of Religion, and whilſt the Pope and Emperour were at ſo great Variance, they thought it beſt to delay, till a fairer occaſion of acting offered. Thus there happened ſo great Animoſity and Diſſention betwixt the Commiſſioners; who were of different Religion, that all deliberation being on a ſudden at a ſtand, the Duke of *Saxony* and Landgrave, thought of returning home, and ordered their Servants to prepare for the Journey. This being known, *Ferdinand*, and *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Treves*, and others, perceiving that it would be a very dangerous Matter, if in ſo diſtracted a time, and when all Men's Eyes and Expectations were fixed upon this Dyet, they ſhould depart, not only without making any Decree; but alſo with *Minds* full of Rancour; took a courſe to make up this Breach; for ſeeing many were of Opinion, That the Inſurrection the Year before, and the Troubles at preſent, ſprang altogether from the Diviſions about Religion, they thought it convenient to apply a Remedy in Time; Having therefore appeaſed the *Minds* of ſome, a Decree was made, at length, to this purpoſe: That for eſtabliſhing Religion, and maintaining Peace and Quietneſs, it was neceſſary there ſhould be a lawful General, or Provincial Council of *Germany*, held within a Year: And that no Delay nor Impediment might intervene, That Ambaſſadours ſhould be ſent to the Emperour, to pray him, That he would look upon the Miſerable and Tumultuous State of the Empire, and come into *Germany* as ſoon as he could, and procure a Council. As to Religion, and the Edict of *Wormes*, it was concluded, That in the mean while, until either a General or National Council might be had, all ſhould ſo behave themſelves in their ſeveral Provinces, as that they might be able to render an Account of their Doings both to God and the Emperour.

The decree of *Spire* concerning Religion.

Before

Before the passing of that Decree, the Elector of *Saxony* and Landgrave sent for the Deputies of *Strasburg*, *Norimberg* and *Ausburg*, and told them; That because they perceived their Religion was dear unto them, and that it plainly appeared what the Bishops and Papists drove at, they were thinking, Whether a League and Association might not be made for mutual Assistance, in case any of them should be in Danger for their Religion; and because they conceived good Hopes of those of *Frankford* and *Ulm*, they did not refuse to communicate also with them. To this the Deputies made answer; That they had no Instructions from their Principals as to that, but that they would carefully acquaint them therewith. The Duke of *Saxony* had two Divines with him, *George Spalatine* and *John Islebe*, and the Landgrave had also brought his Preachers with him; the rest of the Princes requested, That they might not preach, to prevent Disturbances; but that was in vain. *Ferdinand*, also, before the Decree was made, having sent for the Deputies of all the Cities, and represented to them the Kindness that he and his Predecessors of the House of *Austria*, had always had for them; exhorted them to be obedient to the Emperour, and not to listen to the Counsels and Persuasions of some that would pervert them. It was also decreed, That Aid should be sent to the King of *Hungary*: But by that time the Dyet was dissolved, which was about the latter end of *August*, the *Turk* having already entred *Hungary*, overcame King *Lewis* in Battle, who was also slain, as he fled, in the Pursuit. All the Princes Electors, except *Brandenburg*, were present at the Dyet of *Spire*. This Summer the Emperour married the Infanta *Isabel*, Daughter to King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, and Sister to King *John*, who succeeded to his Father.

1526.

The beginning of a League among those of the reformed Religion.

Lewis King of *Hungary* slain.

The Marriage of *Charles* V.

At the same time the Dyet was held at *Spire*, the twelve Cantons of the *Switzers*, kept a Conference and Disputation at *Baden*; thither came the chief Catholick Divines, as *Faber*, *Eckius*, *Murner*, and the Bishops of *Constance*, *Basil*, *Coyre* and *Lausanne*, under whose Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction these Cantons were, sent their Deputies. Theses were published there, which *Eckius* very confidently defended: As, that the real Body and Blood of Christ is present in the Eucharist: That it is really offered for the Quick and the Dead: That the Virgin *Mary*, and the rest of the Saints, are to be prayed to, as Intercessours: That the Images of Saints were not to be removed: That there is a Fire of Purgatory after this Life. *Oecolampadius*, and some others impugned them. *Zuinglius* was absent, and wrote to the *Switzers* the Reasons why he did not come, but confuted *Eckius* his Theses in Writing. *John Faber*, who was highly esteemed by the Bishop of *Constance*, bearing great hatred to *Zuinglius*, is reported to have put the *Switzers* upon this Match of Disputation, and persuaded seven Cantons at first, to which all the rest assented afterwards, except *Zurich*, to whom the rest sent both Letters and Messengers, praying them, That against the day appointed they would send thither their Deputies; and especially *Zuinglius*, who was one of the chief Men they wanted, and to whom they gave a Safe-Conduct: But he, having some Reasons to move him; and chiefly, That he would not trust his Life with those of *Lucerne*, *Uri*, *Switz*, *Underwald* and *Zug*; besides his being forbidden by the Senate to go thither, excepted against the Place appointed for the Dispute; but was satisfied with *Zurich*, *Berne* or *San-Gall*. The Issue of the whole Debate was, That all should continue in the Religion, which hitherto they had observed, and admit of no new Doctrins within their Territories; but submit to the Authority of a Council. This was done about the latter end of *June*: But before this, the Bishop of *Constance* had caused one *John Huglie*, a Priest, to be burnt at *Merspurg*, because he disliked some things in the Popish Doctrin.

A Disputation at *Baden*.

The Points disputed.

The Issue of the Disputation.

John Huglie a Priest, burnt for Religion.

King *Lewis*, being thus unfortunately killed, *Ferdinand* contended, That the Kingdom was his by Agreement; but he had a Competitour *John Sepsy*, Vaivode of *Transilvania*. This competition bred a division among the Nobility and States, that broke out into a War, which proved fatal to *Germany*, and the neighbouring People: For the Emperour of the *Turks* afterwards took the Vaivode into his Protection; and *Buda* being delivered up, made him a King, on condition, That he should be Feudatary, and hold of him.

The *French* King being returned home out of *Spain*, where he left his two young Sons, *Francis* and *Henry* Hostages, gave it out, That the Conditions of Peace, which he had agreed unto, were Unjust, and that he would not stand to them. After Ambassadours had been therefore sent to and fro, the Pope and *Venetians* made a League with him; whereof the chief Articles were; That for the Defence and Security of *Italy*, they should maintain an Army of thirty thousand Foot, and about six thousand Horse. That they should provide a Fleet of eight and twenty Galleys, with Tenders. That the Enemy being defeated in *Lumbardy* and *Italy*, they should attack the Kingdom of

The League of the Pope, *French* and *Venetians* against the Emperour.

1526. *Naples* by Sea and Land: That being conquered, it ſhould be annexed to the Patrimony of S. *Peter*, and belong to the Church; yet ſo as the King of *France*, who pretended a Title thereunto, ſhould have ſeventy five thouſand Crowns yearly paid out of it: That the Honour and Dignity of the Family of *Medices*, ſhould be maintained in the State of *Florence*. That the *French* King ſhould give up the Dutchy of *Milan* to *Francis Sforza*, whom the Imperialiſts had beſieged in the Caſtle of *Milan*, and forced to ſurrender,; and whom alſo he promiſed to aſſiſt with his own Aid, and *Switz*-Forces, and to give him a Wife of the Blood-Royal of *France*; but upon this Condition, That he ſhould pay him fifty thouſand Crowns yearly, and maintain his Brother *Maximilian*, who was Priſoner in *France*.

The Pope's expoſtulatory Letter to the Emperor.

A little after Pope *Clement* wrote to the Emperour, reckoning up the good Offices that he had done him: That for his ſake, he had refuſed Advantagious Conditions offered him by the *French* King; That when the King was taken, he had upon a certain Condition advanced an hundred thouſand Crowns to the Commanders of his Army: That he had ſeveral times diſcovered unto him the Counſels and Deſigns of his Enemies: That when *Francis Sforza*, was by his Generals beſieged in the Caſtle of *Milan*, and ſome great Men invited him to enter into a League, he had not liſtned to them: But that he was now very ill requited for all theſe good Offices; for that his Soldiers had done great Injuries, and given great Affronts both to him and the Church of *Rome*. Again, That he had neither performed Conditions, nor repaid the Money that was advanced upon that account: That the Averſion he had alſo to him ſufficiently appeared, in that he concealed from him the Conditions, upon which he had made Peace with the King of *France*: That he had obſtinately rejected all the Interceſſions made by him for *Sforza*: That in *Spain* and *Naples*, he had made Laws derogatory to the Liberty of the *Roman* Church, and his own Dignity; and that having ſent the Duke of *Bourbonne* to the Siege of *Marſeilles*, he had raiſed a new War in *Italy*. That for theſe Reaſons, therefore, he had been obliged to enter into a League with ſome, who loved the Peace and Welfare of *Italy*. That if he alſo was deſirous of Peace, and would imbrace it, well and good; but if not, That he wanted neither Force nor Power to defend *Italy*, and the Intereſt of *Rome*. The King of *England* was comprehended in this League, and with great Promiſes invited to be Protector of it.

The Emperour's Anſwer to the Pope.

To this Letter of his, the Emperour wrote an anſwer from *Granada*, dated *September* 18, wherein he repreſented unto him, How much he had deſerved at his Hands; as that by his Interceſſion and Aſſiſtance he had been made Pope: That when he was choſen Emperour, he would not accept it, till *Leo* X had approved the Election, and alſo owned his Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, but that he afterwards, and *Albert* Prince of *Carpi*, had by *Leo*'s Orders, attempted ſeveral things againſt him, and entring into a League with the *French*, had uſed all their Endeavours to get *Naples* and *Sicily* out of his hands: That afterwards, when the Times changed, and the *French*, in vain attempted *Regio* in *Modena*, a Town depending on the Pope; he, with the Aſſiſtance of Pope *Leo*'s Troops, had made War againſt the King of *France*; in which War his Holineſs himſelf was Legate from Pope *Leo*, and at that time had from him for a Reward, a yearly Penſion of ten thouſand Ducats, out of the Revenues of the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*: That the *French* being beat out of *Italy*, by the Conduct of the Duke of *Bourbonne*, he could not deny him the Liberty of making War in *France*, that he might recover what the *French* King had taken from him, becauſe of his Revolting: But that after the Siege of *Marſeilles* was raiſed, the *French* King had, at the Inſtigation of his Holineſs himſelf; as moſt Men affirmed, renewed the War in *Lumbardy*: That *Naples*, indeed, held of the See of *Rome*; nevertheleſs, ſaid he, ſhould you make War in thoſe places, you would thereby loſe all your Right and Title; for that the ſame Reaſons which make a Vaſſal and Feudatary loſe his Fief, make the Sovereign Lord loſe alſo his Dominion. Before the *French* King was taken, you did, indeed, mediate for a Peace; but your deſign was, That under a Colour of Sequeſtration, you might get into the Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and therefore the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, influenced by you, withdrew their Auxiliary Forces, which they were bound by League to furniſh. For the *French* King, both openly confeſſes, That being ſollicited by you, he had made a new League before he returned home out of *Spain*; and I have certain Intelligence alſo, That you have abſolved him from the Oath, whereby he ſtands obliged to me. Beſides, you have attacked me in a Hoſtile manner, before the Letter, wherein you denounce War, came to my Hands: And you have laid a Deſign, not only to drive me out of *Italy*, but alſo to degrade me from the Imperial Dignity: This I can prove by the Letters of *Ferdinand D' Avalos*

Marqueſs

Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, whom you inticed into that League, with a Promiſe of the Kingdom of *Naples*. I have Right to challenge the Dutchy of *Milan*, for more Reaſons than one; and nevertheleſs for the ſake of the Peace of *Italy*, I ſuffered *Sforza* to enjoy it; and when he was dangerouſly ſick, would have put the Duke of *Bourbonne* in his Place, perceiving that it would be acceptable to you and the reſt of *Italy*. Now, that he was blockt up in the Caſtle of *Milan*, the Reaſon was, Becauſe he had incurred the Crime of High Treaſon, by making a League with you; and that the Conſpiracy being detected, he would neither deliver up the Caſtles of *Cromona* nor *Milan*, to my Officers, nor yet purge himſelf of the Crimes objected to him, and ſtand a fair Tryal. Your Demand was, That I ſhould freely pardon him all; but that I neither could nor ought to do, leſt I might thereby give a bad Example for Vaſſals to rebel againſt their Sovereigns and Lords. If my Soldiers took Proviſions and other Neceſſaries from the People of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, it is not to be thought ſtrange; becauſe theſe Cities belong to the Dominion of *Milan*, and not at all to the Church of *Rome*. As to the Peace made with *France*, I concealed nothing of it from your Miniſters; for the Conditions are ſuch, as I would not have them to be kept ſecret; for they tend both to the maintaining the Peace of the Publick, and to the reſtraining of the Enemy of Chriſtendom. Thoſe few Laws made in *Spain*, aim only at this, That the Rights of Patronage, which were granted to me by Pope *Adrian*, may be ſuppreſſed at *Rome*. But ſee the baſeneſs of the thing: *Rome* receives more Money and Profits out of my Kingdoms and Provinces, than from all Chriſtendom beſide. That may be proved by the Demands of the Princes of *Germany*, when complaining heavily of the Court of *Rome*, they deſired a Remedy to their Grievances: But out of the Reſpect I bore to the Church of *Rome*, at that time I ſlighted their Complaints; which being ſo, and ſeeing I have given you no cauſe of Offence, I earneſtly deſire you to deſiſt from Hoſtility; I ſhall do the like: And ſeeing God hath ſet us up as two great Luminaries, let us endeavour that the World may be enlightned by us, and that no Eclipſe may happen by our Diſſentions: Let us conſider the whole ſtate of Chriſtendom, and think of reſiſting Infidels, and of ſuppreſſing the Sect and Errours of the *Lutherans*: In this the Glory of God is concerned, and here we ſhould begin: Afterwards, let other Affairs and Controverſies be heard; you ſhall always find me ready to aſſiſt you. But if I cannot prevail, and you will needs go on like a Warriour, I Proteſt and Appeal to a Council, that all Quarrels may be therein decided; and demand that it may ſpeedily be called. What he ſays of Luminaries, he borrows it from the Words of Pope *Innocent* III, who ſaid, *That God created two great Lights, the one to rule by Day and the other by night*, which he applyed to the Papal and Royal Dignities; But that that Power which ruled in Divine and Spiritual Matters, far excelled the other, which medled only in Civil and Temporal Affairs: And that there was as great a difference betwixt the Offices of a Pope and a King, as betwixt the Sun and Moon. This Decree is extant under the Title *de Majoritate & Obedientia.* 1526.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

The Emperour's Letter to the Colledge of Cardinals.

When the Emperour had thus anſwered the Pope, he wrote alſo to the Colledge of Cardinals, *October 6*; That he had conceived great Grief of Mind, to hear that Pope *Clement* was confederated with the *French* King, who was making War againſt him a freſh: That he had written very Hoſtile Letters unto him; which he ſuppoſed was done by their unanimous Advice and Conſent; and that he was very far from expecting any ſuch thing; ſince there was no King to be found more zealous for the Intereſt of the Church of *Rome* than he was; that *Parma* and *Piacenza* were inſtances of that, which being Imperial Cities, and lately diſmembred from the Empire, he had reſtored them to the Church, though in Law he was not obliged to do ſo: That all the Princes and States of *Germany* had at *Wormes* made heavy Complaints to him of many Injuries of the Court of *Rome*, and then deſired that they might be redreſſed; but becauſe he had been born and bred with a ſingular love to the Church of *Rome*, he had not given ear to their Demands: And when greater Troubles ariſing thereupon afterwards, and many Tumults and Riots happening through *Germany*, the Princes had for that Reaſon appointed another Dyet; he had, under ſevere Penalties, prohibited them to aſſemble, becauſe their Deliberations would have been prejudicial to the Pope and Church of *Rome*: And that to ſweeten and appeaſe them at that time, he had given them Hopes of a future General Council. That the Pope therefore did him great Injury; who had done ſo much for his Holineſs, as that thereby he had much alienated from himſelf the Hearts of the Nobility of *Germany*. That he had written ſeriouſly unto him about all theſe matters, and adviſed him to call a General Council: That therefore it was his deſire to them, That they would admoniſh him of his Duty, and exhort him to Peace rather than War: But that if he refuſed, or delayed the cal-

1526. ling of a Council longer, than it was fit and reasonable, that then they should forthwith call it. For that if Christendom should sustain Prejudice either for want of a Council, or for not having it called in due time, it ought not to be laid to his charge.

We told you, How it had been lately decreed at *Spire*, That Ambassadours should be sent to the Emperour in *Spain*; but the News of the Overthrow in *Hungary* coming soon after, the Princes thought themselves obliged to use Expedition; and that they might have a nearer way to pass to the Emperour, they desired of the *French* King, That he would allow their Ambassadours a free Passage through his Kingdom. He condescended, prefixing a certain time for that, as shall be said hereafter; and withal took occasion to write unto them, *October 6*, that he was extreamly troubled at the *Turks* late Invasion of *Hungary*, the Fatal Death of King *Lewis*, and the great Danger of *Germany*: That he was no less sorry for the Civil War, that had broke out to the Ruine of the Publick: That it was not his Fault that Christendon was not at quiet; but that the Emperour was to be blamed for it, who rejected Honest and most equitable Conditions of Peace. And that seeing he was not moved, neither by the publick Calamities, nor by the unfortunate Death of his own Brother-in-law, King *Lewis*, and the sad condition of his Widow-sister; nor yet considered in how great Danger *Austria* was; it would be their Duty, and well done in them, if they could incline and persuade him to Peace, to live in Amity with neighbouring Kings and Princes, and to set Bounds to his Ambition; for that that would make more for his Glory, than by overturning the States of others, to aspire to an universal Monarchy: That his Ancestors, Kings of *France*, had often maintained Wars against the Enemies of the Christian Religion; and that, if the Emperour pleased, the same might now be done with united Strength: That if they could prevail then, and obtain that of him, he would be ready to employ all his Force; nay, his own person also against the *Turk*: But if not, that he was not to be blamed, if he endeavoured to recover by Arms, what he could not do by fair means; for that it was the Emperour's part, rather to sue for Peace, who lay much nearer the Danger of the *Turks* than he did.

The *French* King's Letters to the Princes of *Germany*.

When the Emperour came to know of this Letter, he wrote to the Princes, *November* 29; and in the first place acquaints them, How kind and gracious he had been to the *French* King, when he was his Prisoner; how he had given him both his Liberty, and in Marriage also his eldest Sister, and second in degree of Succession to him: But that when all things were quieted, (as he supposed) and that he was preparing to go into *Italy*, that he might bend all his Forces against the perpetual Enemy of Christendom; the *French* King (breaking his Faith, and entring into a League with Pope *Clement* and some others, who had already in their Hopes anticipated the Kingdom of *Naples*, and divided it betwixt them) had renewed a most formidable War: And that therefore he could not protect *Hungary* against the Fury of the *Turks*, as being necessitated to defend his own Borders. That what the *French* King pretended, of his Sorrow for the Death of King *Lewis*, and the Calamity of *Hungary*, was downright Hypocrisie and Dissimulation; which he used, to the intent he might stop the Mouths of those, who constantly affirmed, from intercepted Letters, that, at his Solicitation, the *Turk* had undertaken this War: That during his Captivity, and afterwards, when he was set at Liberty, and returned home; he had by Letters obliged himself, to observe the Articles of the Treaty: That he had promised to him the same by Word of Mouth, when he departed out of *Spain*: But that because he had a Kingdom lying in the Heart of *Christendom*, he wantonly disturbed the Publick Peace; and among his Triumphs, reckoned the *Turkish* Victories in *Hungary*: And that he alone was to be blamed, That he did not in Person come into *Germany*; that nevertheless he would endeavour that Aid should be sent against the *Turk* with all expedition: That in the last place, he made no doubt, but that they were well enough acquainted with the Tricks of the *French*; for that it was their common and usual way to sow the Seeds of Discord in all places; and make their Profit of the Quarrels and Dissentions of others.

The Emperour's Letter to the Princes of *Germany*.

Besides the Letter before mentioned, there was also published an Apology, in defence of the *French* King, giving the Reasons why he did not observe the Pacification of *Madrid*. To this Apology a long and copious Answer was made in behalf of the Emperour. Now, that *Buda* was taken with a great part of *Hungary*, and that the People were in a most distressed Condition there; some Princes, chosen by the rest, met at *Esling*, where the Council of the Empire then sate. There, upon deliberation, it was resolved, That the Embassie, lately agreed upon, should be omitted, and Letters sent to the Emperour, to beseech him, That by reason of the greatness of the Danger, he would hasten his return into *Germany*. In this Letter, which bore date

The Princes Letter to the Emperour.

December

December 19, they inform his Imperial Majeſty, That they had reſolved to ſend Ambaſſadours unto him; who being to paſs through *France*, they had addreſſed themſelves to the *French* King for a Safe-Conduct; which he had granted but for four Months only: That one Month was already expired, and that before the Ambaſſadours could meet, there would not be much time remaining: That therefore to ſave them from Danger, they had changed their Purpoſe, and put off that Embaſſie till the next Dyet of the Empire; for that, perhaps, they might, in the mean time, have either a more convenient Occaſion of ſending, or his Majeſty be informed of their Buſineſs by other means. Having ſo ordered theſe Affairs, they appoint a Dyet to meet at *Ratisbonne*, *April* 1, in the Year following, to take the *Turkiſh* War into conſideration. 1526.

Though the Emperour wrote to the Pope, and Colledge of Cardinals, in the manner before expreſſed; yet his Letters wrought no effect: And the Confederates having ſent Ambaſſadours unto him; as it had been agreed upon, demanded; That he would lay down Arms, that they might take Meaſures for ſetling a Publick Peace: That he would reſtore *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*; take the *French* King's Ranſome, and diſmiſs his Sons, who were Hoſtages; and pay the Money which he had borrowed of the King of *England*. To theſe Demands the Emperour made anſwer at *Valladolid*, *February* 12: That he could not for ſome ſhort time lay down Arms; but that he did not refuſe to make a Truce for three Years or more: That all their Forces in conjunction might be ſent againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtendom, and that, in the mean time, a Treaty of Peace might go on: That *Sforza* was a Vaſſal of the Empire, and ſtood accuſed of High Treaſon, and therefore could not be reſtored, unleſs he were firſt tryed; wherefore he ſhould give an Appearance at Law, and anſwer the Accuſation brought againſt him, before unſuſpected Judges whom he ſhould appoint. That he could not take Money and reſtore the King's Children; for that it was contrary to the King's Faith and Oath. That it ſeemed ſtrange to him, that they ſhould put it to him, To pay the Money due to the King of *England*, ſince they had no Warrant from him to do ſo: For that he had ſo great Friendſhip with the King of *England*, as could not be broken for a Money buſineſs. That therefore, ſince their Demands were out of the way, he deſired them to propoſe others: That he was not reſolved to be obſtinate, and would paſs by many things for the Publick Good. So then the Ambaſſadours departed without Succeſs; great Preparations for War were made on both ſides.

The Demands of the Pope, *Venetians* and *French*; who were Confederates.

1527.

The Emperour's Anſwer unto them.

Much about this time, *John Frederick*, Son to the Elector of *Saxony*, married the Lady *Sibylla*, Daughter to *John* Duke of *Cleve*. The Infanta *Catharine*, the Emperour's eldeſt Siſter, had been betrothed unto him, and the Contract of Marriage thereupon ſigned and ſealed; but upon the Change of Religion that happened in *Saxony*, the Match was broken off; and *Hawnart*, who was then the Emperour's Ambaſſadour in *Germany*, ſtuck not to ſay publickly, That Faith was not to be kept with Hereticks; herein, I ſuppoſe, treading in the Steps of the Council of *Conſtance*, as the Duke of *Saxony* himſelf took notice afterwards, in a publick Paper.

The Elector *John Frederick* marries the Daughter of the Duke of *Cleve*.

Charles Duke of *Bourbonne* was one of the Emperors Generals, who ſome years before had revolted from the King of *France*, as we ſaid already. He upon his march with an Army to *Naples*, appeared before *Rome*, and next day after, which was the ſixth of *May*, took it by Aſſault and plundered it. Pope *Clement* with the Cardinals and other Prelats, having with much ado eſcaped to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, were there block'd up for ſeven months, and at length delivered by the Emperors command. It is not to be expreſſed with what cruelty and inſolence the *German* and *Spaniſh* Soldiers behaved themſelves in *Rome*; for beſides their horrid Butcheries, Plunderings, Raviſhings, and Devaſtations, they vented all ſorts of Reproaches and contumelious Scoffs againſt the Pope, Cardinals, and the reſt of the Clergy. The Emperor took a great deal of pains to excuſe that Action, alledging that they had no orders from him to do it; and he wrote about it particularly to the King of *England*, telling him, that though he believed it to be a juſt Judgment of God, who revenged the injury and violence that had been done unto him; yet he would make it his endeavour, that this very calamity ſhould be an occaſion and beginning of the welfare of *Chriſtendom*. When the news of this was brought to the Emperor in *Spain*, he preſently commanded all publick Playes and Shows to ceaſe, which were then made for the birth of his Son *Philip*. The King of *England* made an Anſwer to that Letter of the Emperors, but the Pope being now Priſoner, whom he highly reverenced, and the Emperors power increaſing, he began to think of War, and for that end ſent the Cardinal of *York* Embaſſador into *France*.

Rome taken and plundered by the Duke of *Bourbonne*.

None

1527 None of the Princes came to the Dyet at *Ratisbonne*, but ſent only their Deputies; ſo that nothing was done, except only that *May* the eighteenth, they wrote to the Emperor, to give him an account why nothing could be done, and tell him, That it would conduce much to the intereſt of *Chriſtendom*, that Civil Wars ſhould be compoſed, and that, above all things, his Preſence was neceſſary in *Germany*.

The recess of the Diet of Ratisbonne.

The ſect of the Anabaptiſts.

At this time there was a new kind of Doctrin broached, by thoſe whom they call Anabaptiſts. Theſe are againſt Infant Baptiſm, are themſelves re-baptized, and teach that all goods ſhould be in common. Both *Luther*, *Zuinglius* and many others, wrote againſt them, and the Magiſtrates puniſhed them in all places. They bragg'd alſo of Viſions and Dreams; and at *San-Gall* a Town of *Switzerland*, one of them cut off his brothers head, in preſence of his father and mother, whom he perſuaded that God had commanded him to do ſo; but being apprehended by the Magiſtrate, he ſuffered the ſame kind of death himſelf. How they afterwards increaſed, and what troubles they raiſed in *Germany*, you ſhall hear hereafter. This year it was ordered by the Senate of *Strasburg*, that the dead ſhould no longer be buried within the City, and they appointed ſome burying places without the Town.

The French King renews a War in Italy

When the *French* King heard of the taking of *Rome*, having made a League with the King of *England*, he ſent a puiſſant Army into *Italy*, under the command of *Lautrech* a *Gaſcoin*, for the relief of the Pope. He being come into *Lombardy*, and joyned by the *Venetians*, took firſt *Alexandria*, and then *Pavia*, partly by compoſition and partly by aſſault, where the Soldiers enraged that their King ſhould have been taken there; having made great ſlaughter of the Towns-people, plunderd it. *July* the twenty ſeventh, *Charles* Duke of *Bourbonne*, who had been lately killed at the taking of *Rome*, was condemned of High Treaſon by the Parliament of *Paris*, his name and memory declared infamous, his arms torn, and his goods and lands forfeited. *Anthony du Prat* the Chancellour, pronounced the Sentence. *Bourbonne* bore a mortal hatred to the *French* King, and being about to beſiege *Marſeilles*, as we mentined in the Fourth Book, he wrote to the Cardinal of *York*, among other things, that he would ſpare neither pains nor perils in aſſiſting King *Henry* for the recovery of the Right and Title he had to *France*. For above two hundred years the *Engliſh* have laid claim to the whole Kingdom of *France*, but eſpecially to *Normandy*, *Gaſcony* and *Guienne*. By theſe Letters therefore, *Bourbonne* oblique ſtirred up the King of *England*, to proſecute his Right there; and they coming after into the hands of the *French* King, incenſed him far more againſt the Duke.

Alexandria and Pavia taken by the French.

Leonard Ceſar Burnt for Religion.

There was at that time in *Bavaria* one *Leonard Ceſar*, a Profeſſor of the Goſpel; who being apprehended by orders from the Biſhop of *Paſſaw*, maintained theſe points of Doctrin; That man was Juſtified by Faith alone: That there was but two Sacraments, Baptiſm and the Lords Supper: That the Maſs was not a Sacrifice, and availed not the Quick and the Dead: That the Confeſſion of ſins was a counſel and not a precept: That Chriſt alone made Satisfaction for us: That the Vow of Chaſtity was not obligatory: That the Scripture did not ſpeak of Purgatory: That there was no diſtinction of Days: That the Dead were no Interceſſors, and that in ſpiritual and divine matters, Man had no Free-will. When he was brought to Tryal, he would have ſpoken more fully of all theſe Points to the People, but was not ſuffered. *Eckius* was one of thoſe that tryed him; and all ſpoke in *Latin*, that the People might not underſtand; ſave only the Priſoner, who diſcourſed in *Dutch* but could not get them to do the ſame: At length he was condemned for a Heretick, and being delivered over to the Temporal Magiſtrate, *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, under whoſe Juriſdiction he lived: *Auguſt* 16 he was burnt; for the Biſhop did not pronounce Sentence of Death againſt him, leſt he might pollute holy things, and become irregular, by having a Hand in his Blood. *Ferdinand*, who had been the Emperour's Deputy in *Germany*, after the Death of King *Lewis*, being choſen King of *Bohemia*, and ſtanding in competition with the Vaivode of *Tranſilvania* for the Crown of *Hungary*, which occaſioned a War. *Philip* Marqueſs of *Baden*, who was ſubſtituted unto him, called a Dyet in the Emperour's Name, to be held at *Ratisbonne*, in the beginning of *March* following; whither the States ſhould repair, to conſult of Religion, and the *Turkiſh* War.

Ferdinand made King of Bohemia.

A Diſpute at Berne.

You heard before of the Diſputation of *Baden*; but ſince the Acts of the Diſpute and Conference were not communicated to thoſe of *Berne*, the moſt noted and powerful Canton of all the *Switzers*, though they had deſired it, and that the Differences about Religion increaſed, all the Miniſters not agreeing among themſelves in Doctrin, they appointed another Diſputation to be had within their own City, *December* 17; whereof they made publick Intimation, and called thereunto the Biſhops of *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, *Sitten* and *Lauſenne*, warning them to come in perſon, and bring their Divines with

with them; elſe they threatned them with the loſs of all the Lands and Poſſeſſions they had within their Territories; afterwards they made a Liſt of the Clergy-Men, of their Juriſdiction, and appointed the Scriptures of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, to be the only Rule, and to have the ſole Authority in all the Debates, ; giving likewiſe a Safe-Conduct to all that pleaſed to come: This Order they alſo made, That all things ſhould be carried on modeſtly, without railing or reproach; and that every Man ſhould freely ſpeak his Mind, and ſo diſtinctly, that what they ſaid might be taken by Clerks: they alſo ordained, That what ſhould be agreed upon and determined in that Conference, ſhould be of Force, and have its courſe through all their Dominions. And that all might know what they were to diſpute about, and come the better prepared; they publiſhed *Theſes* to the number of ten, which their Miniſters *Francis Colb* and *Berthold Holler* offered to maintain and prove by Scripture: And theſe were, That the true Church, whereof Chriſt is the only Head, ſprings from the Word of God, perſeveres therein, and will not hear the Voice of another: That this ſame Church made no Laws beſides God's Word: That therefore the Traditions of Men, who bear the name of the Church, no farther oblige us, than as they are conſonant to the Word of God: That Chriſt alone made Satisfaction for the Sins of the whole World: That therefore, if any Man ſay, There is any other way of Salvation, or of expiating of Sins, he denies Chriſt: That it cannot be proved by Scripture, That the Body and Blood of Chriſt are really and Corporally received: That the Rite of the Maſs, wherein Chriſt is offered up to his Heavenly Father for the Quick and the Dead, is repugnant to Scripture, and a Reproach to that Sacrifice which Chriſt made for us: That Chriſt alone is to be prayed unto, as the Mediator and Advocate for us with God the Father: That it is not to be found in Holy Scripture, that there is any place, where Souls are purged after this Life: That therefore the Prayers, and all the Ceremonies and Anniverſary Offices which are performed for the Dead, Tapers, Lamps, and the like, are of no uſe at all: That it is contrary to Holy Scripture, that any Image or Picture ſhould be propoſed to be worſhiped: That therefore if they be placed in Churches for that end, they are to be removed: That Marriage is forbidden to no Order of Men, but that for avoiding of Fornication, the Scripture permits all to marry: And that ſince all Whoremongers, are by Teſtimony of Scripture really ſeparated from the Communion of the Church, impure and unchaſt Celibacy is leaſt of all becoming the Order of Prieſthood. When thoſe of *Berne* had written concerning theſe things to all the Cantons, exhorting them to ſend their learned Men, and to give Safe-Conduct to all others who pleaſed to come, The Cantons of *Lucerne*, *Uri*, *Switz*, *Underwald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, *Friburg* and *Solothurne*, anſwered by a long Letter, ſeriouſly exhorting them, That they would deſiſt from their Enterprize, putting them in mind of their League and Aſſociation, and of the Diſputation of *Baden*, whereof they themſelves were the Authors and chief Adviſers; nor was it lawful, ſaid they, for any People or Province, to make Innovations in Religion; but that it belonged only to a General Council: They praied them not to attempt ſuch a heinous Wickedneſs, nor ſuffer themſelves to be miſled into Errour, by a few Strangers; but to perſevere in the ſame Religion, which they themſelves and their Anceſtors had lived in, wherein they had got ſo much Honour and Reputation, wherein they had ſo enlarged their Territories, and wherein they had been ſo often Victorious: That it was reaſonable they ſhould obtain that at their Hands; but if otherwiſe, that then they could not grant a Safe-Conduct, as they deſired; but that when they ſhould know who the Perſons were, they would pick and chuſe; for that they would give no more Safe-Conduct to thoſe, who being, upon publick Aſſurance given, called to the Diſputation of *Baden*, either out of Contempt or Diſtruſt came not: That beſides, they would neither ſend, nor ſuffer any of their Divines to come. Thoſe of *Berne*, nothing moved at all this, proceeded, and at the Day appointed, which was *January* 7, commenced the Diſpute. None of the Biſhops, we named, came; but they of *Baſil*, *Scafhauſen*, *Zurich*, *Appenzel*, *San Gall*, *Mulhauſen*, and the neighbouring *Griſons* alſo ſent their Deputies: As alſo did the Cities of *Straſburg*, *Ulm*, *Ausburg*, *Lindaw*, *Conſtance* and *Iſne*. The Doctors of the City of *Berne*, whom we named, began the Diſputation, and their Theſes were defended by *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, *Capito*, *Blancer*, and ſeveral more. Among others who impugned, was one *Conrad Treger*, an *Auguſtine* Fryer, of great Fame; who at length, offering Arguments from other Topicks, than from the Bible, and the Preſidents of the Diſpute, not ſuffering that, as being contrary to Order, departed. The Diſpute ended, *January* 26, and the Points of Doctrins we mentioned, were approved by the Plurality of Voices; whereupon the Magiſtrates, not only of *Berne*, but of ſome neighbouring Places alſo, ratified

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Popery aboliſhed in the Canton of *Berne*.

Ambroſe Blancer at *Conſtance*.

There Maſs, Images and Ceremonies are aboliſhed. As alſo at *Geneva*.

The Kings of *England* and *France* ſend Ambaſſadours to the Emperour.

We told you before, That the Cardinal of *York* was ſent Ambaſſadour into *France*; where having concluded a League, both Kings ſent Ambaſſadours to the Emperour; the *French* King demanding, That he would take his Ranſome, and deliver him up his Sons, who were in Hoſtage; and the King of *England*, That he would pay him a three-fold Debt he owed him; to wit, three hundred thouſand Crowns of lent Money; fifty thouſand for not fulfilling his Contract of Marriage; and his Penſion for four Years, which was promiſed him by the Emperour, as we ſhewed you in the third Book. When the Emperour had made Anſwer to theſe Demands, not according to their Minds, the King of *England* alſo ſent him a Defiance, by a Herauld; for at that time he was projecting, How he might be Divorced from his Queen *Catharine* the Emperour's Mother's Siſter, and marry another, *which he did*; *as ſhall be* ſaid hereafter. The Emperour bitterly accuſed the *French* King to other Princes, for his breach of Faith and Promiſe; and had often twitted the *French* Ambaſſadours therewith: Wherefore the King ſent a Herauld to him with Letters, dated at *Paris*, *March* 28, to this effect: From the Diſcourſe, ſaid he, which thou hadſt with my Ambaſſadours, I underſtand, That thou haſt ſpoken ſome things to my Diſhonour; as if contrary to Faith and Promiſe, I had eſcaped out of thy Hands: Now, though he who has Guards ſet over him, after matters are tranſacted, is freed from Obligation: And although this be enough to excuſe me; yet to juſtifie my Honour and Reputation, I have thought fit to tell thee in ſhort, That if thou blameſt what I have done, and my departure, or ſayeſt that I have ever acted any thing unworthy of a Prince, I tell thee plainly, Thou lyeſt; for I am reſolved to maintain my Honour and Reputation to my laſt breath. There is no need, then, of many Words, and *if* thou haſt any thing to ſay to me, let me have no more Writing from thee, but name the Place, where we may fight it out hand to hand; for if thou delayeſt to give me a Meeting, and in the mean time ceaſeſt not to aſperſe me, I proteſt thou art baſe, for a Duel will put an end to the Diſpute.

The *French* King challenges the Emperour to a Duel.

A War betwixt *Ferdinand* and the Vaivode. The Vaivod's Complaint to the Princes of *Germany*.

We took notice before of the Competition of *Ferdinand* and the Vaivode of *Tranſilvania*, concerning the Crown of *Hungary*; and now a War enſuing thereupon, wherein *Ferdinand* had the better on't; the Vaivode in the Month of *April*, wrote to the States of the Empire, as follows. After the deplorable Fall of King *Lewis*, ſaid he, I was choſen and crowned King of *Hungary*, by the common Conſent of all the Nobles, except three; whom Poverty, Hatred, and Hopes of better Fortune ſo far tranſported, as forgetting the Intereſt and Welfare of their Country, to declare themſelves for *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*. And when I was wholly imployed in ſuccouring my Country, and recovering our Loſſes, that by that means I might procure your Quiet; He at the ſame time, in a hoſtile manner, invaded my Country, makes himſelf maſter of ſome Towns, and by thoſe of his Faction, I mentioned, is created King at *Presburg*. It was to me, indeed, both a great Wonder and Grief, That this Nation, which was miſerable enough before, ſhould now be afflicted by him, who chiefly ought

ought to protect the ſame. It had been eaſie for me at that time to have repelled his Hoſtilities; but I was not willing raſhly to venture what remained of this Kingdom after ſo many Shipwracks; I only made my Complaint to Pope *Clement* VII, *Francis* King of *France*, *Henry* King of *England*, and *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*: And indeed, *Sigiſmund*, unknown to me, dealt with *Ferdinand* by Ambaſſadours, That he would not, at ſo unſeaſonable a time, by promoting Civil Diſcord, open a way for the Enemy, which afterwards neither he, nor any other could be able to ſtop up again: But that he would live in Peace with me, and joyn his Forces to mine againſt the common Enemy. And when *Ferdinand* affirmed that he had done nothing contrary to Right and Juſtice; it was agreed upon that ſome fit Men ſhould meet at a certain Day, to attempt an Accommodation of the Controverſie: I imbraced the Condition; and at the ſame time by my Ambaſſadours, whom I ſent to make ſubmiſſion in my Name to your Arbitrement, I begged of you that you would not aſſiſt my Adverſary: But when they arrived in *Ferdinand*'s Country, they were apprehended and made Priſoners, contrary to the Law of Nations, ſo that they could not diſcharge their Commiſſion; for they were to go forward from you to the Emperour. Though this, indeed, was a heinous Injury, yet at the Day appointed by *Sigiſmund*, I ſent ſome Men, who were both of their own Inclination, and by my Orders too, very deſirous of Peace: But *Ferdinand*'s Commiſſioners making moſt unreaſonable Propoſitions, they broke up without concluding any thing. Whilſt theſe things were on foot, ſome of the Nobility tampered with, by the Artifices of *Ferdinand*, have violated their Allegiance to me. Now ſeeing I have no free Paſſage left either to come or ſend to you, I reſolved, at laſt, to acquaint you by Letters, how unjuſt a War he carries on; that he may recover, perhaps, the Honour, which in the Age paſt, his Anceſtors the Emperours *Frederick* and *Maximilian* loſt here; for my Uncle drove the one of them out of all the Country, and baulked him of *Hungary*, when triumphantly he was about to make himſelf King of it: And my Father *Stephen Sepſy* ſo mauled them both, in the Reign of King *Matthias*, as that he joyned *Vienna* to *Hungary*: Nay, and I my ſelf too, though then but a Youth, put a ſtop to *Maximilian* in his Progreſs againſt us, and would have done the ſame againſt the preſent Enemy, if he had not acted more by Cunning and Treachery, than by Valour and Force of Arms. I have, indeed, hitherto born with that Injury, as patiently and as well as I could: But conſider with your ſelves, moſt Noble Princes, How grievous a thing it is to be caſt down from Supreme Dignity to the ſtate of a Private Man. Hardly, I think, is there any Man to be found ſo tame and patient, as having received ſo many Injuries, would not look about him for aſſiſtance, wherever he could have it. Seeing, then, I have at no time, ſince I entred into the Government, refuſed to hearken to any reaſonable Conditions, nor do at preſent reject them, but would do any thing rather than cauſe a Civil War; and that my Enemy goes on obſtinately, I make Proteſtation, That it ought not to be imputed to me as a Fault, if I take any ſort of courſe for my own Defence and Protection. And that if any Prejudice redound from thence to Chriſtendom, that is not to be attributed to me, who have eſſayed all ways of Peace, but to my Enemy, who with higheſt Injuſtice invades the Kingdom of another. He is careful indeed to ſtop all the Wayes, that no News may be brought to you; but yet, I ſuppoſe, you have heard, how he deſerted his Brother-in-law, King *Lewis*; for though he had been often, and with very earneſt Entreaty ſollicited, yet he neither ſent him Men, Artillery, nor any other Aid againſt his Powerful Enemy. And why? becauſe his Heart and Eye were already upon the Crown, after his Death: Beſides, he ſent the Publick Aids of the Empire, deſigned for *Hungary*, to his Brother, to plague *Italy* with, whilſt I ſent and paid about three thouſand Men of my own Forces, under the command of my Brother, to the Aſſiſtance of King *Lewis*, deſigning to have been preſent in perſon at the Battle, had not the King commanded me to continue in *Tranſilvania*; but my Brother dyed bravely in the Fight. *Ferdinand* alſo took a ſolemn Oath, That before he had recovered *Belgrade*, and ſome other Caſtles, he would not take upon him the Government: But he forfeited his Promiſe herein; for the *Turks* made an Incurſion far up into the Country, and having waſted the Land, and taken the ſtrong Caſtle of *Jaitza* in *Boſnia*, returned home loaded with Spoils. This Caſtle was heretofore taken from the *Turks* by King *Matthias*, with a great loſs of his Men; my Uncle *Emerick*, alſo held out a long Siege therein, and defended it againſt them; and our Kings, likewiſe, were at vaſt Charges in fortifying it: But this General of ours, who made ſuch glorious Promiſes, as an Eſſay of his Valour, fairly ſuffered it to

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Not long after, he wrote alſo to the Emperour much to the ſame purpoſe, praying him to divert his Brother; and theſe things he publiſhed in his own Defence. But King *Ferdinand* inſiſted upon the Compact, which in the Year 1491, the Emperour *Maximilian* made with the *Hungarians* and King *Ladiſlaus*; wherein it was ſtipulated, That if *Ladiſlaus* dyed without Heirs Male, that then the Kingdom ſhould fall to *Maximilian*, and the Heirs of his Body. Since therefore King *Lewis*, Son to *Ladiſlaus* was dead without Iſſue, as we ſaid before; *Ferdinand*, who was Grand-Son to *Maximilian*, and Archduke of *Auſtria*, and beſides was married to the Siſter of King *Lewis*, pretended that the Kingdom of right belonged unto him.

King *Ferdinand*'s Title to *Hungary*.

At the very ſame time, *Philip* Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Elector of *Saxony* having raiſed Forces, prepared for War; And the Reaſon of it was this, A certain Lawyer, *Otho Becken*, a Man of Noble Extraction, and one of the chief Counſellours of *George* Duke of *Saxony*, being occaſionally in Diſcourſe with the Landgrave, admoniſhed him to look to himſelf; for that lately King *Ferdinand*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, *William* and *Lewis*, Dukes of *Bavaria*, the Biſhops of *Mentz*, *Saltſburg*, *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg*, had entred into a League for the ruine of him, the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Reformed Religion; and to gain credit, ſhewed him a Copy of the Inſtrument of Confederation, promiſing alſo to produce the Original. Whilſt they were raiſing Forces, and prepared for War, all men were agog, what the meaning of it ſhould be; for various Reaſons were given out, as it happens commonly in ſuch caſes: But at length, when all things were in a Readineſs, they began to ſend Letters and Meſſengers into all parts, publiſhed the Copy of the League, and at the ſame time ſent Ambaſſadours and Letters to thoſe, who were ſaid to be ingaged in it, that they might know what their Purpoſe was: However they all purged themſelves ſeverally, by Publick Declarations, affirming it to be a Fiction, and that it could not be proved. Eſpecially *George* Duke of *Saxony*, the Landgrave's Father-in-law, urged him to name his Author, or otherwiſe that he would look upon it as a Contrivance of his to raiſe Commotions, and diſturb the Peace of *Germany*. Their firſt Attempt was to have been upon the Biſhops, their next Neighbours; and therefore they prepared themſelves, and raiſed all their Forces they could make on a ſudden: But when *Becken* could not produce the Original, as he had promiſed, the Landgrave began to act more ſlowly, and, at length, through the Mediation of the Prince *Palatine*, and *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Treves*, they laid down their Arms, upon Condition, That for the Charges of the War, the Biſhops ſhould pay the Landgrave an hundred thouſand Florence, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* forty thouſand, *Wurtzburg* as much, and *Bamberg* twenty. Afterwards, when the Deputies of the Princes, whom this Accuſation concerned, had met at a Day appointed, *Becken*, whom the Landgrave preſented there, was convicted of Forgery; but being diſmiſſed, at length, by the Landgraves means, he wandred for ſome Years as an Exile, amongſt Foreign Nations, till at laſt he loſt his Head at *Antwerp*. Matters being thus quieted, the Confederates of the *Schwabian* League, whom we have often mentioned before, accuſed the Landgrave, That he had offered Violence, and done Injury to their Aſſociates; and when this ſeemed to threaten ſome new Stirs, the Matter was at length taken up, about the end of *Decemher*, at *Wormes*, by the Invention of the Prince *Palatine*. There were ſome who thought, That it was not altogether without-book, what he ſaid of the Confederacy; and that meeting of ſome Princes, which was four Years before, at *Ratisbonne*, as we ſaid before, in the fourth Book, increaſed this Suſpicion: So that it was thought ſome ſuch Project had been laid, but not brought to Maturity, nor reſolved upon; which nevertheleſs I would not affirm for a Truth, but leave every one to his own Judgment. We told you before of another Dyet of the Empire, which was appointed to be held at *Ratiſbonne*, in the beginning of the Spring; but in that Tumult of War, it did not meet, the Emperour's Vice-Deputy ſending them Word not to come.

The Elector of *Saxony* and Landgrave prepare for War.

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The Emperour received not the *French* King's Challenge, dated about the end of *March*, which we mentioned before, till the ſeventh of *June*; but having received it, he ſent him a Herauld, with this Anſwer, *June* 24. I do not blame nor accuſe thee, ſaid he, for going home; ſince thou hadſt my leave to do ſo; but becauſe thou haſt not delivered thy ſelf up again Priſoner to me, as thou didſt faithfully promiſe to do, if thou didſt not fulfil the Articles of Peace, as may be proved by Letters under thine own Hand. Hadſt thou done ſo, thou wouldeſt have acted like a Good and Worthy Prince: But now ſince thou haſt broken thy Promiſe therein, I tell thee, and that without lying, That thou haſt acted baſely and knaviſhly. And becauſe thou demandeſt of me, to name a Place for Duel, I am content, and appoint the Place, by that River which runs betwixt *Fontarabia* and *Andey*; which thou oughteſt not to refuſe: For if two Years agoe thou truſtedſt the Safety of thy ſelf and Childen to it, when having got thy Liberty, and returning Home, thou didſt deliver them up to me as Hoſtages; thou maiſt now ſafely truſt thy ſelf thereunto. *But that no longer Delay be made, let skilful Gentlemen be ſent on both ſides, to pitch upon the Ground, and appoint the Weapons and Day*: And if *thou ſendeſt me not an Anſwer within forty Days after the receipt of this Letter, that I may know thy Mind, the Blame and Shame of the Delay ſhall lye at thy Door*; and ſo to the Crime of Breach of Faith thou'lt alſo add Baſeneſs. *This* Letter the Emperour gave to the Herauld, commanding him to carry it to *France*, and read it publickly to the King; or if he refuſed to hear it, that he ſhould deliver it into his own Hands to be read. When the Herauld, at length arrived at *Paris*, coming into the Kings Preſence, who was ſurrounded with his Nobles; his Majeſty asked him, if he had brought him a Defiance: He told him he had; That he had ſomething beſides to ſay unto him, and that he was enjoyned to read it publickly, or to give it into his own Hands: Wherefore he deſired leave to do it. But the King, who was not Ignorant what the Emperour had to charge him with, would not ſuffer it to be openly read; but having exchanged ſome Words with the Herauld, ſtarted up, and would neither hear him ſpeak more, nor receive the Letter from him, as the Imperialiſts affirm in their Publick Writings.

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The Emperour's Anſwer to the *French* King's Challenge.

By Letters dated at *Valladolid*, *Auguſt* 1, the Emperour appointed a Dyet of the Empire to be held at *Spire*, the beginning of *February* next year, to conſult about Religion and the *Turkiſh* War: But excuſed himſelf that he could not be there, becauſe of other Affairs; naming for his Commiſſioners, his Brother King *Ferdinand*, *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Biſhops of *Trent* and *Heildeſheim*. *Cautreck* the *French* General, after the taking of *Alexandria* and *Pavia* the Year before, as hath been ſaid, had his Winter-quarters in *Bolonia*, but marching forward again, in the beginning of the Spring, he beſieged *Naples*, which was defended by *Alphonſo d'Avalos*, *Ugo Moncada*, *Ferdinando Alarco*, *Philibert Orengio* and *Ferdinando Gonzaga*: But in the Month of *July* a very violent Plague ſwept away a great part of his Army, whereof *Lautreck* himſelf dyed, *Auguſt* 14, and not long before him the Duke of *Vaudemont*, Brother to *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain*, who ſerved the King, in hopes of obtaining the Kingdom of *Naples*, to which the Family of *Anjou*, from whence the Houſe of *Lorrain* are deſcended, pretends a Right and Title.

A Dyet appointed at *Spire*.

Naples beſieged by the *French*.

How after the Diſputation at *Berne* Religion was changed in many Places, it hath been formerly mentioned; wherefore the Miniſters of the Church at *Strasburg*, upon this Occaſion preached, as they had often done before, againſt the Maſs, affirming it, among other Errours of the Popiſh Doctrin, to be Impious and very Reproachful to the Name of God; and that therefore it was to be abrogated, and the right Adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper reſtored; refuſing no kind of Puniſhment, if they proved not their Doctrin by Teſtimonies of Holy Scripture. But the Papiſts teaching the contrary, there happened a hot Contention, which the Senate would have ended by having the Opinions of both ſtated and examined by a Diſputation; and when it could not be obtained, and that the Papiſts accuſed the others of Preaching Impious and Erroneous Doctrin, but yet would not come to a fair Tryal about the Matter; they commanded them not to Preach any more for the future. In the mean time the Biſhop, by frequent Letters and Meſſengers, admoniſhed and intreated the Senate, to perſevere in the Ancient Religion of their Fore-fathers, and not to give Credit to new Doctors; which he ſaid, was a matter of great Danger. The Senate, on the other hand, prayed him, as they had alſo done ſome Years before, that he would endeavour that ſuch things as related to the true Worſhip of God, might be inſtituted; but all things elſe antiquated and

A Contention at *Strasburg* about the Maſs.

The Popiſh Preachers ſilenced by the Senate there.

1526. aboliſhed; for that that was properly his Duty: But though he had ſometimes appointed a Day and Meeting for that purpupoſe, yet nothing was done by him, only he deterred them by Letters from their Enterprize, and mingled Threats ſometimes with Entreaties. This producing no effect, and being now almoſt in Deſpair, he applyed himſelf to the Council of the Empire, which then was at *Spire*, praying them to interpoſe their Authority. Theſe ſending a ſolemn Deputation about the latter End of *December*, deſired the Senate that they would not aboliſh the Maſs; for that it neither belonged to the Emperour nor States, to alter the Ancient Religion received from their Fore-fathers, but to a General or National Council; but if that ſeemed to be too far off, that they would delay, at leaſt, till the enſuing Dyet of the Empire, which was ſhortly to meet, and there propoſe their Demands; that they made no doubt, but they would obtain a reaſonable Anſwer. That it was contrary to Law, that a Private Magiſtrate ſhould reſcind thoſe things which had been decreed by the common conſent of all the Chriſtian World; that therefore it was but Reaſon, that they ſhould prevail with them in that particular. But that if they would needs proceed, ſince there was Violence in the caſe; the Emperour, who was their chief Magiſtrate, and King *Ferdinand*, who was his Lieutenant in the Empire, would take it very ill: That they alſo would be obliged in Duty, both to write to the Emperour about the Affair, and alſo to apply ſuch proper Remedies as it required; which they were unwilling to be brought to do. That therefore they prayed them, ſeriouſly to bethink themſelves, and liſten to ſound Counſel: That the Emperour would take it very well at their Hands, and they themſelves would find the Praiſe and Advantage thereof. The Senate having declared their Reaſons for what they had done, civilly diſmiſſed the Deputies.

A little before, the Biſhop of *Heildeſheim* had been there, and had demanded the ſame thing in the Emperour's Name, exhorting them to comply; eſpecially ſeeing the Emperour had Thoughts of calling a National Council of *Germany*: For that elſe the Emperour and the reſt of the States would take ſome other Courſe. Beſides, the Biſhop of *Straſburg* addreſſed himſelf privately to ſome of the Senators of the City, Gentlemen who held their Lands of him; and writing to them ſeverally, admoniſhed them ſeriouſly, That ſince they were bound to him in Fealty, they ſhould not approve, but with all their Might oppoſe the aboliſhing of the Maſs; in the mean time, the Senate, after the matter had been in agitation for above two Years, and the Miniſters of the Church urged them daily in their Sermons, as the Citizens plied them with frequent Petitions, they called a Great and Common Council, to the number of three hundred, as it was uſually done in difficult matters; and having ſtated the whole Caſe unto them, and told them on the one Hand, the Danger they were in of the Emperour's Diſpleaſure, if they aboliſhed the Maſs; and on the other hand, How much God would be offended if they did not; they gave them time to deliberate, and enjoyned them to meet and conſult in their ſeveral Companies, that in their next publick Aſſembly they might by Common and Univerſal Conſent conclude and determine what was to be done. When, therefore, the Day appointed came, they who were for abrogating the Maſs, carried it by plurality of

1529. Voices. Wherefore an Order and Decree paſt *February* 20, That the Celebration of the Maſs ought to be ſuſpended and intermitted, until the Adverſaries ſhould prove, That it was acceptable Worſhip unto God. This Decree the Senate ordered to be obſerved, not only in the City, but abroad alſo, within the whole Precincts of their Juriſdiction, and then certified the Biſhop of the ſame by Letters; who wrote back to them, That with ſighing, and a moſt ſorrowful Heart, he had received their News; that he was forced to bear it patiently; but that he would do in the Caſe what his Office and Duty obliged him to.

Maſs by common Conſent aboliſhed at *Strasburg*.

A Diſſention about Religion at *Baſil*.

There had been for ſome Years alſo, great Diſſentions in *Baſil*, upon account of Religion; but the Senate ordered at length, That there ſhould be one uniform Doctrin throughout the whole City; and that becauſe Maſs ſtill continued in ſome Places, that they ſhould meet on a Day prefixt, and having debated the matter publickly, come to a final Reſolution, what was to be done therein: But the Papiſts for all that went on in their way, and in their Sermons taxed their Adverſaries a little too ſharply; which being connived at, many lookt upon that Impunity, as an Approbation of the chief and leading Men; wherefore a ſelect number of Citizens were employed to petition the Senate again, and to mind them of their Agreement; theſe, after much Debate, and diligent proſecution of their Commiſſion, demanded, That thoſe Senators, at whoſe Deſire the Papiſts preached, (ſince their ſo doing was not only a contempt of the Decree, but tended alſo to

Tumult

Tumult and Sedition) might be turned out of Place: But the Senate refuſing abſolutely to do that, the People met in the Month of *February*, this Year, in the Grey Fryers Church, and having there conſulted about the matter, demanded of the Senate the ſame thing that they had done before, but not ſo ſubmiſſively; and at the ſame time flocked together into the chief Places of the City, but without Arms: That Day, towards the Evening, the Senate made anſwer to them, That they were ſatisfied, that ſuch as they deſired to have turned out, ſhould not for the future be preſent when any Matters of Religion were brought before them; but that in all other things, they ſhould retain their Place and Dignity: When by this Anſwer it appeared, That a few Perſons took to themſelves the Supreme Power, the Citizens were more incenſed, and therefore publickly proteſted, That they would take Meaſure for the future, not, indeed, for maintaining their Religion; but for aſſerting their Rights and Liberties. Thereupon preſently they ran to Arms, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Towers and Gates, and having placed Guards in proper Places, kept *Watch and Ward in the* ſame manner as in a Camp, when there is Danger *from a neighbouring* Enemy. *Next Day the* Senate deſired Time to con*ſult, referring the* Matter to thoſe who *lately* had been *Interceſſors.* The Citizens did not refuſe that, but in the mean time, would have *thoſe* they accuſed turned out, and that they ſhould proſecute their Suit at their own Private Charges; but that for themſelves, who maintained the Cauſe of the Publick, and of Poſterity, their Charges ſhould be defrayed by the Publick. The Senate granted theſe, and ſome other ſlighter matters, that thereby they might mitigate their Anger. The ſame Day, ſome of the Town's-People, who had Orders to go the Rounds about the City, and ſee that no Abuſes were committed, went into the Cathedral Church, where one of them, with his Pike, puſhed at the Image of a certain Saint, which thereupon tumbled down and was broken: This gave them an occaſion to lay Hands afterwards on more; but the Prieſts, who were extreambly troubled at that, interpoſing, they that they might not go beyond their Commiſſion, departed without any further Quarrel. When the Report of this was brought to the Market-place, and made greater than indeed it was, three hundred armed Men were forthwith ſent to the Church, to the aſſiſtance of their Brethren, who were ſaid to be hard put to it, and in Danger; But before they came, the reſt were gone: However, *that they might* do ſomething for their coming, they broke down all the *Images they found there*, and ſo proceeding, did the like in all the reſt of the Churches. *Then ſome of the* Senate came running, to prevent any Tumult or Riot; to whom the Citizens ſaid, What you have been conſulting about any time theſe three Years, whether you had beſt do it or not, in one Hours time we have diſpatched, that there may be no difference among us hereafter about Images. So that the Senate condeſcended to all they deſired, and twelve Senators were turned out, but without Diſgrace; among whom were *Henry Meltinger*, at that time Burgo-maſter, and *Lucius Zeigler* Dean of *Guield.* A Decree alſo paſſed, That Maſs ſhould be aboliſhed and Images broken down, both in the City, and abroad alſo in the Country throughout all their Juriſdiction: That beſides, the Senate ſhould for the future admit of two hundred and threeſcore of the Members of the City Companies, to deliberate with them about thoſe things which concerned the Glory of God, and the Welfare of the State. When the Citizens had got thoſe two Decrees made, they joyfully returned home to their Houſes, and wreakt their Fury only upon the Images. The third Day after, which was *Aſhwedneſday*, the Wooden Images were diſtributed among the Poor, to be made uſe of for Fewel: But they quarrelling, and falling to Fiſty-cuffs about dividing the Spoil, it was thought fit to burn them publickly. Wherefore there were nine Piles of them made before the Cathedral Church, and burnt. And ſo it happened, That the very ſame Day, on which the Papiſts uſed to ſprinkle the People's Foreheads with Aſhes, to put them in Mind that they are but Duſt and Aſhes, was a pleaſant and joyful Day to the City, becauſe then the Images were reduced into Aſhes. *February* 12, the Common Council of the Companies, which were mentioned, approved the Acts of the Senate; and the next day after an Oath was taken by all the Companies, and then all quietly departed. When the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Berne* and *Solothurn* had Intelligence of theſe Stirs, they preſently ſent Deputies to make Mediation, but before they came all was over.

1529.

Maſs aboliſhed at *Baſil*,

And Images burnt.

We made mention a little before of the Dyet of *Spire*, which the Emperour appointed to meet in the beginning of *February*; but it was not opened before the beginning of *March*: The Princes and States made a great appearance there; and

The Dyet of *Spire.*

the

1529. the Elector of *Saxony* brought *Melanchthon* with him. The firſt thing they fell upon was matter of Religion, and after much Debate, they made a Decree therein, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. Now the Drift of the Papiſts was to divide the Duke of *Saxony* and the other Princes from the Cities, that they might not conſult and joyn together in Deſign: And becauſe all the Cities were not of the ſame Judgment the Princes were, about the Lord's Supper; they were in good Hope they might accompliſh their Deſires, but that was in vain, as you ſhall hear hereafter. King *Ferdinand* alſo, and his Colleagues, ſent for the Deputies of ſome of the Cities ſeparately, *April* 5, and ſeverely chid them for having made many Innovations contrary to the Emperour's Edict; but then he exhorted them to comply and joyn in Opinion with the reſt of the States, leſt through their Diſſentions the Dyet might be diſſolved. They made anſwer, That what Innovations they had made were no ways prejudicial to the Emperour, that above all things they deſired Concord, would do any thing for the Emperour, and did not refuſe to ſubmit to the Judgment of a lawful Council.

Five Cantons of *Switzerland* make a League with King *Ferdinand.*

Zurich and *Berne*, the two far moſt powerful Cantons of *Switzerland* being agreed in Religion, as we have ſaid, the Cantons of *Lucerne*, *Uri*, *Underwalt*, *Switz* and *Zug*, who above all others ſpighted that Doctrin, made a League with King *Ferdinand.* In the mean time Pope *Clement*, *April* 23, ſent *John Tomaſo* of *Mirandula*, to incite the Princes to the *Turkiſh* War; and to tell them, That though of late Years he himſelf had ſuſtained great Loſſes, nevertheleſs he promiſed Aid, and that he would make it his endeavour, that Peace being made betwixt the Emperour and *French* King, a Council ſhould forthwith commence, that *Germany* might, at length, embrace the ſame Religion that other Provinces did.

The Deputy of *Strasburg* not admitted to ſit in the Council of the Empire.

The Council of the Empire we mentioned, ſome Months before had been removed from *Eſling* to *Spire*, whither the City of *Strasburg* having ſent their Deputy *Daniel Meige*, to conſult and act with the other Counſellours, about the Affairs of the Publick, he was not admitted to ſit, becauſe the *Strasburghers* had lately aboliſhed the Maſs, and would not ſtay till the Concluſion of the preſent Dyet. This being known, the reſt of the Cities, perceiving it to be a Precedent which concerned themſelves alſo, did mediate, and demanded that the Cuſtom of the Empire might be obſerved: That though they might have done ſome things contrary to the Ceremonies and Rites of the Church, yet ought they not therefore to be denyed their Right, before the Controverſie were determined in a Lawful Council; eſpecially ſeeing no ſuch thing had hitherto been attempted, nor had any Perſon been as yet in the leaſt debarred from his Right in the publick Dyets of the Empire, upon account of Religion. Afterwards *James Sturney*, Deputy for the City in that Dyet, proteſted, That if contrary to the Laws and Cuſtom of the Empire, they were in this manner turned out of Place, it muſt not be expected, that for the future they would contribute any thing to the defraying of the Charges of that Judicature. But all theſe Courſes were ineffectual, and King *Ferdinand* anſwering the Mediators himſelf, told them, That any other City which obſerved the Emperour's Edicts, might be ſubſtituted in place thereof. After a long Debate about Religion, they made a new Decree, wherein reſuming in a few Words the Acts of the former Dyet of *Spire*, how that it had been ordained there; That as to the Emperour's Decree of *Wormes*, all ſhould ſo behave themſelves, that they might be able to render an account of their Actions both to God and the Emperour, but that it being now abuſed by many, who under colour and pretext thereof excuſed and defended all ſorts of New and Horrid Doctrins; it was therefore enacted and decreed to this effect, That they who had hitherto obſerved that Edict, ſhould do ſo for the future, and oblige their People to do ſo alſo, until the meeting of the Council, which the Emperour gave great Hopes of very ſpeedily: But that they who had changed their Religion, and could not now retract for fear of Troubles and Sedition, ſhould for the future moderate themſelves, and make no more Innovations before the ſitting of the Council: Moreover, that the Doctrin of thoſe who diſſent from the Church about the Lord's Supper, ſhould not be received, neither the Maſs aboliſhed, nor thoſe who were willing, hindred from going to Maſs, in thoſe Places where a New Doctrin was taught: That Anabaptiſts alſo, who obſtinately maintain their Tenet, ſhould be put to Death, and that Miniſters ſhould preach according to the Senſe and Interpretation of Scripture, approved by the Church: That they ſhould not meddle with other Points, which probably might be controverted, but expect the Decree of a Council: Beſides, that all States ſhould live together in Peace, do no Injury to one another upon account

The Decree of the Dyet of *Spire.*

count of Religion, and not take the Subjects of others Juriſdiction into their Protection: And that ſuch as did otherwiſe ſhould be put to the Ban of the Empire. 1529.

This Decree was oppoſed by the Elector of *Saxony*, *George* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, *Erneſt* and *Francis* Dukes of *Lunenburg*, the Landgrave and Count *Anhald*, who *April* 19, publickly read their Proteſtation againſt it in Writing: And in the firſt place they repeat the Decree of the former Dyet; whereby all are permitted the free exerciſe of their Religion, until the meeting of a Council; from which they ought not to recede, nor violate thoſe things which for Peace-ſake were then agreed upon, and confirmed by Oath, under Hand and Seal: That for their own Parts, they were ready, in imitation of their Anceſtors, to comply with the Emperour in any thing, and to ſpend their Lives and Fortunes in his Service: But that the preſent Caſe concerned their Eternal Salvation; and therefore prayed that it might not be taken ill, if therein they diſſented from the reſt: For that as the former Decree had been made with the unanimous Conſent of all, ſo alſo could it not be repealed and made void, unleſs all in like manner agreed to it: That they were not againſt it, but that they themſelves might appoint what Form of Religion they pleaſed within their own Territories, and prayed God that he would enlighten the Minds of all with his true Knowledge: That for ſome Years now paſt, there had been great Diſſention and Quarrelling about Religion; and that who were the Authors and Cauſes thereof, it had, in ſome meaſure been made out in the Dyet of *Norimberg*, and by the Confeſſion of the Pope himſelf, and the Grievances and Demands of the Princes and States, which to the number of eighty, had been delivered to the Pope's Legate; whereof, nevertheleſs, no redreſs was as yet made: That the Reſult of all Deliberations had always been this, That the readieſt way to put an End to Controverſies and corrupt Abuſes, was a free Council: But that now, laying that Courſe aſide, they ſhould Decree, That they who had changed the Form of their Religion, and could not without Troubles recede from what they had done, ſhould make no other Innovations, they could not approve nor admit of that, unleſs they would profeſſedly derogate from the Doctrin, which hitherto they had owned as True and Holy: For to forſake that Doctrin, provided it might be done without Stirs and Commotions, what was it elſe, than to deny the pure and uncorrupted Word of God which they had? than which there could not be a more grievous Sin: For that it was to be profeſſed not only in Word but in Deed alſo. Beſides that, what Miſchief ſuch a Denyal would bring with it, and how pernicious it would be to many Profeſſors of the Goſpel, it was eaſie enough to be conjectured. That as to the Popiſh Maſs, it was well known, How the Miniſters of the Churches within their Dominions, had by firm and unanſwerable Arguments and Teſtimonies of Holy Scripture quite overthrown it, and in place thereof appointed the Lord's Supper, according to the Command and Inſtitution of Chriſt, and the manner obſerved by the Apoſtles; ſo that neither could they approve that Clauſe of the Decree, nor give leave to their People to repair to Maſs, which was already aboliſhed: For that granting, That the uſe of the Popiſh Maſs were never ſo Right and Pure, yet if they ſhould admit of two contrary Maſſes in their Churches, it was obvious to all Men, how bad an example that would give, and what grumbling and heart-burning would thereupon enſue. That again, they wondred very much, That they ſhould preſcribe to them, what they were to enjoyn their People, and what Laws they ſhould make within their own Juriſdictions, eſpecially ſeeing if the like were attempted upon them, they would by no means ſuffer it: That all Men knew what was taught in their Churches of the Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament, ſo that it needed no farther Explication: But that nevertheleſs, as they had often ſaid before, ſo it ſtill ſeemed to them, That no ſuch Decree was as yet to be made againſt thoſe, who taught otherwiſe, becauſe there was nothing of that mentioned in the Emperour's Commiſſion; and beſides, becauſe the Aſſertors of that Doctrin were neither called nor heard: That therefore it was ſeriouſly to be conſidered, How unreaſonable and unbeſeeming a thing it would be, to paſs a Judgment at any time, upon ſuch difficult and weighty Affairs, without hearing thoſe, who were concerned, ſpeak for themſelves. Now as to what they ſaid, That the Goſpel was to be taught according to the Interpretations approved and received by the Church, it was right indeed; however, the Diſpute ſtill was, Which is the True Church: But that ſince no Doctrin was more certain, than that of God's Word, ſince nothing ſhould be taught beſides it; and that the obſcure Places of Scripture could not be better

The Proteſtation of the Princes againſt the Decree of *Spire*.

1529. better explained, than by other clearer Places of the ſame Scripture, they would therefore ſtick to that, and make it their Endeavour, That the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament ſhould be plainly and purely taught: That this alone was the Sure and Infallible Way; but that the Traditions of Men were no ſure Ground to build upon: That the Decree of the laſt Dyet was made for Peace and Concord's ſake; but that if the preſent Decree ſhould be in Force, it would open a way to great Troubles and Diſcontents; for that now, ſince, whilſt that Decree of *Wormes* was ſtill in ſuſpenſe, ſome Princes pretended to the Eſtates of their Subjects, as forfeited for not obſerving the Edict, it might be eaſily underſtood, what would be done, if the ſame Edict were again eſtabliſhed, and ſome of the other Princes and States ſhould by Force attempt to compel them to thoſe things which they could not perform with a ſafe Conſcience; That moreover it was not fairly alledged, That the Decree of the laſt Dyet was conceived in ſuch Words, that moſt men, in the mean time did abuſe it, and thought they might do what they pleaſed, until the meeting of a Council: Theſe being Rumors ſpread by thoſe who ſtood but little in awe of the laſt Judgment, when all things ſhould be made manifeſt: That for their own Parts, they were willing to anſwer ſuch, as would accuſe them of tranſgreſſing that Decree, before any impartial Judges. And that therefore ſince the Caſe was ſo, they did not aſſent to this Decree of theirs, but would give Reaſons for what they did openly to all Men, and to the Emperour himſelf; and that in the mean time, till the meeting of a General or Provincial Council of *Germany*, they would not act any thing, which they could not maintain by Law: That, after all, they were not ignorant, neither of their Duty, as to what was decreed concerning living in Peace, not invading other Men's Poſſeſſions, Anabaptiſts and Printers, *&c.*

Some Cities joyn in this Proteſtation.

Some of the chief Cities, after conſultation had, joyned with the Princes in this Proteſtation; as *Straſburg*, *Norimberg*, *Ulm*, *Conſtance*, *Rutéling*, *Winſhaim*, *Memmingen*, *Lindaw*, *Kempen*, *Hailbrun*, *Iſne*, *Weiſſemburg*, *Norlingen* and *San-Gall*.

The Original of the Name of Proteſtants.

And this is the Original of the Name of Proteſtants, which is famous and common, not only in *Germany*, but alſo amongſt Foreign Nations. King *Ferdinand* was gone out of the Aſſembly, before this Proteſtation was made, though he had been deſired by the Elector of *Saxony* and his Aſſociates to ſtay a little. Afterwards the Proteſtants drew up and publiſhed a kind of an Appeal; wherein having related what had been done, they, at length, appeal from all the Proceedings of the Dyet of *Spire*, and the Decree there made, to the Emperour, to a Lawful General Council, or Provincial Synod of *Germany*, and in ſhort, to all impartial and unſuſpected Judges, determining withal, to ſend Ambaſſadours to the Emperour.

The Proteſtants appeal to the Emperour.

A Civil War among the *Switzers*.

Not long after, thoſe of *Zurich* and *Berne* took the Field with an Army againſt their Enemies; the five Cantons, whom we mentioned a little before, and the *Zurichers* publiſhed a Declaration of the Reaſons and Cauſes that moved them to do ſo, inſtancing many Injuries done by them, and among the reſt that in the Canton of *Switz*, ſome of their People, who came to demand Money due unto them, had been whipt: That they of *Underwalt* had hung up their Arms, and the Arms of *Berne*, *Baſil*, and City of *Straſburg* upon the Gallows: That they all alſo had made a League with King *Ferdinand* for the Suppreſſion of the Reformed Religion; wherein they ſaid, It was ſtipulated, That what Lands of theirs, on this ſide the *Rhine*, ſhould be taken by the Aſſiſtance of King *Ferdinand*, ſhould all belong to them; from whence it may be eaſily ſeen, ſay they, that it is their Deſign to caſt us out of our Country, by the Aid and Aſſiſtance of Foreigners: Wherein they not only violate the Law of Nature, but their Covenants and Agreements alſo, when to our Ruine they conſpire with the moſt Ancient and Implacable Enemy that our Nation hath, againſt whom, for ſo many Years, even from the beginning of our League, we have ſo unanimouſly joyned all our Strength and Force. When the Armies on both ſides had taken the Field, and were incamped, by the Mediation of their Neighbours, and of the City of *Straſburg* alſo, the matter was accommodated, and both laid down their Arms. King *Ferdinand* had ſent them Auxiliary Forces, which were advanced as far as the *Rhine*. It was agreed upon betwixt them, That they ſhould make no War one againſt another, upon account of Religion; and that for the future they ſhould abſtain from Railing and opprobious Words, under a ſevere Penalty.

The *French* King being affected with the condition of his Children, whom he had left Hoſtages in *Spain*, and his unſucceſsful Wars in *Italy*, where he had lately loſt

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an Army, and his General *Lautreck*, as we ſaid; having likewiſe loſt *Andrea d' Auria* a *Genoeſe*, and moſt Famous Sea-Commander, who much about the time that *Lautreck* dyed, revolted to the Emperour, and regained the Liberty of his Country, began to incline to Peace. Wherefore at *Cambray* a City of *Hainault*, there met *Margaret* the Emperour's Aunt, *Aloiſia* the *French* King's Mother, and many Nobles, among whom was *Erard de la Warch* Cardinal and Biſhop of *Liege*, and in the Month of *Auguſt* concluded a Peace, wherein that Reſolution taken in *Spain* three Years before, as hath been ſaid, againſt the *Lutherans*, was revived and confirmed. The other Conditions were partly altered; for the Emperour reſigned *Burgundy* to the *French* King, in caſe he had a Son by his Siſter, and the King was to pay for the Ranſome of his Sons, to the Emperour, twenty hundred thouſand Crowns, therein comprehending the Debt due to the King of *England*. Not long after, the Emperour came to *Genoua* from *Spain*; and at the ſame time *Solyman* the Emperour of the *Turks*, being invited by *Jerome Alasky*, a *Polonian* of extraordinary Parts, ſent for that end Ambaſſadour from *John* the Vaivode, marched through *Hungary*, with a moſt numerous Army, into *Auſtria*, where laying Siege before *Vienna*, the chief City thereof, *September* 13, and having by battering and ſpringing of Mines, made a Breach in the Walls, he gave the Aſſault; but the Gariſon, under the Command of *Philip* Prince *Palatine*, making a brave Defence: *October* 16, he raiſed the Siege, having loſt many thouſands of his Men in the Retreat, who were partly ſlain, and partly made Slaves. But upon his Departure, he made the Vaivode King at *Buda*.

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Peace betwixt the Emperour and *French* concluded at *Cambray*.

Solyman beſieges *Vienna*.

But is forced to raiſe the Siege.

The Vaivode made King at *Buda*.

A new kind of Diſeaſe alſo invaded *Germany* this Year, for Men being taken with a Peſtilential Sweating, either dyed within four and twenty Hours, or if they ſweated out the Poyſon, recovered by degrees their Health again; but before any Remedy could be found for it, many thouſands periſhed. This Diſtemper in a very ſhort ſpace of time, ſpread it ſelf from the Ocean, all over *Germany*, and with incredible celerity, like a Fire, raged far and near. It is commonly called, *The Sweating Sickneſs of* England, for in the firſt Year of the Reign of *Henry* VII, of *England*, which was in the Year of our Lord 1486, the ſame Plague infeſted that Country: And becauſe there was no Remedy known for ſuch a new Diſtemper, it ſwept away a vaſt number of People. At this time alſo, there was a great Scarcity of Corn and Wine; ſo that all the Judgments, wherewith God in his Anger uſes to puniſh an unthankful people, as the Sword, Peſtilence and Famine, fell upon *Germany* at one and the ſame time.

A New Diſeaſe in *Germany*.

At this time alſo were Priſoners at *Cologne*, *Peter Fliſted* and *Adolph Clarebacke*, two learned Men, becauſe they differed in Judgment from the Papiſts concerning the Lord's Supper and other Points of Doctrin. The Senate of that Town hath Right and Power to impriſon Offenders; but the Archbiſhop alone hath the Power of Life and Death; and it may fall out that whom the Senate hath condemned to Death, the Biſhop's Judge may acquit: Now theſe two having lain in Priſon a Year and an half and more, were, at length condemned by both Judicatures, and burnt, to the great Grief and Commiſeration of many. Moſt People blamed the Preachers for that, who cryed that the Wrath of God, who afflicted us with a new kind of Diſeaſe, was to be appeaſed by the Execution of the Wicked and Ungodly. *Adolph* was a handſome Man, Eloquent and Learned; and when they were led to the place of Execution, they made profeſſion, and gave the Reaſons of their Belief, confirming and encouraging one another with Texts of Scripture, ſo that all People fixed their Eyes and Thoughts upon them.

Two Learned Men burnt at *Cologne* for Religion.

We told you before of the Difference betwixt *Luther* and *Zuinglius* about the Lord's Supper; when this had been toſſed to and fro, for above three Years, with much Contention, many, who were troubled that this ſingle Controverſie ſhould hinder an Uniformity in Doctrin, earneſtly wiſhed that ſome Remedy might be thereunto applyed; therefore the Landgrave having communicated the matter to his Aſſociates, and prevailed alſo with the *Switzers*, appointed a Day, when Learned Men of both Parties ſhould meet at *Marpurg*, and calmly diſcourſe the Point. From *Saxony* came *Luther*, *Melanchthon* and *Jonas*; from *Switzerland*, *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius*; from *Strasburg*, *Bucer* and *Hedio*; and from *Norimberg*, *Oſiander*: many Grave and Learned Men were preſent beſides; though none but *Luther* and *Zuinglius* reaſoned the Point: But the Sweating Diſeaſe infecting that Town alſo, the Conference was broken up, by the Landgrave's order, and this concluded upon; That ſince they all agreed about the chief Points of Doctrin, they ſhould for the future refrain from all Contention, and pray to God, that he would alſo enlighten

A Conference at *Marpurg* betwixt *Luther* and *Zuinglius*.

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It hath been ſaid already, That at the Dyet of *Spire*, which was held three Years before the Elector of *Saxony* and Landgrave made mention of entring into a League, this matter was ſeveral times brought into deliberation afterwards; and eſpecially now that this Decree was made, they began to think of it more ſeriouſly, ſo that after the Dyet was over, a certain Draught of it was made at *Norimberg*, and afterwards more fully debated. And when in the Month of *October*, the Deputies of the Princes and States met at *Swaback*; it was propounded in the Names of the Elector of *Saxony*, and *George* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, That ſeeing the Defence of the True Religion, was the Ground and Cauſe of this League, it behoved firſt, that all ſhould be unanimous in the ſame; wherefore the ſumm of their Doctrin comprehended in ſome Chapters was read and approved by all, only the Deputies of *Strasburg* and *Ulm* alledged, That no mention had been made thereof in the former Aſſembly, nor had they any Inſtructions concerning it. They were not all of the ſame Opinion about the Point of the Lord's Supper, as we told you before, and this was the only Scruple. Seeing therefore nothing could be concluded, becauſe of that, another Meeting was appointed to be at *Smalcalde*, the thirteenth of *December*.

Eraſmus writes a Book againſt the Reformers:

When the Emperour was now come into *Italy*, *Eraſmus* of *Roterdam*, who having left *Baſil*, becauſe of the Change of Religion, and to avoid Suſpicion, was come to *Friburg*, a Town belonging to King *Ferdinand*, in the Month of *November*, publiſhed a little Book, entituled, *Againſt ſome, who falſly called themſelves, Goſpel-Teachers*; but in reality he has a Touch at all the Reformed; for among many other things, he ſays, he never knew any of them, who appeared not to be a worſe Man than he was before. This Book was afterwards anſwered by the Divines of *Strasburg*, becauſe they and thoſe of *Baſil* were chiefly aimed at, but above all others *Bucer*.

Which is anſwered.

Sforza recovers the Dutchy of *Milan*.

When the Emperour was coming to *Bolonia*, *Francis Sforza*, who had been before in League with the Pope and *French* King, went to meet him, and having pleaded his own Cauſe, at the Interceſſion of *Clement* VII, at length recovered the Dutchy of *Milan* from the Emperour, but upon this, among other Conditions, That he ſhould pay him nine hundred thouſand Crowns, one half the ſame Year, and the reſt within ten Years ſucceſſively, by equal Portions; and as a Pledge, the Emperour was to keep in his Hands *Como*, and the Caſtle of *Milan*, until the firſt Years Payment ſhould be made.

BOOK.

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THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK VII.

The CONTENTS.

The Proteſtant Ambaſſadors ſent to the Emperor, appeal from the Anſwer they received at Piacenza, *where they were ſtopt; which the Proteſtants underſtanding, appoint a meeting at* Smalcalde. *The City of* Strasburg *makes a League with Three of the* Switz Cantons. *The Emperor being Crowned by the Pope at* Bolonia, *calls a Diet of the States of the Empire at* Ausburg, *where the Proteſtants exhibit a Confeſſion of their Faith; which in a contrary writing, is Anſwered and Confuted by their Adverſaries. Some are appointed to accommodate the matter amicably, and to find out ſome means of Concord. The Emperor ſollicites the Proteſtants, who notwithſtanding all the Exhortations that were made unto them, the Objections and Calumnies wherewith they were charged, ſtedfaſtly perſevered in their Confeſſion; and having given in their laſt Anſwer, depart. The* Tyber *overflows at* Rome. Eckius *and* Faber *demand and obtain an honourable Reward, for the Refutations they wrote againſt thoſe of* Strasburg, *and other Cities. The Tranſaction of* Pruſia *is reſcinded. The Decree of* Ausburg *is related.* Luther, *who was come nearer to* Ausburg, *comforts* Melanchthon, *then in Anxiety, becauſe of that Decree.* Bucer *goes to him, that he might reconcile him with* Zuinglius. *The creation of* Ferdinand, *King of the* Romans, *comes into Agitation, and is withſtood by the Elector of* Saxony, *and other Princes; but nevertheleſs he is created King, and inſtalled in the Kingdom.*

The Proteſtant Ambaſſadours with the Emperour.

WE told you before, that the Proteſtants reſolved upon ſending Ambaſſadors to the Emperour. Theſe were *John Ekinger*, *Alexius Fraventrute*, and *Michael Caden*, of *Norimberg*, who being advanced as far as *Genoua*, were informed, that the Emperour was come from *Spain*; and arriving afterwards at *Piacenza*, were on the Ninth of *September* introduced into the Emperour's Preſence by *Mercurine Cattinario*, who the day before had been made Cardinal, Count *Henry* of *Naſſau*, *Alexander Schueiſſe*, and *Alphonſo Valdeſio*, a *Spaniard*. The Emperour aſſigned them the Twelfth of *September* for the day of Audience; but withal, admoniſhed them to draw up their Demands in writing, and to be as ſhort in their Diſcourſe as they could, by reaſon of his many and weighty Affairs. When they came at the appointed day, he again admoniſhed them, by an Interpreter, to be ſhort. They, according to their Inſtructions, repeat in order the Decree of the Empire made Three Years before, that was lately abrogated by another Decree; which if it ſhould be of force, muſt needs occaſion very great troubles and diſorders. That therefore the Elector of *Saxony*, and his Aſſociates, with whom ſome Cities were joyned, at that time publickly proteſted, that they did not aſſent to that Decree; that therefore they prayed his Majeſty, that he would not take it ill at their hands, but impute it to neceſſity: That in the mean while, till a Council ſhould be called, they would not do any thing, but what they hoped would be approved of both by God and his Majeſty. Again, That in imitation of their Anceſtors, they were ready to undertake any thing for the ſafety and honour of his Perſon and Empire, whether it were to war againſt the *Turk*, or undergo any other burthen whatſoever: That they alſo be-

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Afterwards the Emperor, by his Interpreter, anſwered them, That he had heard what their Demands were; that he was very well pleaſed with the obedience which they profeſſed in their Prince's Name; and that having adviſed with his Council, he would give them an Anſwer. At length, *October* the Thirteenth he gave them his Anſwer in writing, as they had deſired it: That before they came, he had been informed of all the Proceedings in the *Diet* of *Spire*, and of the Decree which paſt there, by his Brother *Ferdinand*, and his Colleagues; and that he was extreamly troubled at that diſſenſion, which gave occaſion to ſo many evils and inconveniences: That ſeeing it was his duty to prevent them; or if they ſhould happen, to redreſs the ſame; he had therefore, after long and ſerious deliberation with his Council about the whole matter, found that that Decree was made with intent, that nothing ſhould be innovated for the future, nor no place hereafter left for any Sect; of which there were many broached at preſent, and very foul ones too: and then that Peace and Concord ſhould be ſetled in the Empire; which the Elector of *Saxony*, and his Aſſociates, ought in reaſon to have aſſented to: for that he, and the reſt of the Princes, were no leſs concerned for their Souls Salvation, and the Peace of their Conſciences, than they were; nor no leſs deſirous, than they, of a Council, for compoſing the Affairs of Chriſtendom; which Council, nevertheleſs, would ſeem not to be altogether ſo neceſſary; if thoſe things which were enacted by publick and common Conſent had their due courſe; and alſo if that Decree made ſome years ſince at *Wormes*, with the approbation of all the States, and the Edict thereunto added by him, were obſerved, as they themſelves acknowledged, that ſuch Decrees ought to be firm and ſtable: That theſe things being conſidered, and ſince it was a received Cuſtom, that it was not lawful for the ſmaller part to annul what had been enacted and decreed by the *major* part of the States of the Empire; He had therefore written to the Duke of *Saxony*, and his Aſſociates, commanding them to ratifie and approve that Decree, not to act to the contrary, but to obey the ſame, upon the Allegiance which they owed to him and the Empire: for that otherwiſe he would be neceſſitated, for maintenance of his Authority, and for Example's ſake, to puniſh them ſeverely; but that he ſuppoſed his Letter was already, or would very ſhortly be delivered unto them, and that they would do as he had commanded them: That that would be very acceptable unto him; eſpecially at this time, when it was certainly reported, that the *Turk*, the Enemy of Chriſtendom, was marching through *Hungary*, with all his Forces, into *Germany*: That for this reaſon then, it was highly requiſite to be in Peace and Concord at home: For that though they ſhould contribute Money for the *Turkiſh* War, and other publick uſes of the Empire, yet without mutual conſent of minds, without peace and good will amongſt all the States of the Empire, nothing could ſucceſsfully be undertaken or carried on againſt ſuch an Enemy; which was not to be underſtood of one or two Provinces only, but of all Chriſtendom; and eſpecially *Germany*: For that not only the Wives, Children, and Fortunes of all and every one, but the Faith, Religion, Laws, and whatever was near and dear unto men, lay now at ſtake; that head was therefore to be made againſt him with all expedition, and with united hearts and hands; or all thoſe horrid, ſad, and diſmal evils, undoubtedly to be expected: So that were there no other reaſon to move, yet this alone were ſufficient to incline them cordially to embrace what the greater part of the States of the Empire judged proper and convenient. That this being the State of Affairs, he again required and commanded them, that they would ſubmit to the Decree made, as the reſt of the States did, who were no leſs deſirous than they were, to approve themſelves unto God both by a good Life, and true Religion alſo; and that laying aſide all ſtrife and diſſenſion, they would conſult with the reſt, and determine, how his Brother, King *Ferdinand*, might be aided, and the violence of the *Turk* repreſſed, that it might not ſpread farther: That he was about to treat of theſe

theſe Affairs with the Pope in Perſon; that is, how both the moſt cruel Enemy might be withſtood, and all Diſputes about Religion be ended, to the glory of God, and to the Peace and Tranquility of all men. That having alſo ſetled the Affairs of *Italy*, to the good of all Chriſtendom, he would with all expedition, bend his whole Force againſt the *Turk*; which made him hope, that conſidering the greatneſs of the danger, they would do what otherwiſe they were in duty obliged to do. When the Ambaſſadors had read this Anſwer, as it was given them, they having an Appeal ready, preſented it to *Alexander Schueiſſe*, in preſence of Witneſſes, as is uſual; but he at firſt refuſed to take it: however, at length he received the ſame, and carried it to the Emperour; but returning the ſame day in the Afternoon, after ſome other diſcourſe, told, that the Emperour confined them to their Lodgings, commanding them not to ſtir out of doors, not to write home to their Principals, nor to ſend any of their Servants abroad, till further Orders, upon pain of forfeiture of Life and Goods. 1529.

The Ambaſſadors appeal from the Emperour's Anſwer; and are confined to their Lodgings.

Whilſt this was doing, *Michael Caden* was accidentally abroad, and being immediately advertiſed of the matter by a Servant, wrote an account of all that had paſt, to the Senate of *Norimberg*, taking care that his Letters ſhould be conveighed with all ſpeed; for he was not obliged as his Colleagues were. At length, *October* the Thirtieth, having followed the Court to *Parma*, as they had been ordered, *Nicholas Granvel*, who then ſupplied the place of *Mercurine*, that lay ſick, told them there, That though the Emperour was diſpleaſed at the Appeal that was brought unto him, yet he gave them leave to return home; but commanded *Caden* to ſtay, upon pain of death: And this was the cauſe of it: The *Landgrave* had given him, upon his departure, a Book finely bound and gilt, containing the Summary of the Chriſtian Doctrin, to be preſented to the Emperour; and he taking occaſion, as the Emperour was going to Maſs, gave it him; who preſently put it into the hands of a *Spaniſh* Biſhop, that he might know what it was: The Biſhop fell accidentally upon that place, where Chriſt admoniſhes his Apoſtles, not to affect Rule and Dominion; for that ſuited not with their Profeſſion, ſince it was the Kings of the *Gentiles* who exerciſed that power. The Author, amongſt other things, had handled that place, ſhewing what was the Duty of the Miniſters of the Church: But he having ſuperficially read it, made a report to the Emperour, That the little Book aimed at the taking away of the Power of the Sword from Chriſtian Magiſtrates, and allowing it only to Heathens, who were ſtrangers to the Chriſtian Religion; for this cauſe therefore he was detained. *Granvel* told him further, that it was the Emperour's pleaſure, that he ſhould deliver the ſame Book to the Pope: But when upon making an Apology for himſelf, he received no Anſwer to his mind; and from *Granvel*'s diſcourſe, perceived the danger he was in, he ſecretly hired Horſes, and poſting firſt to *Ferara*, and then to *Venice*, returned home. The Senate of *Norimberg* having received *Caden's* Letter, which we mentioned before, preſently gave notice thereof to the Duke of *Saxony*, the *Landgrave*, and their Aſſociates, *October* the twenty fourth; who having conſulted about the matter, reſolved to hold a Convention at *Smalcalde* about the latter end of *November*. Thither came at the day appointed, the Elector of *Saxony*, and his Son, *John Frederick*, *Erneſt* and *Francis*, Dukes of *Lunenburg*, *Philip* the *Landgrave*, the Deputies of *George* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and of the Cities alſo of *Strasburg*, *Ulm*, *Norimberg*, *Hailbrun*, *Ruteling*, *Conſtance*, *Memmingen*, *Kempen* and *Lindau*. About the ſame time the Ambaſſadour's returned from *Italy*; and having made a report of their Embaſſy, to the effect above related, it was thought fit to treat firſt of all of Religion, the Heads whereof had been lately propoſed. Wherefore the Deputies of *Strasburg* and *Ulm*, are deſired to tell what their Judgment was in the matter; and they make Anſwer to the ſame effect, as they had lately done: That at that time, when a League was firſt propoſed, no mention had been made of that Affair, and yet it was only then moved, how mutual aid and aſſiſtance ſhould be given, in caſe any of them ſhould be moleſted, or in danger, upon account of Religion: That it might be plainly enough perceived, what their Adverſaries had in their thoughts, and what deſigns they were hatching: That ſome of the Heads of Doctrin propoſed, might be controverted; and that if Learned men did not agree about theſe, it was to be feared, that ſome diviſion might thereupon enſue, which would be very ſeaſonable and advantageous to their Adverſaries: That it was therefore their Opinion, that all their Deliberations ſhould be directed to the making of a League, which was the thing propoſed at firſt. The Duke of *Saxony*, and with him the Brothers of *Lunenburg*, and the Deputies of *Brandenburg*, got the Deputies of

Caden preſents a Book about Religion to the Emperour in name of the *Landgrave*.

For which being ſtopt, and in danger, he makes his eſcape, and returns home.

The Aſſembly of the Proteſtants at *Smalcalde*.

1529. of *Norimberg* to deal with them, that they might aſſent: But the *Landgrave*, taking a middle courſe, was for an Accommodation betwixt the Two. When this could not do, the Deputies of the reſt of the Cities are alſo called, to whom it was repreſented, that if in all things they approved that Doctrin, they would treat of entring into a League with them. They make anſwer, That they had no Commiſſion as to that, and urge the firſt thing that had been propoſed. At length they depart with this Reſolution, That they who would profeſs and receive this Doctrin, ſhould meet at *Norimberg*, in *January* following, to conſult what was to be done for the future.

The League betwixt the City of *Strasburg* and the *Switzers*.

In the mean time, the City of *Strasburg*, that they might ſecure themſelves againſt all Force, and unjuſt Violence, made a League with thoſe of *Zurich*, *Berne*, and *Baſil*, who were both their Neighbours, and agreed beſt with them in Doctrin, after this manner: If thoſe Cities we named, ſhould be attacked, and moleſted upon account of Religion, they ſhall mutually aid and aſſiſt one another with as many Forces as the matter ſhall require; yet ſo, that for every thouſand Foot, the City of *Strasburg* ſhall pay two thouſand Crowns a Month, by way of Subſidy: On the other hand, if the *Switzers* be attacked, the *Strasburgers* ſhall ſend no Forces, but ſhall, during the War, disburſt three thouſand Crowns a Month: Moreover, That if the Enemies of the one be found within the Juriſdiction of the other, they ſhall not be ſpared, but be treated according to the Law of Arms. That if they be attacked all at one and the ſame time, then they ſhall defend themſelves ſeverally at their own charges: That *Strasburg* ſhall at a convenient time, whilſt they are in peace, ſend ten thouſand weight of Gun-powder to *Zurich*, and as many Buſhels of Wheat to *Baſil*, but not to be touched, unleſs in time of War and Want, and then to be diſtributed amongſt the Town's People at reaſonable rates. However, if they come to the aid of *Strasburg*, they may make uſe of as much of the Powder as ſhall be needful; but in time of a common War, pay half price for it. This League was made for Fifteen Years, and concluded the Fifth day of *January*.

1530. When this came to the knowledge of the Council of the Empire, whereof *Frederick*, Prince Palatine, was then Preſident, about the latter end of this Month, they wrote to the Senate of *Strasburg*, That it was commonly reported, they had made a League with ſome of the Cantons of *Switzerland*: That it was very much wondred at by them, that they who were bound in Allegiance to the Empire, ſhould, without the Conſent of the Emperour and States, make any League with any People: And that though all men generally affirmed it to be ſo, yet they were unwilling to believe it, before they underſtood the matter from themſelves; and that therefore they deſired, that they would write to them who ſupplied the Emperour's place, how matters ſtood, and upon what Conditions they had entred into League.

The Deputies of the Princes, and ſome few Cities, came to that Aſſembly, which was appointed to be at *Norimberg*; where it was concluded, that Ambaſſadours ſhould be ſent to the Emperour and King *Ferdinand*; but that Reſolution was altered. And becauſe they believed the Emperour would call a Diet of the Empire in the beginning of the Spring, it was thought beſt to conſult in the mean time, what they ought to propoſe therein; and that within a Month's time a report of their ſeveral Opinions ſhould be made to the Elector of *Saxony*, that the reſt alſo might be acquainted therewith by him. So they broke up on the Ninth of *January*.

In the mean time, the Emperour, who came to *Bolonia* on the Fifth of *November*, by Letters ſent into *Germany*, dated the One and Twentieth day of *January*, called a Diet of the States, to meet at *Ausburg* the Eighth of *April*, there to conſult of Religion, and of the *Turkiſh* War.

The Emperour crowned by the Pope.

On the Twenty Fourth of *February* after, he was Crowned by the Pope, with great Splendor and Magnificence, having firſt taken an Oath to be the perpetual Defender of the Dignity of the See of *Rome*; Before he arrived at *Bolonia*, three Cardinals, ſent by the Pope, met him upon the Confines of the Eccleſiaſtical State, to require his Faith and Promiſe, That he would never encroach upon the Liberties of the Church. He gave them ſuch an Anſwer, as intimated, that he would not part with any thing of his Right; meaning thereby *Parma* and *Piacenza*, Two Towns of the Dutchy of *Milan*, which then the Church of *Rome* poſſeſſed. Leaving afterwards *Bolonia*, he made *Frederick Gonzaga*, Duke of *Mantoua*. *Mantoua* was heretofore a free Imperial City; but being afterwards embroiled with various ſtirs and civil troubles, the People reſigned the Government to *Ludovick Gonzaga*, who

who had expulſed the Tyrant *Paſſevini* in the year 1327. *John Francis*, the Grand-Child, Grand-Son of *Ludovick*, was by the Emperour *Sigiſmund*, created Marqueſs of *Mantoua* on the Second of *September*, 1434. and in that degree they continued till the time we now mentioned. 1530. The Duke of *Mantoua* firſt made from a Marqueſs.

The firſt that came to *Ausburg* was the Elector of *Saxony*, with his Son, *John Frederick*. Amongſt the reſt of his Train, were *Philip Melanchthon*, *John Iſlebe Agricola*, *Juſtus Jonas*, and *George Spalatine*. The City of *Ulm* ſent their Deputies to meet and welcome the Emperour: and when, with much a-do, they were at length admitted into his Preſence, he required of them, that they would renounce the Proteſtation that had been made the year before, and for the future promiſe to be obedient. The Senate of *Ausburg* had levied Eight Hundred men, for a Guard to the City; but when this came to the Emperour's Ears, he commanded them to be disbanded, and others raiſed in his Name, who ſwore to be true to him; and likewiſe demanded one of the City Gates to be put into his hands. Some few days before he arrived there, *Cattinario*, whom I named before, and was lately made Cardinal, died at *Inſpruck*, and *Granvel*, born at *Beſanzen*, ſucceeded into his place. Much about this time Queen *Elenor* came from *Spain* with the *French* King's Two Sons, *Francis* and *Henry*, who had been there Four whole Years, Hoſtages for their Father. The *French* King's Sons return to *France* with his Queen.

Not long after the Emperour's Coronation, the Pope ſent a *Nuncio* to King *Ferdinand*, *Petro Paulo Vergerio*, a Lawyer, with ample Commiſſion: but his chief inſtructions were, That he ſhould uſe all endeavours to prevent the holding of a National Council of *Germany*; and that King *Ferdinand* ſhould oppoſe any Treaty of that kind. He carefully acquitted himſelf of his Commiſſion, and did all he could to hamper and vex the *Lutherans*, being very liberal to *Faber*, *Eckius*, *Cochleas*, and *Nauſeas*, that they might ply them briskly: He made alſo *Eckius* a Canon of *Ratisbonne*, as being the Pope's Legate, who being preſent, the Right of Election commonly ceaſes.

The Emperour came to *Ausburg* on the Fifteenth of *June*, towards the Evening. Moſt of the Princes were there before, who all went forth to meet him, and moſt civilly received him. In his Retinue was Cardinal *Campegio*, being ſent from the Pope, with plenary Power and Commiſſion. Betwixt him and his Brother *Ferdinand*, the Emperour intended to have made his entry into the Town; but becauſe that was contrary to the Cuſtom of the Empire, the Electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne* went immediately before him; and after him came *Ferdinand* and *Campegio*. The next day was *Corpus Chriſti* day; wherefore the Emperour went to Church to his Devotions, and the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* ſaid Maſs. All the Princes were there preſent, except the Elector of *Saxony*, the *Landgrave*, the Two Brothers, Dukes of *Lunenburg*, *George* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and the Count of *Anhalt*. The Emperour had ſent them word, both that they ſhould be there, and alſo diſcharge their Divines from preaching: but they did not come, and withal alledged, That ſince this Dyet was appointed for hearing the Opinions of all, they would not impoſe ſilence upon their Divines, before their Cauſe were tryed. Two days after came forth an Edict, commanding the Preachers on both ſides to deſiſt, until the matter of Religion ſhould be decided; but that nevertheleſs the Emperour ſhould appoint ſome to preach, without reflecting on any perſon. This Edict was proclaimed by an Herauld, and a Penalty appointed for the tranſgreſſors of it. *June* the Twentieth, the Dyet was opened, and the Emperour being about to go to Maſs, according to Cuſtom, commanded the Elector of *Saxony* to be there, and to carry the Sword before him; for that is the duty of the houſe of *Saxony*, on ſuch ſolemn occaſions: He having conſulted his Divines in the caſe, who told him, That he might lawfully do it, ſince he was called upon to do his duty, not to go to Maſs, went, accompanied by *George* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*; but none of the reſt came. After Maſs, they went into the Publick Hall; where *Frederick*, Prince Palatine, having made a ſhort Preamble, excuſed the Emperour's delay; and again told them the Cauſes why the Dyet was called. After that, there was a long written Speech read, as is uſual; and the effect of it was, That they themſelves knew, how that as ſoon as he was by common conſent choſen Emperour, he had held a Dyet of all the States at *Wormes*; but that at the ſame time he had been drawn into a War; ſo that although he earneſtly deſired to have continued in *Germany*, yet he was forced to return into *Spain*; which nevertheleſs he did with their conſent, and not before he had ordered the Affairs of the Empire, having conſtituted a Judicature and Council, and left his Brother *Ferdinand*, as his Lieutenant, to repreſent his Perſon in

The Emperour makes his entry into *Ausburg*.

The Emperour's Speech in the Dyet of *Ausburg*.

1530. in his Abſence; and that in the good Opinion he conceived of their Loyalty, Diligence and Virtue, he had left *Germany*, with the greater Quiet and Satisfaction of Mind, truſting that they would, as, indeed, they had, ſo adminiſter the Government, that nothing could be found fault with: But that in the mean time, whilſt he was in *Spain*, he had heard, That there were not only great Strifes and Diſſentions in *Germany*, about Religion, but alſo that the *Turks* had invaded *Hungary*, and the neighbouring Countries, putting all to Fire and Sword: And that *Belgrade* and ſeveral other Caſtles and Forts being loſt, King *Lewis* and the Nobles had ſent Ambaſſadours to deſire the Aſſiſtance of the Empire, with which they doubted not but they might be able, not only to beat off the Enemy, but alſo to regain what they had loſt: But that if they ſhould be left deſtitute, the ſame Calamity that then lay upon them, would ſoon after fall upon their Neighbours alſo. That he had been very much concerned at theſe things, and had therefore, that Aid might ſpeedily be ſent, commanded, That all that Money which they were to have furniſhed him for his Expedition to be crowned at *Rome*, ſhould be converted to that uſe: But that when his Orders therein were too ſlowly executed, the Enemy having taken *Rhodes*, the Bulwork of Chriſtendom on that ſide, marched farther into *Hungary*, overcame King *Lewis* in Battle, and took, plundered and burnt all the Towns and Places betwixt the Rivers *Save* and *Drave*, with the Slaughter of many thouſands of Men: That they had afterwards made an Incurſion into *Sclavonia*, and there having burnt, plundered and ſlain, and laid the whole Country waſte, they had carried away above thirty thouſand Men into miſerable Slavery, and killed thoſe poor Creatures that could not follow after with the Carriages: That they had again, the Year before advanced with an innumerable Army into *Auſtria*, and laid Siege to *Vienna*, the chief City thereof, having waſted the Country far and near, even as far as *Lintz*, where they had practiſed all kinds of Cruelty and Barbarity, ſparing neither Sex nor Age, ripping up the Bowels of young Infants deflowring Maids and Women, driving them away before them like Brute Beaſts: So that he had been fully reſolved then, all other things laid aſide, to have marched thither with his Forces, and to have bent all his Strength againſt them, having written to his Brother *Ferdinand*, and the Noblemen, and Commanders of the Army, who were beſieged in *Vienna*, to expect his coming; and that, in the mean time, they ſhould valiantly behave themſelves. But that upon the Retreat of the Enemy, he had altered his Reſolution, and for many Reaſons judged it beſt, having quieted all things in *Italy*, to have a Conference with the Pope, about ſetling the State of the Publick, and the Affairs of Religion, and to call this Dyet: That he could have been Crowned at *Rome*, without any Impediment, and from thence gone to *Naples*, as the State and Condition of that Kingdom then chiefly required; but that he had preferred the Intereſt of the Publick before his own Private Affairs, and made all the haſte he could to be preſent at this Dyet: That now, though the Enemy could not take *Vienna*, yet the whole Country had ſuſtained great Damage, which could hardly be in long time repaired again: And that although the *Turk* had drawn off his Army, yet he had left Garriſons and Commanders upon the Borders, to waſt and deſtroy, not only *Hungary*, but *Auſtria* alſo, and *Stiria*, and the Places adjoyning; and that whereas now his Territories in many Places bordered upon ours, it was not to be doubted, but upon the firſt Occaſion he would return again with far greater Force, and drive on his Deſigns to the utter ruine chiefly of *Germany*. That it was ſo well known, how many Places he had taken from us, ſince he was Maſter of *Conſtantinople*, how much Chriſtian Blood he had ſhed, and unto what Streights he had reduced this Part of the World, that it ought rather to be lamented and bewailed, than enlarged upon in Diſcourſe: That doubtleſs the Minds of all ought exceedingly to be affected with ſo many and ſuch grievous Calamities, and being moved by the ſad Examples of paſt Times, to conclude for a certain, that if now, as heretofore, things were carried on ſo ſlowly and remiſsly; and that if his Fury were not reſiſted with greater Forces than hitherto, they muſt expect no Safety for the future, but that one Province after another being loſt, all at length, and that ſhortly too, would fall under his Power and Tyrannie: That there had been frequent Dyets of the States held during his abſence, about thoſe Affairs, whereat he had wiſhed himſelf preſent, but by reaſon of his Enemies and Wars, he could not, as he had by Letters and Agents ſeveral times Declared: But that ſo ſoon as he could, he had ſacrificed all his Private Quarrels and Injuries to the Publick; had made Peace with his Enemy, and remitted much of his Right for the ſake of Publick Peace and Concord; nor would he

he longer delay his Return into *Germany*, but having left the moſt flouriſhing Kingdom of *Spain*, had with great danger croſſed the Seas to *Italy*; where he had reduced the remains of his Enemies, and ſo quieted that whole Country, which had been a great Hindrance unto him, that he could not come at the Day appointed. And that ſince by thoſe occaſional Subitaneous and Broken Aids, nothing had been as yet effected, there was need of new Methods, and more ample Deliberation; for that ſince the Deſign of the moſt cruel Enemy was, to make Slaves of; nay, even to ſweep all Chriſtians off of the Face of the Earth; it was now to be taken into Conſideration, how Aids might be perpetuated, that is, That at no time Men and Money might be wanting, not only for carrying on a Defenſive, but alſo an Offenſive War; nor for recovering alone what had been loſt, but for taking from him alſo, all that poſſibly could be done. That the Pope had made him very liberal and ample Promiſes: And that for himſelf alſo, although he had granted all the Money which had been promiſed him upon account of his Coronation, for this uſe, having been at all the Charges of the ſolemnity himſelf; and though he had laid out a great deal of Money beſides, yet in ſo Holy and Neceſſary a Work, he would do what was befitting his Character and Perſon: That the ſame might be expected from his Brother King *Ferdinand*, who ſtood now, in a manner, as the Rampart of Chriſtendom, eſpecially of *Germany*, againſt the Fury and Rage of the *Turk:* That other Kings and Princes alſo would not be wanting, to ſome of whom he had written, to that purpoſe, and would alſo ſollicite the reſt. That now, as to Religion, he had no ſooner ſtept into the Government, but that to his Grief and Sorrow he had heard of this Diſſention ariſen among them; and therefore that it might be remedied in time, a Decree paſt in the Dyet then held at *Wormes*, with their unanimous Advice and Conſent, which, if it had been obeyed, would have prevented all thoſe Evils and Troubles that for ſome Years now had afflicted *Germany*; among which were chiefly to be reckoned, the Inſurrection of the Boors, and Sect of the Anabaptiſts: And that ſince he perceived that hitherto there had been nothing done by all their Treaties, he thought his own Preſence might be of great moment: That therefore he had called this Dyet, that therein every one might propoſe what they had to ſay in Writing, that ſo the matters might be the ſooner and better underſtood and determined: That for his own part, he would in this and in all other Cauſes of the Empire, for the Love and Affection he bore to his Country, do what in Duty he ought: And that therefore, he demanded of them all, that every one of them would teſtifie the like Zeal and Good-will towards the Publick. 1530.

The Princes, after deliberation had, were of Opinion, That Religion ſhould be the firſt thing debated. Four Days after Cardinal *Campegius* made a *Latin* Speech to the Princes, in preſence of the Emperour, exhorting them, That in the cauſe of Religion, they would obey the Emperour, whoſe Virtue and Piety he much extolled; that he alſo would in the Pope's Name, endeavour that all ſhould profeſs the ſame Faith, and with reconciled Minds undertake a War againſt the *Turk*. Next, the Deputies of *Auſtria*, repreſented the great Damages they had ſuſtained from the *Turks*, and demanded Aid. After this, the Elector of *Saxony*, *George* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, the Duke of *Lunenburg*, and the Landgrave entreated the Emperour to hear their Confeſſion of Faith, that was drawn up in Writing. He ordered it to be produced and laid down: They again inſiſted, and becauſe it was a matter that concerned their Reputation, their Lives and Fortunes, and the Salvation of their Souls; and becauſe perhaps, he had been miſinformed in the thing, they deſired it might be heard. The Emperour commanded them to wait upon him next Day at Home, but, in the mean time, deſired to have the Writing preſently: They again with all imaginable importunity urged and entreated that it might be read: Nor did they think, ſaid they, that that would have been denied them, ſince he heard Men of far inferiour Rank, about Matters of much leſs importance. But when he would not change his Reſolution, they deſired him to leave the Writing with them, until it ſhould be read. That being granted, they come next Day, and in the Aſſembly of all the States, read it in the Emperour's hearing: Afterwards they gave it him in *Latin* and *High-Dutch*, offering to explain any thing in it, that might ſeem obſcure; and that if the matter could not, perhaps, be now determined, they did not refuſe to ſubmit to a Council, ſo often promiſed and expected. The Emperour, who had ſpent the whole Winter, from *November* to *March*, with the Pope in *Bolonia*, and had lived in the ſame Palace with him, deſigned wholly, if he could, to accommodate the Difference about Religion,

Campegius's Speech to the Princes.

The Proteſtants Confeſſion of Faith preſented at *Ausburg*.

1530. without a Council, as knowing that to be moſt acceptable to Pope *Clement*, whoſe ſcope was, That if the matter could not be compoſed by fair means, it ſhould be cruſhed by force of Arms. Wherefore *June* the twenty ſixth, he ſent for the Deputies of all the Cities to come to his Lodgings, and there made *Frederick* Prince *Palatine* declare unto them, in his Name, That in the laſt Dyet of *Spire*, a Decree had been made, which was obeyed by moſt, much to his Satisfaction; but that ſome others had rejected the ſame, which he took very ill at their Hands: That therefore he required them not to ſeparate from the reſt, or elſe to give their Reaſons why they did not comply. To this the Deputies of the Proteſtant Cities made anſwer, That they had done nothing undutifully; nor were they leſs deſirous than any of their Anceſtors had ever been, to teſtifie all Loyalty and Obedience to his Imperial Majeſty; but that ſince he demanded to know the Reaſons why they had not admitted of the Decree, they deſired time to deliberate. Afterwards, on the ſeventh of *July*, they gave their Anſwer in Writing, much to the ſame effect, as they had done the Year before, when, as we ſaid, they ſent Ambaſſadours to him into *Italy*: Unto which Embaſſie, and the Reaſons there alledged, they alſo referred themſelves.

Two Days after, the Emperour cauſed the Queſtion to be put to the Elector of *Saxony* and his Aſſociates, Whether or not they would exhibit any thing more? They ſaid no; only reſumed in few Words the ſumm of the Confeſſion of Faith already delivered. Afterwards he commanded the Deputies of the Cities, who pretended, That in Conſcience they could not obey the Decree of *Spire*, to give in Writing thoſe Heads which they ſcrupled at; and delivered the Duke of *Saxony*'s Confeſſion to the reſt of the Princes, to be examined by them; who preſently gave it to their Divines, of whom the chief of all were *John Faber* and *Eckius*. Theſe battered it with a contrary Writing and Confutation; which being read over before the Princes, ſome of them judged it to be too ſharp, and thought fit that ſome Men ſhould be choſen to peruſe the Writings of both Parties, and to ſoften them; but their Opinion prevailed, who would have it delivered to the Emperour, as it was, and the whole matter to be committed to him. In the mean time the Cities of *Strasburg*, *Conſtance*, *Memmingen* and *Lindaw*, delivered a Confeſſion of their Faith to the Emperour alſo in Writing. Theſe, as we ſaid before, differed in Opinion from the Elector of *Saxony* and his Aſſociates about the Lord's Supper. The Matter being deliberated with the Pope's Legate, the Emperour ordered an Anſwer to be made to the *Saxon*-Writing, which he communicated to the Princes on the firſt of *Auguſt*. The concluſion of it was ſevere and hard, no leſs than the *Ban* of the Empire being threatned to thoſe who obeyed not: But that was qualified by the Advice of the Princes; wherefore, *Auguſt* the third, he called together all the States, and made *Frederick* Prince *Palatine* tell them, That he had long and much conſidered the *Saxon* Confeſſion of Faith, and alſo ordered ſome Honeſt and Learned Men, to give their Judgment of it, What was Orthodox therein, and what contrary to the Doctrin and Conſent of the Church: That they had done ſo, and had given their Judgment in another Writing, which he approved. Then was the Confutation of the Confeſſion, written by the Divines of the contrary Perſwaſion, read; and it proceeded in this Method; They divided the *Saxon*-writing into two Parts; the firſt contained one and twenty Chapters; of theſe they had admitted ſome and rejected others; ſome were admitted in part, and in part rejected, alledging many Teſtimonies of Fathers and Councils. Among the rejected, were theſe; That Good Works are not Meritorious: That Juſtification is attributed to Faith alone, and not to Works alſo: That the Church is the Congregation of the Godly: That Men cannot make Satisfaction for Sins: That the Saints do not make interceſſion for us: Other things they admitted of, with certain modification, as the Doctrin concerning Ceremonies; as alſo that the real Body and Blood of Chriſt was ſo in the Sacrament, that Chriſt was under each Species; and that the Bread and Wine were wholly changed: The Doctrin about Confeſſion they admitted, provided the People were obliged to confeſs yearly, at *Eaſter*, to declare all their Sins exactly, receive the Lord's Supper, and believe that there are ſeven Sacraments in the Church: They made a Proviſo alſo, That none ſhould be ſuffered to preach to the People without a Licence from the Biſhops. Beſides, that all the Canons and Laws of the Church ſhould be obſerv'd, and reſtored again in thoſe Places, where they were aboliſhed. The ſecond Part contained five things chiefly; the Communion under both kinds was rejected, and the Emperour required, That in this they would follow the Cuſtom and Conſent

The Popiſh Divines confute the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion.

Conſent of the whole Chriſtian World. As to the Marriage of Prieſts, he wonderd, he ſaid, how they could demand it, ſince it was never in uſe from the very Age of the Apoſtles; that therefore, it could no ways be be granted. Their Maſs was admitted, provided it were celebrated according to the Rite of the Church of *Rome*; but if otherwiſe, it was rejected: And at the ſame time the Maſs affirmed to be a Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead; and that Private Maſs ought not to be aboliſhed: That *Daniel* had propheſied long before, That when Antichriſt ſhould come, the daily Offering ſhould ceaſe: That that was not, indeed, as yet come to paſs; but that nevertheleſs in thoſe Places, where Maſs was deſpiſed, Altars deſtroyed, Images burnt; where nothing was ſung in the Churches, nothing read, no Lights burnt any longer, there, indeed that Propheſie was fulfilled: That therefore all ſhould have a ſpecial Care, That they did not make way for the coming of Antichriſt: That Monaſtick Vows were grounded upon the Authority, as well of the Old as New Teſtament, that therefore they ought to be puniſhed, who forgetting their Profeſſion, forſook their Order: That Biſhops had Power not only to teach, but alſo to bear Rule in Civil Matters, and therefore ought not to be impeded in the Execution of their Right, which they enjoyed through the Liberality of our Anceſtors: That not to abſtain from Fleſh on Days prohibited, not to faſt in time of Lent, and not to Confeſs Sins, was frowardneſs, and not Chriſtian Liberty. Theſe Points being thus read, they confeſſed, That there were ſome things which needed to be reformed; for the amendment whereof, and the Reformation of the ſtate of the Church, the Emperour promiſed to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours, and was in good Hopes, he ſaid, that ſince they agreed in many things, the Proteſtants would return into the Boſom of the Church, and ſubmit themſelves to him, which if they would do, they might expect any thing at his Hands: But if not; that then he muſt needs act, as it became the Guardian and Defender of the Church. 1530.

LIBRARY OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

The Duke of *Saxony*'s general Anſwer to the Confutation of the Popiſh Divines.

To theſe things the Elector of *Saxony* anſwered both in his own Name, and in the Name of his Aſſociates, That ſeeing they had profeſſed in the beginning, That if they ſet about a Reconciliation in Religion, they would do any thing that they could with a ſafe Conſcience: Again, that if by Teſtimonies of Scripture, it could be proved that there was any Errour in their Doctrin, they would not be obſtinate: That moreover, if a fuller Explanation of their Confeſſion were deſired, they would give it: And that now, ſince ſome Points of Doctrin which they offered, were admitted, and ſome rejected, it behoved them to confirm and make good what they had aſſerted; they therefore deſired that a Copy of the Confutation might be given them. Two Days after the Emperour, having long conſulted about the matter, ſaid, They ſhould have a Copy of it, but upon condition that they would not publiſh nor print it: And that he would admit of no more Debate, but required them to cloſe with him: But they made Anſwer, That they would not receive it upon that Condition. Next Day after, which was the ſixth of *Auguſt*, the Landgrave departed with a ſmall Company, leaving Deputies in his Place. The Emperour took that ill, and commanded the Magiſtrates of the Town, That they ſhould ſuffer no perſon whatſoever to depart out of the City by that private Place, which uſed only to be open in the Night-time; and having next Day ſent for the Elector of *Saxony* and his Aſſociates, he did not diſſemble his Diſpleaſure, and required them to ſtay till the concluſion of the Dyet; for that he would omit nothing, that would make for Peace and Concord. They excuſed the Landgrave, becauſe of his Wife's Sickneſs, telling his Majeſty, That he had left Deputies, and that they would not depart: But that, in the mean time, they wondred why Guards ſhould be placed at the Gates, which never uſed to be done in the Dyets of the Empire. The Emperour excuſed it, becauſe of a Murther that had been committed, and becauſe of the Quarrels that happened betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Germans*: But that if any Tumult ſhould happen in time to come, he would do no ſuch thing, before he had acquainted him who was Marſhal of the Empire. The Duke of *Saxony* anſwered, That if any thing ſhould happen, wherein his Duty was required, he would be ready, as it became him. So that the ſame Day the Guards were removed from the Gates.

The Landgrave departed from the Dyet.

About that time ended the War of *Florence*, of which a little by the by. At the time that *Rome* was taken, and the Pope ſhut up in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, as we ſaid before, the *Florentines* caſt out the Family of *Medicis*, and then aſſiſted the

The *Florentine* War.

1530. *French* in their Wars in *Naples*. But the Pope being reſtored, that he might right himſelf and Relations, ſent his Legate into *Spain*, and made a League with the Emperour, promiſing, amongſt other things, to crown him, if he would puniſh the *Florentines*, as they had deſerved. The Emperour embraced the Condition, and not long after arrived at *Genoua*. Thither came Ambaſſadors from the *Florentines*, to make their ſubmiſſion, and beg pardon; to whom the Emperour, having ſharply rebuked them, made this Anſwer; That though they had deſerved to be ſeverely puniſhed, yet their Fact might be pardoned, provided, they would receive the Pope again; and that there was no other way but that, of obtaining peace. When the Ambaſſadors were returned home with this Anſwer, the matter was much debated; but at length, the Opinion of one or two carried it, who were for defending their Liberty to the laſt; and the rather, that, as they alledged, Pope *Clement*, and the Emperour, being now exhauſted with long Wars, were both in great want of Money. Nevertheleſs, when the Emperour was come to *Bolonia*, they ſent Ambaſſadors again; but they were not admitted to Audience, through the Perſuaſions of the Pope. So that having maintained War, and defended their City againſt the Forces of the Emperour and Pope, for almoſt a Year, on the Ninth Day of *Auguſt* they capitulated with *Ferdinando Gonzaga*, General of the Emperour's Army. Afterwards the Emperour, by his Letters Patent, addreſſed to them, appointed *Alexander de Medicis*, to whom he had promiſed *Margaret*, his Natural Daughter, in Marriage, to be their Prince, who afterwards built a ſtrong Citadel there, which was the beginning of their bondage. The Town being taken by ſurrender, Pope *Clement* cauſed ſome of the chief Senators to be beheaded, and appointed a kind of Commonwealth amongſt them, being aſſured in the mean time, that *Alexander* would be made their Duke; for that was the Advice he himſelf had given the Emperour, when he ſent his Legate to him into *Spain*. But now to our purpoſe again.

Commiſſioners for reconciling Religion.

After much debate, on the Thirteenth of *Auguſt* Seven were choſen on each ſide to adjuſt meaſures of a Reconciliation. On the ſide of the Catholicks were, the Biſhop of *Ausburg*, *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, two Lawyers, one of *Cologne*, and another of *Baden*, and three Divines, *Wimpin*, *Eckius*, and *Cochleus*. For the Proteſtants, were, *George* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, two Lawyers, three Divines, *Melanchthon*, *Brentius*, and *Schnepſius*. Theſe agreed upon ſome Points; but the great Controverſie was about the Maſs, the Marriage of Prieſts, the Lord's Supper in both kinds, Monaſtick Vows, and the Juriſdiction of Biſhops; but eſpecially about Maſs, and Monaſtick Vows; for in that the Papiſts would not bate an Ace: but for the other Points, though they diſapproved them, yet they ſaid, they might be tolerated until the meeting of a Council. Marriage they allowed alſo to Prieſts, but only to thoſe who had Wives already, not to the reſt, and all that to prevent further troubles. As to the Power and Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, the *Saxons* granted a little too much, and more than was allowed of by the Commiſſioners for the *Landgrave*, *Lunenburg* and *Norimberg*. Afterwards, it was thought fit to abridge this number; ſo that there were Three choſen on each ſide, *Melanchthon* with Two Lawyers, and *Eckius* with as many; but *Melanchthon* was enjoyned to grant no more: Thus when they could not agree in Opinions, the Papiſts were for having the matter again debated by more Perſons; but the Proteſtants perceiving, that their deſign was to find out more ways of Accommodation, declined that Treaty; but if they thought fit to conſider of ways of ſetling Peace until the meeting of a Council, they were not againſt it. During theſe Negotiations, the Emperour dealt with *George* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, by means of the Elector of *Mentz*, and others of the ſame Family, and with the Duke of *Saxony*, by the Mediation of *Frederick*, Prince Palatine, the Count of *Naſſau*, and *George Truchſes*, that they would deſiſt from their Enterprize. He endeavoured alſo to divide the Duke of *Saxony* from the reſt, as being the chief of all, and refuſed to inveſt him in his Dukedom, according to the Cuſtom of the Empire, unleſs he would firſt be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*: The other he threatned, That unleſs he did comply, he ſhould loſe the Ward and Guardianſhip of his Nephew *Albert*, his Brother *Caſimires* Son. They endeavoured to perſwade the *Landgrave*, That if he would obey the Emperour, *Ulrick* Duke of *Wittemberg* ſhould be reſtored, and his Controverſie with the Count of *Naſſau*, concerning *Catzenelbogen*, accommodated by the Emperour's Mediation. In this Dyet the Pope gave leave to King *Ferdinand*, to make uſe of the Ornaments, and the Gold and Silver Plate of all the Churches of *Germany*; and alſo to lay a Tax upon the

The Pope gives King *Ferdinand* leave to make uſe of the Ornaments and Goods of the Church

the Clergy, for the *Turkiſh* War: But the Princes would not conſent to it, and made application to the Emperour, that he would vacate that Bull. *Auguſt* the Eighteenth, *Eraſmus* of *Rotterdam*, wrote from *Fribourg* to Cardinal *Campegius*, That the Power of the Emperour was, indeed, great; but that all did not acknowledge it: That the *Germans* ſo acknowledged his Authority, as that they commanded, rather than obeyed: That *Luther*'s Doctrin was ſpread all over *Germany*; ſo that from the Ocean, as far as *Switzerland*, that Chain of Miſchief was ſtretched: That if the Emperour ſhould declare, That he would in all things comply with the Intereſt and deſire of the Pope, it was to be feared, he would have but few to approve his doings: That there was great danger alſo threatned from the *Turk*, who was ſo powerful, that all the Force of *Europe* was hardly able to match him: That many inſtances could be given, how unſafe it was to go to War with Soldiers that were unwilling to fight: That the Emperour, without doubt, was inclined to Peace, though by a certain deſtiny he was drawn into War: That for many years now *France* and *Italy* had ſuffered much by Wars; but that unleſs care were taken, this War would prove more fatal than all the reſt: That People were generally perſuaded, that the Pope had the chief hand in all theſe things; but that it was to be feared, the Emperour might run the greateſt riſque: That they who loved Sects, deſerved, indeed, to be puniſhed; but that the welfare and ſafety of the Publick ought more to be regarded: That the State of the Church had been ſore diſtreſſed in former times, when the *Arians*, *Pagans*, *Donatiſts*, *Manichees*, broached their Doctrins, and Barbarous Nations alſo made War againſt it; and yet it weathered all thoſe Storms at length: That Time and Patience ſometimes cured the worſt Diſtempers: That the *Bohemians* were tolerated, though they acknowledged not the Pope: That if the ſame thing were allowed to the *Lutherans*, it would not be amiſs, in his Judgment: And that though this would be bad enough, yet was it much eaſier to be born with than a War. 1530.

September the Seventh, the Emperour ſent for all the Catholick Princes and States, to come to Court about Noon; and two hours after, for the Duke of *Saxony*, and his Aſſociates; where all being removed, except his Brother, King *Ferdinand*, the Biſhops of *Conſtance* and *Seville*, *Granvel* and *Truchſes*, he ordered *Frederick*, Prince Palatine, to ſpeak to them in his Name, to this purpoſe: That having given them ſo kind and gracious an Admonition, after they had preſented their Confeſſion of Faith, he had confidently hoped, that they would have complied with him: And that although he was diſappointed of his hopes therein, yet at the interceſſion of the Princes, he had condeſcended, that ſome Commiſſioners ſhould be choſen on each ſide, to endeavour a Reconciliation; which had put him again in freſh hopes of a future Accommodation: But that now he had learnt, to his great trouble, that they diſſented from the reſt in the chief Points of Doctrin, a thing that he could not have expected at their hands; for that he did not imagine, that they who were but few in number, would have introduced Novelties, contrary to the Ancient and moſt Sacred Cuſtom of the Univerſal Church; or that they would have framed to themſelves a ſingular kind of Religion different from what was profeſſed by the Catholicks, by himſelf, his Brother, King *Ferdinand*, and by all the Princes and States of the Empire; Nay, and utterly diſagreeing with the Practice of all the Kings in the World, and of their own Anceſtors too. But that ſince, they now demanded to have a General Council called, and a Decree paſt in this Dyet, for ſecuring the Publick Peace, He, who above all things, loved Peace, would uſe his Intereſt with the Pope, and the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, that as ſoon as the Place could be agreed upon, a Council ſhould be called; that he promiſed them this upon his Royal Word; but on this Condition ſtill, That in the mean time they ſhould follow the ſame Religion which he and the reſt of the Princes profeſſed: For that to procure the calling of a Council, and yet to ſuffer things to continue at ſuch uncertainties, and not to put a ſtop to thoſe Innovations, all men did ſee how prejudicial that muſt needs prove both to himſelf and others. The Emperour's Speech to the Proteſtants.

They having conſulted, returned this Anſwer, That they had not cauſed any new Sect, nor ſeparated from the Chriſtian Church: That they heartily thanked his Majeſty, for that he was not againſt a Council; and begg'd, that with the firſt opportunity an Holy and Free Council might be called in *Germany*, as it had been decreed both in the laſt and former Dyet of *Spire*: but that to receive the Rites and Doctrins of the Church of *Rome*, which were now aboliſhed, they could not do it with a ſafe Conſcience. The Proteſtants Anſwer.

After

1530. *Truchſes* his Speech to the Proteſtants in the Name of the Empe-rour.

After long Deliberation the Emperour cauſed *Truchſes* to tell them, That he had carefully read over, and peruſed the Memoires of the Conference, and found that they diſſented very much from the Chriſtian Church: That he wondred alſo at the Condeſcenſion of the Commiſſioners, who had granted ſo many things; and at their ſtiffneſs, in not accepting what had been offered: That whereas they grounded their demanding of a Council upon the Decrees of the Empire, they had no Right to do ſo, ſince they rejected the laſt Decree of *Spire*, againſt which they had proteſted, and appealed from it; though he looked upon their Appeal as void and null, ſince it was but reaſonable, that the ſmaller number ſhould be determined by the greater: and what an inconſiderable Party were they, if compared with the Pope, with himſelf, and the reſt of the Princes? That therefore he deſired to know of them, if they were willing to enter into any further Treaty and Conference: for that he would ſpare no pains nor trouble, that he might by any means make way for Concord and Agreement; but that if they refuſed a Treaty, and would needs purſue their deſigns, then he muſt do as became the Protector of the Church: And that becauſe it was drawing towards Night, he gave them till next morning to conſider on the matter. Next day, when all the States were met at the hour appointed, *Pontane*, a Lawyer, made anſwer, in Name of the Duke of *Saxony*, and his Aſſociates, to this effect: That if the Emperour underſtood the whole Affair, as it was acted, he would then believe their former Relation: Nor did they doubt, but their Doctrin would be judged conſonant to the Word of God, in the Judgment of an Holy and Free Council: And that ſo it was the leſs to be wondred at, that they did not accept of what had been lately granted and offered: That that Appeal was for neceſſary Cauſes, made only againſt that part of the Decree which ſtruck at the Doctrin of the Goſpel, and the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church: That in all things elſe they obeyed it: That beſides, at the very opening of that Dyet, and long before the Decree was made, a Council had been promiſed them by his Deputies: Nor ſo only neither, but in all the Dyets of the Empire, that had conſtantly been the Opinion of all: That ſince then they had appealed to his Imperial Majeſty, and a free Council, they were in hopes, that he would not derogate from their Appeal, until a lawful Sentence ſhould paſs thereupon: That it was not a place to diſpute, whether or not in this Controverſie the ſmaller number ſhould be concluded by the greater: That that had, indeed, been the chief Reaſon which had obliged them to appeal; and that they would in Council give their Reaſons more fully for what they had done: That therefore ſince all former Dyets had decreed a Council, without any limitation or condition, they earneſtly deſired that he would not reſcind thoſe Decrees, but therein condeſcend to the Will and Reſolution of the reſt of the States: That they rendred his Majeſty moſt hearty Thanks: That he was pleaſed to offer them a farther Conference and Treaty; but that ſeeing it eaſily appeared by the Acts of the laſt Conference, that they had condeſcended as far as poſſibly they could; and that he himſelf wondred at the Papiſts for granting ſo much; it might with ſmall Difficulty be gathered, what his Majeſty's Judgment was in the caſe; ſo that it would be in vain to appoint any other Treaty, becauſe it would bring a Delay and hindrance to other Affairs: But that they were very willing to conſult of any way that might preſerve the Peace of the Empire until the meeting of a Council, as they had ſaid at firſt, and that, in the mean time, they would do nothing but what they ſhould think pleaſing both to God, and to a lawful Council alſo. After they had been commanded to withdraw, they were, at length, called in again; and becauſe it was a weighty affair, the Emperour ſaid he would conſider of it, and withal deſired the Duke of *Saxony*, as being the chief of the Party, not to depart from the Dyet. *George Truchſes* and *Veh*, a Lawyer of *Baden*, propounded ſome things privately concerning the Maſs and Vows, in order to a Reconciliation; but that was in vain: And therefore the Emperour commanded a Committee to be choſen, for framing a Decree. The Parties choſen were, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the Biſhops of *Saltſburg*, *Strasburg* and *Spire*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*. When the Duke of *Saxony* was thinking of returning home, the Emperour, *September* the eighteenth, deſired of him that he would ſtay but four Days longer. In the mean time the Princes of the Committee, drew up the Form of a Decree, and *September* the two and twentieth, the Emperour ſent for the Duke of *Saxony* and his Aſſociates to come to Court; and in a full Aſſembly of the Princes, cauſed that to be read, which concerned Religion; which was, That the Duke of *Saxony* and his Aſſociates had exhibited a Con-

Their Anſwer.

Commiſſioners choſen for framing a Decree.

The Tenor of that Decree.

ſeſſion

1530.

feſſion of their Faith, which had afterwards been refuted by Teſtimonies of Scripture; and that through the Pains that he himſelf and the reſt of the States had been at, things were after brought to this paſs, that they had received ſome Doctrins of the Church and rejected others; which being ſo, that therefore, to ſhew how deſirous he was of Peace, and how far from acting any thing unadviſedly or out of Private Intereſt, he was graciouſly pleaſed to grant them time to conſult, until the fifteenth Day of *April*, that in the mean time they might conſider with themſelves, and come to a Reſolution, if in the remaining Points of Doctrin they would acquieſce to what the Pope, he himſelf, and the whole Chriſtian World beſides profeſſed: That in the mean while, it was his Will and Pleaſure, That all Men throughout the Empire ſhould live in Peace; that the Duke of *Saxony* and his Aſſociates, ſhould not, during that Interval, ſuffer any Innovations in Religion within their Dominions, nor any new thing to be printed; nor yet allure or compel any Man to come over to their Perſuaſion: That they ſhould not by any means hinder or moleſt thoſe within their Territories, that made Profeſſion of the Ancient eſtabliſhed Religion: That they ſhould not diſturb Monks and Friers, nor no Religious Perſons in the exerciſe of their Worſhip, hearing Confeſſions, and celebrating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, after their own manner: That they ſhould conſult with themſelves, and with the reſt of the States, How Anabaptiſts, and thoſe who maintained Opinions concerning the Lord's Supper, different from the Doctrin of the Church, were to be puniſhed and reſtrained: That laſtly, ſince for a long time there had been no Council, and that many things needed to be reformed, both in Church and State, he would uſe his Endeavours with the Pope and other Kings, that a Council ſhould be called within ſix Months time, and begin within a Year after.

What the Proteſtants find fault with in the Decree.

The Duke of *Saxony* and his Aſſociates, after deliberation, made anſwer to theſe things, by the Mouth of *Pontane*; That whereas it was mentioned in the Decree, That their Doctrin had been refuted by the Authority of Holy Scripture, they did not acknowledge nor grant that: But that, on the contrary, they thought it ſo well grounded on God's Word, that nothing could be found erroneous in it, and that if they could have had a Copy of the Confutation, which was read to them, they could have plainly demonſtrated ſo much: That nevertheleſs, leſt that Confutation ſhould be paſt over in Silence, they had begun to draw up an Anſwer unto as much of it as they could retain in their Memories, immediately after they had heard it read; which Anſwer was now after much Labour and Pains compleated; and that though all things could not be therein anſwered, for the Reaſon above-mentioned; yet if the Emperour would be pleaſed to peruſe it, they made no doubt, but he would find their Confeſſion, ſtill firm and unſhaken, notwithſtanding the Battery of their Adverſaries. When *Pontane* had thus far proceeded, he preſented the Apology to the Emperour, and *Frederick* Prince *Palatine* received it; but the Emperour, to whom King *Ferdinand* had whiſpered ſomewhat, making him a Sign, he delivered it back again. *Pontane* afterward went on: That whereas it was decreed, That in the mean time, they ſhould not innovate nor print any thing, they had ſo anſwered as to that in the former Dyet, that they thought they had given Satisfaction: That they were ſtill of the ſame Mind, and would not do any thing that might lawfully be cenſured: That they had nothing to do neither, with Sects; and that though the Doctrin which they profeſſed, was true, yet they had compelled no Man to imbrace it, nor never would: That as to Anabaptiſts, and thoſe who deſpiſed the Sacrament of the Altar, they had never tolerated any ſuch Men within their Dominions, that their Divines had always preached againſt them, and that they had alſo puniſhed Anabaptiſts, inſomuch that that Sect was ſo far from taking root, that it did not ſubſiſt among them: But that ſeeing it was a very weighty Cauſe, which concerned the Eternal Salvation or Damnation of their Souls, and required moſt ſerious Deliberation, and that beſides the Deputies of their abſent Aſſociates were neceſſarily obliged, to make Report of all to their Principles; They earneſtly begged that they might have a Copy of the Decree, that they might conſider among themſelves, and reſolve upon what they were to anſwer upon the main, at the Day appointed.

Next Day the Emperour let them know by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, That he could not wonder enough at their Confidence, in affirming, That their Religion was True and Pious, when it was not only refuted by the Authority of Holy Scripture, but alſo many Ages ſince, condemned in all former Councils:

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1530. and that it increaſed his Admiration, that they ſhould charge him and the other Princes with Errour and Falſe Doctrin; for that if what they alledged were true, then were all their Anceſtors, and even of the Duke of *Saxony* himſelf, who had obſerved and promoted that Religion, to be accounted Hereticks; ſo that he could not be perſuaded, nor grant what they ſaid, That their Doctrin was grounded on the Word of God: That therefore, ſince he had, out of gracious condeſcention, and the deſire of Peace, ordered the Decree to be framed in that manner, and therein granted more than in Reaſon he ought to have done; he demanded of them, That they would admit of it, as the reſt of the Princes did, and weigh with themſelves ſeriouſly, how great occaſion they might give to Troubles, and be therefore accountable to God, if they did not: That beſides, it could not be ſhewn in Record or Hiſtory, that any Man might rob and ſpoil, and then excuſe the Fact, as if he who had ſuſtained Injury was not obliged to Reſtitution. That as to their Paper, in anſwer to the Confutation, he had already declared, That he would admit of no farther Diſpute about Religion; ſince he neither might, nor ought in Duty to allow it; which was the Reaſon he had rejected the ſame; for that unleſs they ſubmitted to, and approved that Decree, he would take another Courſe, and do what became his Perſon and Character. The Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* ſaid farther, That they themſelves were ſenſible what Labour and Pains the reſt of the States had been at, to have got that Difference amicably compoſed: That now therefore he prayed them to conſider with themſelves how much it concerned their own private Intereſt, and the Welfare of the Publick, that they ſhould comply with the Emperour and ſubmit to the Decree: For that unleſs they would obey, the reſt of the States would do what the Emperour ſhould pleaſe to command them, having already promiſed to aſſiſt him with their Lives and Fortunes, for putting an end to that Affair: And that he, on the other Hand had paſt his Word to bend all his Force and Power that way, and not to depart out of the Empire, before he had ſeen it accompliſhed: And that he now repreſented theſe things unto them by order from the Princes and States.

The Proteſtants on the other hand, perſiſted in it, That their Confeſſion of Faith agreed with the Word of God, which the Gates of Hell were not able to prevail againſt: And that the ſame was made out more fully in that other Paper which had been lately offered, and which anſwered all that their Memories could retain of the Confutation read to them; but that they could not with a ſafe Conſcience approve of the Decree made, and therefore begged a Copy of the whole Proceeding, and time to adviſe in, until the Day appointed; for that they would do nothing obſtinately, but in all things condeſcend, as far as the Word of God would give them leave, and give their plain and poſitive Anſwer by the Day prefixt: not refuſing in any thing elſe to venture their Lives and Fortunes for his Majeſties ſake: That, in the mean time, they thought it very ſtrange that the Princes and States ſhould in that manner engage themſelves to the Emperour, ſince they had never given any cauſe for their ſo doing, and were ready, in imitation of their Anceſtors, to do any thing for his ſake, being reſolved, when occaſion offered, not to be the laſt: That they alſo confeſſed what was ſaid to be true, That no Man was to be ſpoiled of his Goods, but that they were innocent therein: For that as to Monaſteries and Religious Houſes, they had often declared, That they would ſo manage that Affair, in the mean while, until the ſitting of a Council, that it ſhould be viſible and apparent to all Men, that it was not their own private Profit and Advantage which they coveted.

The Emperour having duly conſidered theſe things, ordered the Elector of *Brandenburg*, again, to tell them in his Name; That he did not grant nor acknowledge what they bragged of their Religion: That he himſelf alſo had a regard to his own Conſcience, and the Salvation of his Soul, and would far leſs forſake the Ancient Religion which had been handed down through many Ages, than they would do theirs: That nothing could now be altered in the Decree already made; that if they did admit of it, well and good; but if not, that he had occaſion given him, to joyn with the reſt in making a new Decree, and in taking ſuch Meaſures, as that the Sects lately ſprung up, might utterly be rooted out, that Peace might be reſtored to *Germany*, and the Ancient Faith, Religion, Rites and Ceremonies be preſerved in Force; which were things that belonged properly to his Care and Duty. That if they would not comply, he would acquaint the Pope, and other Kings and Princes with all their Diſobedience, and make uſe both of their Aid and Counſel in the Affair; That to what they ſaid, they had given no Man any Cauſe

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of offence, many things might be alledged to the contrary, for that their Miniſters and Preachers had had no ſmall hand in the Rebellion and Wars of the Boors, wherein near an hundred thouſand Men periſhed; and beſides, many things had been done within their Territories to the Ignominy, Reproach and Contempt of the Pope, himſelf, and the reſt of the States; And that ſo, they were not ſo Innocent as they pretended: That it was out of no private end neither, but mere duty, that the Princes and States had promiſed and engaged to him their Services; eſpecially ſince the Proteſtants would not hearken to any Overtures of Concord; that nevertheleſs it was neither very honourable nor decent for them to make ſuch a defection, who had formerly commended and approved the Decree of *Wormes*. In the laſt place, that he willed and commanded, That Abbots, Monks, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, whom they had ejected, ſhould be fully reſtored to their Poſſeſſions; for that their Sighs and Complaints came daily to his Ears, and that they made continual Inſtance unto him for Reſtitution. 1530.

The Proteſtants having taken ſome time to deliberate, made anſwer; That ſeeing they could not obtain a Copy of the Decree, nor time to conſider of the whole matter, it was to no purpoſe for them to urge any farther; and that therefore they committed their Cauſe to God, in whom was their Hope of Salvation: That alſo what beſides, had been objected to them of the Rebellion of the Boors, they could not in the leaſt be blamed for it, and their Conſciences wholly cleared them of that Guilt; for that it was manifeſtly known what they had done at that time, and that they had ſpared neither Danger nor Coſt; it having been clearly made out alſo, four Years before, in the Dyet of Spire, what the Cauſe and Original of that Rebellion had been; at which time it was reſolved, That Ambaſſadours ſhould have been ſent to his Imperial Majeſty into *Spain*, to have given him an account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the whole matter, but that that Reſolution was altered: That therefore it was not well done, to turn the Envy of that Accident upon them; and they looked upon it as an Injury; ſince that if any Man had ought to lay to their Charge upon that or any other account whatſoever, they were ready to anſwer it, and ſtand a fair Tryal at Law: That therefore they prayed his Majeſty not to conceive any heavy Diſpleaſure, nor to give way to Hatred and Anger againſt them; ſeeing they had, no leſs than the other States, bequeathed all they could command to his Uſe and Service. When they had thus ſpoken, they took their Leaves and departed, leaving Deputies in their Places. But before their Departure, the Electors of *Mentz*, *Treves* and *Palatine* ſent to acquaint the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Landgraves Deputies, That what the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* had ſaid of giving Aid and Aſſiſtance for the Defence of Religion, was done without their Orders; that they had been free to tell the Emperour as much, and that they had no cauſe of enmity againſt them: That therefore, if they had conceived any ſiniſtrous Opinion of them, they prayed them to lay it aſide. The Elector of *Saxony* admitted of their Juſtification, telling them that they might expect all mutual Love and Friendſhip alſo from him. The Day after they went away, the Emperour aſſembled all the States, and ordered *Truchſes*, firſt to tell the Deputies of the Cities, That they ſhould not offer to be gone, before the Concluſion of the Dyet; and then to declare unto them, what had been acted with the Duke of *Saxony* and his Aſſociates; and that ſeeing the Cities of *Strasburg*, *Conſtance*, *Memmingen* and *Lindaw*, had exhibited a particular Confeſſion of their own, he would alſo treat with them, after that other Publick Affairs of the Empire, and among the reſt the *Turkiſh* War, were taken into Debate. At this time there happened at *Rome* an extraordinary Inundation of the *Tyber*, to the great Terrour of the Inhabitants, for the Tide and Winds from the Sea keeping back the Stream of the River, made it overflow the Banks, and do a great deal of Damage. The like, but much more dreadful Calamity, happened to the *Hollanders* and their Neighbours, by an irruption of the Sea, which breaking through their Dykes and Banks, overflowed and drowned the Country a great way up.

The Proteſtants depart from the Dyet

A great Inundation at *Rome*.

The like in *Holland*.

At length, *October* 13, all the States, except the Proteſtants, being aſſembled in the Court-Hall, the Decree was read over to the Deputies of the Cities; but when they asked a Copy thereof, it was denied them, and ordered to be read once or twice more. And now, when for the moſt part all had approved the ſame, the Deputies of *Ausburg*, *Frankford*, *Ulm* and *Hall*, deſired time to conſider of it. Eight Days after the Deputies of the Duke of *Saxony* and the Aſſociates, went and told the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who is chief of the Princes of the Empire, That if they might be ſuffered to enjoy their Religion peaceably, until the ſitting of a

The Draught of the Decree read to the Deputies of the Cities but a Copy of it denied to them.

1530. Council, they would alſo contribute Money for the *Turkiſh* War. Being therefore ſent for next day to appear in Court, there was a certain form of Pacification read unto them; wherein they only were comprehended, who had approved the Decree that was made: whereupon a Debate ariſing, and the Deputies alledging it concerned not them; or if it did, that it ought to have been conceived in clearer terms, leſt by its ambiguity, it might afterward occaſion diſpute; they made anſwer, That they would make report thereof to the Emperour. Two days after, the Emperour ſent for the Deputies of *Strasburg*, and their Aſſociates, to come to his Lodgings; and in the Aſſembly of the States, ordered the Confutation of their Confeſſion of Faith to be read; a prolix, and biting Paper; eſpecially in that part where it treated of the Lord's Supper. The Authors thereof were, *John Faber* and *Eckius*; who having an odious Subject to deſcant on, made uſe of all the ſevere Reflections they could, that they might incenſe the Emperour and Princes. The upſhot of all was, That whereas, in matters of Religion, they profeſſed an Opinion different from all others, and approved that moſt grievous Errour about the Lord's Supper; That they had alſo thrown Images out of the Churches, aboliſhed the Maſs, pulled down Publick and Religious Houſes, built in former times by the Liberality of Emperours and Kings; cheriſhed and promoted ſeveral Sects, by Books and Pamphlets which they publiſhed, and diſperſed amongſt the People all over *Germany*: That therefore he again required them to retract and embrace the Ancient Religion; for that otherwiſe he would certainly do what in Duty he was obliged to do. Some time after they made anſwer, That in the Confutation, many things were read, otherwiſe than they were contained in their Paper: That ſome things alſo were ſo bitterly repreſented, that, if true, they deſerved not only cenſure, but puniſhment alſo; but that theſe things were not rightly charged upon them: for that no ſuch thing was done within their Cities; and if any perſon whoſoever, durſt break out into the like Licentiouſneſs, they would certainly be puniſhed for it: That ſince then, they had a clear Conſcience, that it was a weighty Cauſe, and that the Paper was very long, and could not be anſwered, before they had made a Report thereof to their Principals; therefore they deſired, in the firſt place, That a Copy of it might be given to them; and then, that no Credit ſhould be given to that Charge and Accuſation, before their Juſtification were heard and examined: That in all other things they were ready to ſerve his Imperial Majeſty to the utmoſt of their Power. The Emperour told them, He would conſider on't, and five Days after the Elector of *Brandenburg* made anſwer in his Name; That he could not give them a Copy; for that upon weighty conſiderations, the ſame had been denied to the Duke of *Saxony*, and that all farther Diſpute about Religion was prohibited: But that if they had a deſire to be reconciled, and to return again into the Boſom of the Church, he would not refuſe them the hearing of the Confutation read once or twice more: But that he charged them withal, That they would profeſs the ſame Religion that the other Princes and States did, and contribute Aid againſt the *Turk*; for that unleſs they would give way, and leave off to be ſo ſtubborn, he would by the Advice of the Pope and other Kings, act as it became him.

After ſome time granted them for Deliberation, they made their Reply, in preſence of all the States; That they had Orders to demand a Copy of what had been objected againſt their Confeſſion, that they might ſend it home; which in their Opinion was done, not for more Diſputes ſake, but, that if perhaps, the Learned Men, of the other ſide ſhould interpret the meaning of their Paper otherwiſe than it ought, or if any Crime might be laid to their Charge, they might be in a Readineſs to anſwer and juſtifie themſelves: That now, ſince by what they could retain in Memory of the Confutation read, they perceived that their Confeſſion was perverted, contrary to the Senſe and Meaning of their Magiſtrates, and otherwiſe interpreted than the very Words of it could bear; that, beſides, ſince many horrid things were reckoned up, which could in no ways be attributed to them, as they had ſaid before; they therefore again deſired and prayed, that they might have a Copy of the Confutation granted them, whereby they might be enabled to purge themſelves of what was objected againſt them; eſpecially ſeeing in the cloſe of their Confeſſion, they had begged of the Emperour, That he would refer this Difference about Religion, to the Determination of a Lawful Council of *Germany*, being the only way that had been always lookt upon as the moſt proper and convenient; and that therefore ſince they were reſolved to maintain no errour knowingly, nor to be obſtinate in any thing; they begged again and again, that the Cauſe might

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be decided by a Free and Holy Council: That they would not refuſe what ſhould therein be decreed, according to the Teſtimony of Holy Scripture: That in the mean time, they would ſerve the Emperour with their Lives and Fortunes; and that they had lately acquainted the Deputies of the Cities, with their Reſolutions, as to their contributing Aid and Aſſiſtance for the *Turkiſh* War; which was, That if Peace were ſetled throughout the Empire, and ſecurity given them for the free Exerciſe of their Religion, until the meeting of a Council, they were willing to contribute what in Reaſon they ought: For that the Year before they had liberally given, and more too than came to their ſhares: Which being ſo, and that ſince hitherto they had received no anſwer, they once more moſt earneſtly prayed, That Peace might be given to Religion; for that otherwiſe, though they might be never ſo willing, yet they would not be able to contribute any thing. The Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* ſaid, That he would make a Report of it to the Emperour. In the Afternoon, ſome Commiſſioners read unto them a Draught of the Pacification, wherein they only were comprehended, who ſhould receive the Decree, as hath been ſaid before, of the Duke of *Saxony* and his Aſſociates. They made anſwer, That neither was there a Copy of the Decree given them, nor were they comprehended therein, ſo that they could not promiſe any thing in the Names of their Principals; and that ſince the matter was ſtill left at an uncertainty, they expected to know the Emperour's Pleaſure therein, as they had alſo declared themſelves to the Elector of *Brandenburg*. The Deputies for the State of *Strasburg* in this Dyet were *James Sturmey* and *Matthias Pharrer*, and the former pleaded the Cauſe with the Emperour and Princes, both in the Name of his own City, and alſo of their Confederates. Whilſt theſe Matters were in Debate, the Cities of *Ausburg*, *Frankford*, *Ulm* and *Hall*, declined the Decree made about Religion, and urged a Council: But *Faber* and *Eckius*, for writing the Confutation, demanded and obtained a Reward from the Princes, promiſing their Services in defence of the Popiſh Religion for the future. For theſe, as generally all the reſt, propoſed to themſelves Preferment, by the down-fall of *Luther*; and *Faber* afterwards obtained from King *Ferdinand* the Biſhoprick of *Vienna*: Hence it was that *Eraſmus* of *Rotterdam* was wont merrily to ſay, *That Poor* Luther *made many Rich.*

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Some Cities urge a Council.

Faber and *Eckius* well rewarded, which occaſioned a merry Saying of *Eraſmus*.

In the mean time the Deputies of *Saxony* and the Aſſociates preſented a Petition to the Emperour, praying his Majeſty to ſettle a publick Peace throughout *Germany*, and not ſuffer any Man to be moleſted or brought into Danger upon account of Religion. On the eleventh of *November* after, the Emperour ordered *Frederick* Prince *Palatine* to give them this Anſwer; That becauſe they had rejected the Decree, he had therefore entred into a Confederacy with the reſt, not offenſive but defenſive, in caſe any Violence ſhould be offered to thoſe who profeſſed the ſame Religion with him: That what they demanded, That they might not be ſued criminally, nor brought into the Crown-Office, was unreaſonable, ſince it properly belonged to his Duty, to adminiſter Juſtice to all, wherein he could not be empeached, nor have any thing preſcribed unto him. This being all they could obtain, they wrote a Letter to all the States, wherein having in ſhort, reſumed what had paſt, they deſired that in the cloſe of the Decree, the Names of their Princes might not be inſerted among the reſt: And ſeeing that they had in vain ſued for Peace, they could not contribute any thing towards the War againſt the *Turk*: That, beſides, ſince it was provided by the Decree, That they only ſhould have place in the Imperial Judicature and Chamber, who had admitted the ſame Decree, they deſired that might be altered and amended; for that otherwiſe, they could not contribute any thing towards the Charges of the Chamber. Having repreſented theſe things, *November* 12, in the Afternoon, they departed. We told you, in the Fifth Book, That *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, ſwore Allegiance to the King of *Poland*, and put himſelf under his Protection: Now the Emperour being ſollicited by *Walter Cronberg*, reſcinded that Tranſaction, as made in prejudice of the Empire; and *November* 14, declared it to be void and null.

The Agreement of the King of *Poland*, and Marqueſs *Albert of Brandenburg* made null.

Five Days after, the Decree was read in the Aſſembly of all the States, the Emperour being preſent; wherein, after a recapitulation of all the Proceedings, the Emperour Enacted and Decreed, That they ſhould not be tolerated for the future, who taught otherwiſe of the Lord's Supper, than had hitherto been obſerved: That nothing ſhould be changed in Publick or Private Maſs: That Children ſhould be Confirmed with *Chriſme*, and Sick People anointed with Conſecrated Oyl: That Pictures and Images ſhould not be removed, and where they had been taken away, ſhould be reſtored: That the Opinion of thoſe who denyed Man's Free-Will, ſhould

The Decree of *Ausburg*.

1530 not be received, becauſe it was brutiſh, and reproachful to God: That nothing ſhould be taught, which might any manner of way leſſen the Authority and Dignity of the Magiſtrate: That that Doctrin of Man's Juſtification by Faith alone, ſhould not be admitted: That the Sacraments of the Church ſhould be the ſame in Number, and have the ſame Veneration, as anciently: That all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, the Offices for the Dead, and the like, ſhould be obſerved: That vacant Benefices ſhould be conferred on fit Perſons: That Prieſts and Churchmen, who were Married, ſhould be turned out of their Livings, which immediately after this Dyet ſhould be given to others; but that ſuch as forſaking their Wives, ſhould return to their former State, and deſire to be abſolved, might be reſtored by their Biſhops, with conſent of the Pope or his Legate: That as for the reſt, they ſhould have no Refuge nor Sanctuary, but be baniſhed, or otherwiſe condignly puniſhed: That the Prieſts ſhould lead honeſt Lives, wear decent Apparel, and avoid giving of Scandal; That all unreaſonable Compacts and Agreements that Prieſts have been any where forced to make; and that all unjuſt Sale alſo of Church-Goods, or the application of the ſame to Profane Uſes, ſhould be *void and null*: That no Man ſhould be admitted to Preach, but he that had an Authentick Teſtimony from a Biſhop of the Soundneſs of his Doctrin and Converſation: That all ſhould obſerve the Rule here preſcribed in Preaching, and not venture upon that Expreſſion, which was uſual in Sermons, *That ſome were endeavouring to ſtifle the Light of the Goſpel:* That they ſhould alſo forbear flouting and reviling: That they ſhould exhort the People to hear Maſs, be diligent in Prayer, to invoke the Virgin *Mary*, and the reſt of the Saints, keep Holidays, Faſt, abſtain from Meats prohibited, and relieve the Poor: That they ſhould put it home to Monks and other Religious, That it was not lawful to forſake their Order and Profeſſion: In ſhort, That nothing ſhould be changed in thoſe things that concerned the Faith and Worſhip of God: That they who acted otherwiſe ſhould forfeit Lives and Goods: That what had been taken from the Clergy, ſhould be reſtored: That in thoſe Places where Monaſteries and other Religious Houſes had been demoliſhed, they ſhould be rebuilt, and the uſual Rites and Ceremonies performed in them: That they who within the Territories of the Adverſaries, followed the Ancient Faith and Religion, and ſubmitted to this Decree, ſhould be taken into the Protection of the Empire, and have liberty to depart whitherſoever they pleaſed, *without* any Prejudice: That Application ſhould be made to the Pope, about a Council, that within ſix Months he would call one to meet in a convenient Place, there to begin with the firſt Opportunity, and within a Year at fartheſt. That all theſe things ſhould be firm and ſtable, notwithſtanding any Exceptions or Appeals made or to be made to the contrary: That to the end this Decree might be obſerved and put into Execution, in as far as it concerned Faith and Religion, all Men ſhould be obliged to employ whatſoever Fortune God hath been pleaſed to beſtow upon them, and their Blood and Lives beſides: And that if any Man ſhould attempt any thing againſt another by Force, that the Imperial Chamber, upon Complaint thereof made, ſhould warn the Party that uſed Force, or offered Hoſtility, to deſiſt, and ſue his Adverſary at Law: That if he obeyed not, he ſhould be proſecuted criminally, and to an Outlawry, which being publiſhed, the neighbouring Princes and Cities ſhould be charged and commanded, forthwith to give Aid and Aſſiſtance to him that was in fear of being aſſaulted: But that no Man ſhould be admitted into the Judicature of the Chamber, unleſs he approved this Decree made about Religion; and that they who refuſed to do it, ſhould be turned out.

Luther's Book to the Biſhops and Prelates.

During this Dyet, *Luther* was at *Cobourg*, in the Borders of *Franconia*, by Command of his Prince, that he might be the nearer to *Ausburg*, in caſe there ſhould have been any need of his counſel. Now that he might in his abſence, contribute what he could to the Publick Good, he wrote a Book to the Biſhops and other Prelates in that Dyet, laying before them the ſtate of the Church under the *Roman* Papacy, how it had been overſpread with thick Darkneſs, Impious Doctrin, and Foul Errours, and admoniſhing them of their Duty, in moſt weighty and ſerious Words, he upbraids them with Cruelty and Bloody-mindedneſs. Moreover *he* exhorts them, not to let ſlip the Occaſion of healing the Evil; alledging, *That* ſince his Doctrin agreed with the Writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles, *all* counſels taken againſt God would be in vain. Whilſt the Emperour and Papiſts were thus venting their Rage and Threats againſt the Proteſtants, *Melanchthon* was very much dejected and diſconſolate, not, indeed, for his own ſake, but Poſterities, and thoſe who were to come after, and wholly gave himſelf over to Grief, Sighing and Tears.

Luther comforts dejected *Melanchthon.*

Fears. But when this came to *Luther*'s Knowledge, he endeavoured to Comfort and Chear him up by ſeveral Letters; and ſeeing this was not the Work of Man, but of God Almighty, he adviſes him to lay aſide all Thoughtfulneſs and Anxiety, and caſt the whole Burthen of it upon him: And why, ſaid he, do you in this manner Afflict and Torment your ſelf? If God gave his own Son for us, why do we Doubt and Fear, why are we caſt down and diſmayed? Is Satan ſtronger than he? Will he who has beſtowed ſo great a Bleſſing upon us, forſake us in ſmaller Matters? Why are we afraid of the World, which Chriſt hath overcome? If we maintain a bad Cauſe, why do we not change our Mind? If it be Juſt and Holy, why do we diſtruſt God's Promiſes? Certainly the Devil can take nothing from us but our Life; but Chriſt liveth and reigneth for ever, who taketh upon him the Defence and Protection of the Truth; he will not ceaſe to be with us until the conſummation of all things. If he be not with us, pray, where is he to be found? If we be not of the Church, do you think that the Pope and the reſt of our Adverſaries are? Sinners we are, 'tis true, and that in many things; yet Chriſt is not therefore a Lyer, whoſe Cauſe we maintain. Let Kings and the Nations fret and rage, as much as they pleaſe, he that dwelleth in Heaven ſhall hold them in Deriſion. God hath hitherto, without our Counſel, governed and protected this Cauſe, he alſo will henceforward, bring it to the deſired end. What you write of the Laws and Traditions of Men, may eaſily be anſwered: For it is not lawful for any Man to appoint or chuſe a new Work, as the Worſhip of God; ſince both the firſt Commandment, and all the Prophets, condemn ſuch Works. They may, indeed, be a bodily Exerciſe; but if they come once to be worſhiped, they become Idolatrous. As for any Reconciliation, it is in vain hoped for; for neither can we depoſe the Pope, nor can the True Religion be ſafe, ſo long as Popery continues. That ye give the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Both kinds, and yield not to the Adverſaries in that, who will have it to be indifferent, you do well; for it is not in our Power, to appoint or tolerate any thing in the Church, which cannot be defended by the Word of God. We condemn the whole Church, cry they: But we ſay, That the Church was unwillingly ſurpriſed and oppreſſed by the Tyranny of a divided and half-Sacrament, and is therefore to be excuſed, in the ſame manner as the whole Synagogue was to be excuſed, when being captive in *Babylon*, it obſerved not the Law, and other Rites of *Moſes*, for it was hindered by Force, that it could not. Take ſpecial heed, that ye grant not too great a Juriſdiction to Biſhops, leſt more Trouble enſue thereupon hereafter. For my part, I diſlike all this Treaty about accommodating the Difference in Religion; for it is all Labour in vain, unleſs the Pope would utterly aboliſh his Kingdom. If they condemn our Doctrin, why do we ſeek for an Uniformity? if they approve it, why are the Ancient Errours retained? but they openly condemn it. All they do then, is but Sham and Diſſimulation. They take a great deal of Pains, as it appears, about Ceremonies: But let them firſt reſtore the Doctrin of Faith and Works: Let them ſuffer the Church to have Miniſters, that will perform the neceſſary Duties. They require that Monks may be again put into poſſeſſion; but let them, on the other hand, give us back ſo many Innocent and Pious Men, whom they have ſlain; let them reſtore ſo many Souls, loſt by Impious and Erroneous Doctrin; let them reſtore thoſe great Revenues got by Fraud and Knavery; let them, in ſhort, reſtore the Glory of God, diſhonoured by ſo many Reproaches. When once they have made Satisfaction as to theſe things, then will we reaſon the caſe with them, who has the beſt right to the Goods of the Church. Since the chief, and almoſt ſole difference betwixt *Luther* and ſome others was, about the Lord's Supper, as we have ſaid before, and that that exceedingly rejoyced the Papiſts, as it grieved the others. *Bucer*, with the conſent of the Elector of *Saxony*, and his own Magiſtrates, went from *Ausburg* to *Luther*, to attempt a Reconciliation, and had a very fair Anſwer from him; inſomuch that he made a Progreſs from thence to *Zuinglius* and the *Switzers*, that he might eſſay to unite them more cloſely in Mind and Opinion. This, then, being the ſtate of Affairs, and all things tending to Stirs and Troubles, the Landgrave concluded a League for ſix Years with the Cities of *Zurich*, *Baſil* and *Strasburg*, That if any Violence ſhould be offered upon the account of Religion, they ſhould mutually aid and aſſiſt one another: And this League was made in the Month of *November*.

1530.

Bucer Eſſaies a Reconciliation betwixt *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, &c.

The Landgrave makes a League with *Zurich*, *Baſil* and *Strasburg*, upon account of Religion.

At the ſame time the Emperour wrote to the Elector of *Saxony*, commanding him to come to *Cologne* by the 21 day of *December*, about difficult and weighty Affairs, relating to the Publick. The ſame Day he received this Letter, which was *November*

1530. *vember* 28, he had a Meſſenger with Letters from the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the deſign whereof, was to acquaint him; That the Emperour had deſired of him, that he would aſſemble the Princes Electors, about the election of a King of the *Romans*; and therefore he cited him to be preſent at *Cologne* *December* 29. This thing being known, the Duke of *Saxony* forthwith diſpatched Letters to the Landgrave, and the reſt of the Proteſtant Princes and Cities, praying them to meet at *Smalcalde*, *December* 22; but, in the mean time, he ſent away in all haſte, his Son *John Frederick*, with ſome of his Counſellors to *Cologne*, that they might be preſent at the Day appointed by the Emperour. To them he gave Orders to repreſent, That the Citation of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* was not legally made; and that this ſame creation of a King of the *Romans* was a ſignal Violation of the Right and Liberty of the Empire, and of the Statute of the Emperour *Charles* IV: And that therefore he did not ratifie nor approve that Proceeding. When all met at *Smalcalde*, they drew up the Draught of a League, not Offenſive, but altogether for their own Defence. This was immediately ſigned by the Princes, as alſo by *Albert* and *Gebard* Counts of *Mansfield*, the Cities of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen*; but *Strasburg*, *Ulm*, *Conſtance*, *Lindaw*, *Memmingen*, *Kempen*, *Hailbrun*, *Rutéling*, *Bibrach* and *Iſne*, engaged only ſo far, as that they would acquaint their Principles therewith, and give the reſt a poſitive Anſwer within ſix Weeks, what they intended to do. It was agreed upon to write to *George* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and the City of *Norimberg*, becauſe their Deputies had no Commiſſion to act in that affair. It was likewiſe decreed, That Ambaſſadours ſhould be ſent to ſollicit the King of *Denmark*, and the Dukes of *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburg*, as alſo the Cities of *Hamburg*, *Embden*, *Northeime*, *Frankford*, *Brunſwick*, *Gottingen*, *Minden*, *Hannover*, *Hildeſheim*, *Lubeck*, *Stetin*, and other Maritime Cities.

The Elector of *Saxony* cited by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, for chuſing a King of the *Romans*.

The *Smalcaldick* League among the Proteſtants.

When the Pope underſtood, what the Iſſue of this Imperial Dyet was, he wrote, among others, to the King of *Poland*; That he had fully hoped, the Preſence and Authority of the Emperour, would either have quite cruſhed, or at leaſt, quieted *Luther*'s Hereſie: That he had been put into this Hope from the very firſt time the Emperour came into *Italy*; which had been the chief Cauſe why he went to *Bolonia*, that he might ſpur him on, though he was forward enough of himſelf: For if that had ſucceeded, it would have ſecured Religion, and the Salvation of a great many, who were in great Danger through that Hereſie, and then ways might have been found out for reſiſting the Fury of the *Turks*: But now that he underſtood by Letters, both from the Emperour and his own Legate, that they were ſo far from being reclaimed, they were more and more hardened, he who ſat at the Helm, to ſteer the Ship of S. *Peter*, in ſo tempeſtuous a time, and bore the greateſt ſhare of all the Care and Trouble, having conſulted with the Cardinals, could not think of any ſafer Remedy, than that which his Predeceſſors had had recourſe unto, to wit, a General Council: That therefore he gave him warning, that when this Deſign ſhould be accompliſhed, he would either be preſent himſelf, or by his Ambaſſadours promote ſo Holy a Cauſe; for that ſo ſoon as poſſibly he could, he would call a Council to meet in ſome convenient Place in *Italy*. This Brief was dated *December* 1.

The Pope's Complaint to the King of *Poland*.

The Proteſtants Letter to the Emperour about the Election of a King of the *Romans*.

The Confederate Princes, we named, wrote to the Emperour from *Smalcalde*, *December* 24; That they heard, and it was commonly reported, That he had a Deſign to have his Brother *Ferdinand* choſen King of the *Romans*, a Dignity which he ſolicitouſly courted and canvaſſed for: That it was a thing now known to all Men, what Power and Right the Princes Electors had in that affair, by virtue of the Statute of the Emperour *Charles* IV, when upon the Death of the Emperour, another was to be choſen in the Name of the whole Body of the Empire: That nevertheleſs, his Majeſty being alive and in Health, and no ſuch caſe having as yet happened, the Princes Electors had been ſummoned by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, to meet at *Cologne* towards the latter end of this Month, quite contrary to the Proſcript of the Law, and the Cuſtom of the Empire: That they likewiſe heard, That at his Requeſt, the reſt of the Electors were alſo to be there, that *Ferdinand*'s Suit and Pretention might be carried by way of Anticipation and Compact; ſo that this being the Report that went far and near, they thought good to repreſent a few things unto his Majeſty; and that though they had rather abſtain from this kind of Diſcourſe, yet for the Love they bore to him, and the Liberty of their Country handed down to them from their Anceſtors; and then, in conſideration that in this Decrepit Age of the World, many things were ſurreptitiouſly and craftily brought to paſs, they could not otherwiſe chuſe but do it. That in the firſt place, then, his Majeſty knew, how ſeriouſly and ſolemnly, and by what expreſs Words and Articles,

*tic*es, he had bound and obliged himſelf to the Empire: How he had promiſed by Oath to obſerve the *Caroline* Conſtitution, on which the Liberty of the Empire chiefly depended; how he had ſtipulated neither to act any thing himſelf contrary thereunto, nor ſuffer others to do it; which were Compacts and Promiſes that could not be violated, broken nor changed, unleſs with the Advice and Conſent of all the States: But that now, if whilſt he was alive, a King of the *Romans* ſhould be choſen, and that his own Brother too, who canvaſſed and made ſuit for it; he himſelf could not but ſee that it was plainly contrary to Law, contrary to the Right and Liberty of the Empire, and contrary to his Compact and Stipulation, and the Faith and Promiſe, whereby he bound himſelf to the State: Nay, and how convenient and uneaſie it muſt alſo be, both to himſelf and the whole Empire, when at the ſelf ſame time, there would be two Lords and Maſters to be obeyed. And that ſeeing they would take it very ill, if they themſelves ſhould either be upbraided with the Breach of Faith and Promiſe; or with Baſeneſs, in not defending the Rights and Liberty of the Government; therefore they moſt earneſtly beſought his Majeſty, to impute this their Letter, to the love they bore to him and their native Country, and the preſent ſtate of the Times: That he would reflect upon things paſt, and according to Duty, interpoſe his Authority for preventing the Election of any new King, weighing ſeriouſly with himſelf what Evils and Inconveniences might follow thereupon, unleſs a Remedy were applyed in time: That they would write of theſe things to the reſt of the Electors alſo; and were in good Hopes, they would do what was expedient for the Commonwealth, and endeavour to prevent any Rupture or Diviſion among the States: That, in fine, they were ready to ſerve his Majeſty, and do for him, to the utmoſt of their Power. Afterwards the Duke of *Saxony* wrote by himſelf to the reſt of the Princes his Collegues; That ſince he was cited by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* to appear at *Cologne*, he had therefore ſent thither his Son and ſome Counſellors, that in his Name they might propound and act what ſhould be thought needful: That he believed they had heard already part of his Thoughts from them; and ſhould hear the reſt on *December* 29: That however he prayed them to deſiſt from their Purpoſe, and conſider with him, What Prejudices and Inconveniencies, that Action would bring with it, both to themſelves, and to their Poſterity alſo, through the Violation of the Rights, Dignity and Liberty of the Empire: That it was his Deſire alſo, That in thoſe things which his Son and Counſellors might treat of with them, they would ſo behave themſelves, as it might plainly appear, That the Intereſt of the Publick, and their native Country, were dear unto them. At the ſame time the Duke of *Lunenburg*, the Landgrave, and the Counts of *Anhalt* and *Mansfield*, wrote at large to the Electors, to the ſame purpoſe, ſeriouſly adviſing them, that they would not offer ſuch Injury to the Laws and Rights of their Country; and the rather, ſince it was a common Report, That there were Bribes and Promiſes in the caſe, which was directly contrary to the *Caroline* Conſtitutions. Afterwards, on the laſt of *December*, both the Princes and Cities, we named before, wrote to the Emperour a common Letter, in all their Names; wherein they reſumed all the Proceedings at *Ausburg*, what Solſicitations they had made for Peace, what Anſwer his Majeſty made at length, eſpecially concerning the Actions of the Crown, and what kind of Decree was afterwards made there; and that though his Majeſty had himſelf qualified that Expreſſion of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, by telling them that the Agreement he had made with the reſt of the Princes, was not Offenſive, but only for the Defence of himſelf and Cauſe; yet, nevertheleſs, if that Authority ſpecified in the Decree, ſhould be given to the Imperial Chamber, who could doubt but that it might extend to Force and Violence? Since therefore both they and their Anceſtors, had given evident Proofs of their Zeal and Affection, both towards him and his Predeceſſors, they prayed, That as he had in Word ſoftned that Expreſſion of the Elector of *Brandenburg*'s, ſo he would alſo really and indeed mitigate and put a ſtop to thoſe Proſecutions of the Chamber, that they might have aſſurance, until the meeting of a Free and Holy Council, that they needed not be afraid of any thing: And that if they could obtain this at his Majeſties Hands, they would hereafter, as in Times paſt, contribute their Money, Aid and Aſſiſtance, not only towards the *Turkiſh* War, but alſo for the other Publick Uſes of the Government. 1530.

The Reaſons of creating a King of the *Romans*.

In the firſt meeting of the Princes Electors at *Cologne*, the Emperour gave theſe Reaſons for creating a King of the *Romans*. Becauſe he himſelf had ſeveral Kingdoms and People to govern, and could not be always in *Germany*: Becauſe Chriſtendom, and eſpecially *Germany*, was in a Troubleſome and Dangerous State, by

Reaſon

1530. Reaſon of the Difference in Religion, the Power and Force of the *Turks*, the late Inſurrection and Rebellion of the Boors, and becauſe many things were undutifully and diſobediently acted in *Germany*; for that though by their own Advice and Conſent, in former Years, there had been a Senate and Judicature of the Empire appointed, yet it was not obeyed, as it ought to have been: And that therefore it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to him, for the Welfare of the State, that a King of the *Romans* ſhould be choſen, who might under him, and in his abſence, be, as it were, another Head of the Empire; that he ought to be a Man of Parts, Vigilant, Induſtrious and Powerful, a Lover of Peace and Concord, acquainted with the Affairs of the Empire, and in ſhort, altogether ſuch, as he himſelf might Truſt and Relie upon: But that he knew no Man more capable, of that Province, than his own Brother *Ferdinand*, King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; whoſe Limits and Kingdoms were as a Wall and Rampart for the Safety and Preſervation of *Germany* againſt the cruelty of the *Turks*. The Princes Electors, after deliberation had, praid the Emperour that he would not leave *Germany*, but ſettle his Court and Reſidence in it: But he perſiſting in his Purpoſe, on the Fifth of *January* they declared *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. The Elector of *Saxony* did all he could, which was to make his Son give Reaſons why he could not approve that Election, and to proteſt againſt it as illegall. Long before the Dyet of *Ausburg* broke up, there was a Report ſpread abroad, That *Ferdinand* would be promoted to that Dignity. From *Cologne* they went all afterwards to *Aix la Chapelle*, where King *Ferdinand* was Inſtalled on the eleventh of *January*; who preſently diſpatched Letters to give notice of it all over *Germany*: The Emperour alſo commanded by Proclamation, That all ſhould own him for King of the *Romans*, and wrote ſeparately to the Proteſtants, to the ſame purpoſe. In the mean while that the Emperour was at *Cologne*, the Proteſtants Letter was delivered unto him, wherein they deſired to be exempted from the Proſecutions of the Imperial Chamber, as we ſaid before. Thereunto he made anſwer at *Aix la Chapelle*, *January* 13, by the Mouth of *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*; That they needed not to go any farther, or wait longer for any Anſwer; for that he had not as yet conſidered of it, but that he would in time think on what anſwer he ſhould give them. Having done ſo, he went into *Brabant*, a Province of the *Netherlands*.

1531. *Ferdinand* declared King of the *Romans*.

BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK VIII.

The CONTENTS.

The Princes assembled at Smalkalde *dispatch Letters to the Kings of* England *and* France, *wherein they let them understand what false Reports are gone abroad against them. They solicite the King of* Denmark, *and the Maritime Cities to joyn with them in the League, as far as they shall think it convenient. The* Switzers *are not admitted into this Confederacy. The King of* France *returns an Answer to the Protestants Letters, and the King of* England *does the same. The Embassadors of the Cities deliver in at* Franckford *their Sentiments concerning the Creation of a King of the* Romans, *and there likewise the Controversie between the Bishop of* Bamburg *and* George *Duke of* Brandenburg *is agitated. The Emperor appoints a Diet to meet at* Spiers, *to which the Elector of* Saxony *refuses to come. There are some Conditions laid down, upon which the Protestants do promise to make their appearance there. A Civil War breaks out between those of* Zurich *and the five Confederate Cantons; in which* Zuinglius *is slain: Soon after* OEcolampadius *departs this life. A Treaty is held about entring into a Peace with the Protestants, till such time as a Council should sit.——Christiern King of* Denmark *is taken Prisoner.* Solyman *the Grand Seignior invades* Austria, *and is driven out of it again. The Elector of* Saxony *dies. The Pope sends an Embassador into* Germany, *to propound certain Rules and Methods for the holding of the intended Council; to each of which the Duke of* Saxony, *having diligently consider'd the matter, returns a very full Answer within a few days.*

IN the former Convention at *Smalkalde*, this, among other things, was agreed upon, that since the Adversaries were very busie in throwing dirt upon their Cause, and endeavour'd every where by numerous Calumnies to bring their Profession of the Gospel into Disgrace, the Kings of *England* and *France* should in the first place be written to, that they would not suffer themselves to be influenc'd by such false Reproaches. Accordingly on the 16 day of *Febr.* the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, *Lunenburg*, and the *Lantgrave*, together with the Cities of *Strasburg*, *Nurenburg*, *Magdeburg*, and *Ulm*, did, both in their own Names, and in the Names of the several Princes and Cities, their Allies, dispatch Letters of the same purport to both those Princes. That they could not but know how of a long time Complaint had been made against Ecclesiastical Corruptions; which had often been observ'd, and with much Gravity reprehended by many eminent Men; and of late, for instance, by *John Gerson* in *France*, and *John Colet* in *England*. That the same thing had of late years happen'd in *Germany*; where a sort of Expiations, commonly call'd *Indulgences*, had been carry'd up and down by certain Monks, which to the great

1531.

The Protestants Letters to the Kings of *England* and *France*.

1531. Reproach of Chriſtianity, and the eminent endangering of mens Salvation, they every where recommended, and in an infamous manner expos'd to ſale; whereupon they were by ſome very good and learned Men gently admoniſhed not to do ſo any more; but ſo far were they from deſiſting, that they flew with great Indignation in the face of their Monitors; which put theſe upon a neceſſity of undertaking the defence and vindication of the Truth; and upon this occaſion they were forc'd to inſpect and cenſure ſeveral other Practices. On the other ſide the Adverſaries, who by their impudent Tricks, and holy Cheats had given the great occaſion of Scandal, never reſted till they had procur'd this Doctrin (which was thus advanc'd againſt their trifling Impoſtures) to be condemn'd as Impious, before any juſt or legal Cognizance had been taken of it; and to the end that they might utterly cruſh and ſink it, they had found out ways to render it highly odious both to the Emperor and other Princes. But Truth, like the Sun, diſplaying it's light, made it manifeſt to all, beyond the poſſibility of denying, that many ill things, through the depravity of ſome Men's judgments, had crept into the Church. That the States of the Empire had in the firſt Diet, which the Emperor held at *Wormes*, exhibited many things by way of Petition, which they ſaid ought of neceſſity to be redreſs'd. Afterwards, when the matter had along time been debated in ſeveral other Conventions of the Empire between the States and the Emperor's Embaſſadors, it was adjudg'd by the unanimous conſent of all, That the beſt and moſt expeditious way of ending the Controverſie would be by a free Council of the Chriſtian World. That the Emperor too was well pleas'd with this Method, as ſoon as he knew of it; and from that time the matter under deliberation was the time and place for holding the Council, as may appear from the Decrees that then were made. But when the Emperor was come from *Spain*, through *Italy* into *Germany*, his whole endeavour at the Diet of *Auſpurg* was, that the matter might be taken up without a Council; which they believ'd he did with a good intent, and therefore they made a publick recitation of their Confeſſion in that Aſſembly, which they preſented to him, and offer'd, if there ſhould be occaſion, a farther Explication of it: That ſoon after a Writing was recited in anſwer to this their Confeſſion; of which when they requeſted a Copy from the Emperor, they could not obtain it, but upon ſuch a condition, as might have prov'd dangerous and enſnaring unto them. After this there were ſome choſen out of the whole number to be as it were Umpires and Arbitrators in the Caſe: but neither could they ſo agree, although 'twas profeſs'd on their ſide, that they would do any thing that might be done with a ſafe Conſcience: Then were there ſome Propoſals made by the Emperor to be obſerv'd till the time that a Council might be call'd; but of ſuch a nature, that they could not comply with them, without offending God, and injuring their own Conſciences. But when after all, a very harſh Edict had been ſet forth by the Emperor, they were then of neceſſity conſtrain'd to Appeal to a free Religious Council. And altho this be the true ſtate of the Caſe, this the preſent condition of Affairs; altho they deſire nothing more than that their Cauſe may be fairly heard and known; yet they are inform'd that their Adverſaries make it their ſole buſineſs to exaſperate the Emperor and other Princes againſt them by ſcandalous Reports; that ſeveral Opinions, unjuſtly imputed to them, are ſcatter'd up and down; ſuch as are not only diſſonant from Holy Writ, but ev'n from common ſenſe; ſuch, as ſhould any one endeavour to propagate within their Dominions, he would not eſcape unpuniſh'd. Again, how great the dangers are wherewith they are threatned upon the ſcore of their Profeſſion, there is no body but plainly ſees; in which certainly they would never involve themſelves, were they not aſſured, that this their Doctrin is agreeable to the Word of God, and therefore to be adher'd to for the Glory of his holy Name. Tho on the other ſide their Adverſaries did inſinuate with Strangers, that they did not imbrace this kind of Doctrin upon any religious account, but only for an opportunity of invading the Goods of the Church; but that this Calumny had already been anſwer'd in the former Diets, and would ſtill be more particularly refuted in a general Council. In the mean time wiſe and judicious Men, upon comparing their dangers and advantages together, might eaſily ſee, that this Charge is no leſs abſurd and ridiculous, than 'tis cruel and malicious. For is it poſſible that there ſhould be any Church Poſſeſſions within their Territories ſo great, that for their ſakes they ſhould ſo evidently hazard their Reputation and Honour, their Wives and Children, their Lives and Eſtates? Can there be any advantages

The Proteſtants Confeſſion at *Auſpurg*

The Proteſtants Appeal to a free Council.

Calumny againſt the Proteſtants.

dvantages ſo dear and charming, to which they would not mightily prefer the Favour of the Emperor and ſuch glorious Kings as themſelves? Certain it is, that their Anceſtors and fore-Fathers had not only liv'd in Splendor at home, but alſo help'd to ſuſtain the Publick Charge, without laying hands upon conſecrated Goods; nay they erected and liberally endow'd ſeveral new Churches, as likewiſe enrich'd and beautify'd the old ones. As to the Eccleſiaſtical Poſſeſſions within their Dominions, they are but moderate, and though they are neceſſary for the Support of thoſe Miniſters, who are appointed for the Inſtruction of the People, and whoſe annual Incomes are now grown very ſlender; yet do they not refuſe, if a Council ſhall judge it fit, to have them converted to other pious Uſes; provided it be ſuch a Council where prejudice and partiality do not prevail. But this above all is the fouleſt Scandal, this the higheſt and moſt dangerous Charge, that the Doctrine, which they profeſs, tends to the ſubverſion of Magiſtrates, and to the enervating the force of Laws: but to this Accuſation an Anſwer was given in that Writing, which they exhibited and recited at *Auſpurg*. Nay this moreover may be ſaid, that the learned Men of theſe times have done more towards the adorning of Magiſtracy, and maintaining the Dignity of Laws, than any former Age hath done: for they made it their buſineſs ſo to inſtruct and form the minds of Men, that the Magiſtrate himſelf might clearly underſtand his ſtation and condition of life to be highly acceptable to God; and the People on the other part might be ſenſible, that Honour and Obedience to the Magiſtrate was required from them by the Law of God, who would not hold him guiltleſs who ſhould offer Contempt to the Power ordained by Him. Beſides, ſince they themſelves by the Divine bounty are appointed Governors over others, what a madneſs muſt it be for them to tolerate ſuch a Doctrine, as would let looſe the reigns upon the necks of Men, diſſolve their Obedience, and arm the People againſt themſelves? What their preſent ſenſe is of the Governors of the Church they have manifeſtly declar'd in the foreſaid Writing, *viz.* That they are convinc'd of the legality of adminiſtring Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and that the Miniſtry of the Word, or the Power of the Keys is entertain'd by them with the greateſt Veneration. 1531.

And now ſince they underſtand themſelves to be loaded with theſe and ſuch like *Imputations*; and being ſenſible how much it would be for the Publick Intereſt, that they, who are Princes of ſo great prudence and authority, ſhould have a right and regular underſtanding of the Cauſe; they were therefore willing, for the better clearing of themſelves, to acquaint them throughly with theſe things in writing, and humbly to intreat them that they would not give Credit to thoſe Calumnies, nor entertain any ſiniſter opinion of them; but that they would keep themſelves unprejudic'd, till they have an opportunity given them publickly to clear themſelves, which is the thing they moſt earneſtly deſire. They likewiſe beſeech them to uſe their Intereſt with the Emperor, that, ſince the greatneſs of the Cauſe, and the good of the whole Church requires it, he would convene a free and religious Council in *Germany* as ſoon as may be; and that he would not determine too ſeverely againſt them, till the matter was legally debated and decided.

For that hitherto they had always faithfully diſcharg'd their Duty to the Empire, and that 'tis neither out of covetouſneſs nor petulancy, but for the Glory of God, and in Obedience to his Commands, that they now make Profeſſion of this Doctrine, for which they are call'd in queſtion: And this 'tis that gives them the greater hopes that their Requeſts will not be rejected by them: For it muſt needs highly redound to their Honour, if by their Authority and Interpoſition they could ſo bring it about, that theſe Controverſies might not be decided by the Sword, but that a right Judgment might be made of things, that ſo theſe Diſtempers might be healed, and the Churches reconcil'd, and no violence offer'd to the Conſciences of Men. Laſtly, they ſhould eſteem it a very ſignal Favour, if they would let them underſtand by Letters their Pleaſure in this Affair.

In the month of *February* the Elector of *Saxony* ſummon'd all his Allies to make their Appearance at *Smalcalde* on the 29*th* day of *March*, there to concert about making a Defence againſt any Hoſtile attempt that might be made. Theſe were thoſe Princes and Cities we before mention'd; but the Duke of *Saxony* being himſelf ill, ſent thither his Son *John Frederick*. In the former Convention it was agreed upon to ſolicite *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, together with the *Saxon* and

A Convention of the Proteſtants at Smalcalde.

1531. Maritime Cities concerning the League. Therefore now at their ſecond meeting, that Tranſaction is reported, together with what Anſwer each of them did make. The *Dane* reply'd, That truly the Doctrine of the Goſpel was very dear unto him; but that he had in his Kingdom many Biſhops, who were very powerful as well in Wealth as in their dependencies and conjunction with the Nobility; and therefore it would not be ſafe for him to enter into the League as King; but however he refus'd not to do it in right of thoſe his Provinces, which held of the Empire. *Henry* of *Mecklenburg* excus'd himſelf upon the account that his Embaſſadors had ſubſcrib'd the *Auguſtane* Decree; however he promis'd that he would not be their Enemy. *Bernin* Prince of *Pomerania* ſaid, That he was not at all averſe, but that the chief management of affairs was yet wholly in the hands of his elder Brother. The *Lubeckers* did not decline it, but ſaid it ought to be conſider'd that they had been at vaſt Expences in the War; and if *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*, who was driven from his Kingdom, ſhould attempt any thing, they deſired to know what Aſſiſtance they might expect from them. The *Lunenburgers* declar'd, That they would do whatever ſhould ſeem good to *Erneſtus* their Prince. The next things that fell under their deliberation were the procuring of Votes for the ſpeedy raiſing of Forces, the Contribution of mony for the keeping up thoſe Forces, the choice of Commanders, and the admitting thoſe into the League, which were willing to come in; the appointment likewiſe of Proctors and Advocates, who might anſwer for them in Court, if any Suit ſhould ariſe in the *Exchequer*, either by the Command of the Emperor, or the Solicitation of others. To this branch of the defence *George* Duke of *Brandenburg*, together with the Cities of *Nuremburg*, *Camin*, and *Heilsburg* do make themſelves Parties, though the League it ſelf they refus'd. It was farther decreed, That all notorious Enormities ſhould be ſeverely puniſh'd in each of their Dominions. But before they enter'd into the League, not only the Lawyers, but Divines alſo were admitted into the Conſult. It had indeed been always the Doctrine of *Luther*, That Magiſtrates ought not to be reſiſted, and upon this Subject there was a Book of his Extant. But when the Learned in the Law had in this Conſult declar'd, That Reſiſtance is ſometimes permitted by the Laws, and had ſhewn that the preſent State of affairs was ſuch, as the Laws, in relation to that caſe, do particularly mention; *Luther* ingenuouſly confeſs'd that indeed he had been ignorant of this Legality: But now ſince the Goſpel, according to his conſtant Doctrine, does not militate againſt, nor aboliſh political Laws; and ſince things might ſo fall out in theſe perilous and difficult times, that not only the Law it ſelf, but alſo neceſſity of Conſcience might call upon them to Arm; he therefore pronounces that they may juſtly make a League in their own defence, if either the Emperor himſelf, or any body elſe in his Name, ſhould make War upon them. He likewiſe publiſhes a Writing, wherein he expreſſes how obſtinate the Papiſts had been in the Diet of *Auſpurg*, and then ſtrictly charges all Men not to yield Obedience to thoſe Magiſtrates that ſhould command their aſſiſtance in ſuch a War. And having ript up the many grievous Errors of the Popiſh Doctrines, he tells them, that whoever liſt themſelves on that ſide, do take up Arms in defence of thoſe Errors; and this he ſaies is highly wicked and ſinful. Having therefore ſhewn them how much the minds of Men were in theſe daies enlightned by the knowledge of the Goſpel, he exhorts them to forbear aſſociating themſelves in ſo impious a War.

Some of the Cities had ſo dealt with thoſe of *Zurich*, *Bern* and *Baſil*, that they promis'd not to refuſe the League, provided they might be admitted indefinitely without exception to any of their Opinions; which *John Frederick* promis'd he would report unto his Father. As to what was propounded about providing for their defence, the Cities declare, That they will give in their full Anſwer in relation to that buſineſs in the next Aſſembly at *Franckfort*; and as to the creating a King of the *Romans*, the Princes determine, as before, That they will not yield Obedience. And ſince the Emperor had by his Letters commanded them to acknowledge *Ferdinand* for King of the *Romans*, it was agreed that the Prince of *Saxony* ſhould in the mean time draw up the Form of an Anſwer, which ſhould be produc'd in publick at *Franckfort*; and that then the Cities likewiſe ſhould declare their Sentiments about creating King *Ferdinand*. The fourth of *June* is the day appointed for the Convention of *Franckford*. In the mean time, during their ſtay at *Smalcalde*, they receive Letters from the Emperor, to acquaint them, that he is from all parts allarm'd with the news of the *Turks* deſign to invade *Germany* with

News of the *Turks* Incurſions.

with a mighty Army; his Commands therefore are, that they contribute their Aids without any Exception. They, after the manner of their Anceſtors, do declare, that they will not decline the ſuſtaining any Charge, or the doing any good Office, which they owe to the Publick; but that he himſelf muſt needs know, what was the purport of the Elector of *Brandenburg*'s Speech at the Diet of *Auſpurg*, which yet he himſelf did afterwards in ſome meaſure qualifie, as likewiſe what was then and there decreed concerning the Imperial-Chamber; that they then did make it their earneſt requeſt that he would by his authority ſet aſide all actions that might be iſſu'd out from the Imperial-Chamber upon the ſcore of Religion; but being then not able to prevail, they had ſome few months ſince renew'd their Requeſts, both by their Letters and Embaſſadors; but could obtain no other anſwer, but what the Palatine *Frederick* had at length given their Embaſſadors, *viz.* That 'twas to no purpoſe for them to proceed or expect any farther; but that he would at his own leiſure conſider what anſwer was fit to be made. This they confeſs was much beſide their expectation, however they could not imagine, but that ſome time or other ſomething would have been offer'd by way of anſwer. 1531.

Now in that they are urg'd to contribute their aſſiſtance againſt the *Turk*, before they have made their own Peace at home; the World may eaſily judge how dangerous and inconſiderate an action it would be in them to part with their own Defences, and as it were ham-ſtring themſelves in ſo difficult a juncture, when they can hardly expect any thing at home but Confiſcations and Violence. For ſhould actions be let looſe upon them from the Exchequer upon the account of Religion, who can doubt but this would be a direct act of violence? they therefore again and again entreat him, that he would come to ſome determination at laſt, and afford them ſome peace and ſecurity, by ſuſpending all Exchequer actions till the time of a Council; that they on their parts would to the utmoſt of their power endeavour to diſcharge their duty not only in this War againſt the *Turks*, but alſo in all other concerns of the Publick. Their farther requeſt is, that he would acquaint them by theſe Embaſſadors what his Reſolutions are in this affair.

The death of the Archbiſhop of *Triers*.

In the month of *March*, *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Triers* departed this life, whoſe authority among the Electors was very conſiderable, both for his great experience in affairs, and his endeavours after Liberty. There was ſome ſuſpition of Poiſon, and one of his Domeſticks being put to the Torture, did by his hardineſs and conſtancy eſcape the danger. At the earneſt requeſt which thoſe of *Ulm* did make to the Senate of *Strasburg*, *Bucer* was ſent unto them, who by the help of *Oecolampadius* and *Ambroſe Blaurer* conſtituted Churches within their Territories, and drew up for them a religious Form. About this time there came into the *Netherlands Mary* the Emperors own Siſter, whoſe Husband, as we ſaid before, was *Lewis* King of *Hungary*. She was by the Emperor ſubſtituted Governeſs of all thoſe Provinces in the room of *Margaret* his Aunt, lately deceaſed. There was a Conteſt between *Clement* the Seventh and *Alfonſus* Duke of *Ferrara* about *Regium* and *Modena*, which by mutual conſent they ſubmitted to the Arbitration of the Emperor; who, being at this time in the *Low Countries*, pronounces for the Duke of *Ferrara*.

The Queen of *Hungary* is made Governeſs of the *Netherlands*.

The Emperor is made Umpire between the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara*.

The King of *France* on the 21 of *April* returns this anſwer to the Letters which were ſent him from the Princes and Cities. That there is nothing which he more heartily wiſhes for, than the Peace of *Europe*, and that he is not a little pleas'd to find their Inclinations that way, and that to this end they deſire a Council may be call'd, which to him ſeems not only convenient but neceſſary. For where-ever mention is made of healing the Publick Breaches, there 'tis always his judgment, that they cannot poſſibly lay a firmer Foundation for it, than by calling in the Bleſſed Spirit, that gracious diſcoverer of Truth, to their aſſiſtance: and would but the reſt come to this Reſolution; was there but a place free from all danger or ſuſpicion ſet apart for the Council, where every one might have liberty to ſpeak freely his Opinion, and where no allowance ſhould be giv'n to prejudice, then indeed they might reaſonably hope for a proſperous Iſſue. As to the Concern they have leſt he ſhould be alienated from them by the falſe Criminations of their Adverſaries, they have no reaſon to fear; for it had been his conſtant cuſtom not to pronounce any thing raſhly, even againſt the Reputation of his Enemies. But ſince there is ſo cloſe and ſo ancient a Friendſhip between the Kings of *France* and the Princes of the Empire, what a grand Barbarity would

The King of *France* his Anſwer to the Proteſtants.

it

1531. it be to entertain any ſiniſter opinion againſt theſe his Friends and Allies, before their Cauſe is heard? Now how great a value he ſets upon this ancient Alliance, is viſible from hence, that ev'n when there is War between him and the Emperor, the Germans and Citizens of the Empire have always found an open ingreſs into *France*, and a regreſs from thence, where they have the advantage of Trading as freely as if they were at home; ſo that *France* may properly be call'd *A Manſion of the Princes and Citizens of Germany*. Theſe Priviledges are very well known, and yet they are not ſo great, but that he will take an opportunity much to enlarge them for their ſakes, eſpecially if, according to their Declaration, they will ſtand to the Decrees of a religious and free Council. For that the Controverſie (as they deſire) may be decided rather by Arguments than the Sword, ſeems to him not only moſt equitable, but alſo moſt ſafe for the Publick, which muſt needs be brought into a moſt miſerable condition, ſhould the matter come to be determin'd by Arms.

How the *French* and *Germans* come to be akin.

What he ſpeaks concerning the Affinity between *Germany* and *France*, is thus made out. The *German Franks* that were Borderers upon *Schwaben*, having made an Irruption, and over-run thoſe of *Triers*, *Keſel*, *Morini*, *Hainault*, *Amiens*, *Beauvais* and *Soiſſons*, ſet down at length in that part of *Gaul*, which from them was called *France* and retains it's name till this very time, of which Province *Paris* is the Capital City. And when many of their Kings had reigned there by Succeſſion, and enlarg'd their Borders, the Government at length deſcended to King *Pipin* and his Son *Charles*, who for the vaſtneſs of his Exploits was call'd *The Great*; he, when he was the fourth time at *Rome*, was by the Pope and all the People ſaluted *Auguſt* Emperor, and took Poſſeſſion of *Germany*, *Italy* and *France*; his Son *Lewis* alſo, and thoſe that deſcended from him, were Kings of *France*. Hither it is therefore that King *Francis* traces his Original, and derives his Pedigree from the Stock of the *Franks*. The ſame Wheedle he ſome years ſince made uſe of, when after the death of *Maximilian* he affected the Imperial Dignity. For knowing that the aſcent to this Honour was precluded to all Foreigners by an ancient Law, he had a mind this way to demonſtrate himſelf to be a *German*. But the truth of it is, the laſt King of *France* of the Male-Line of *Charles the Great* was *Lewis* the Fifth, who died without Children in the year of our Lord 988, when the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom had been in that Family for the ſpace of 238 years. After his death the right of Succeſſion devolv'd to *Charles* Duke of *Lorain*, Uncle to *Lewis* by the Father's ſide: but *Hugh Capet*, ſaid to be Earl of *Paris* (whoſe Mother through a long Genealogy trac'd her Kindred up to *Charles the Great*) having vanquiſh'd and taken the Duke of *Lorain*, invaded the Kingdom, and tranſmitted it to his Son *Robert*, whoſe Male-Iſſue was continued down by Succeſſion ev'n to this *Francis*. There are ſome who affirm, that this *Capet* was of a very mean and obſcure Parentage; but moſt Hiſtorians deny that, and aſcribe unto him the ſame Original, that I have done.

How *Charles the Great* was ſaluted Emperor.

Lewis the Fifth the laſt of *Charle's* Race.

Hugh Capet invades the Kingdom.

Henry the Eighth King of *England* return'd his Anſwer on the third of *May*, That he was to his great Satisfaction inform'd by them, that their great aim and deſign was to heal the Diſtempers of the Church, and procure a Reformation of thoſe things, which either through the naughtineſs or ignorance of men had been depravd and corrupted, without doing any injury to Religion, or diſturbing the Publick Peace. That he takes it very kindly, that they had in their Letters giv'n him a Scheme of the whole Action: for there had been a Report rais'd to their diſadvantage, as if they gave Protection to certain mad Men, who endeavour'd to confound and level all things. But that he had giv'n no Credit to theſe Reports, as well becauſe Chriſtian Charity ſo requir'd, as becauſe he judg'd it impoſſible that ſuch Crimes could ſtick to ſuch illuſtrious, wiſe, and noble Perſons. And though he never would have believed any of thoſe things which were thus reported of them without a certain demonſtration, yet he is very glad to ſee them take this method of clearing themſelves, becauſe it confirms that judgment and opinion he always had of them. As to their deſire of rectifying Abuſes, in that they may expect both his, and all good Men's concurrence with their Endeavours: For ſuch is the condition of Humane affairs, that as in the body Natural, ſo likewiſe in the Politick, and in all publick Adminiſtrations, there is almoſt a continual occaſion for remedies. Thoſe *Phyſicians* therefore deſerve the greateſt Applauſe, who ſo apply their *Medicines* as to heal the Wound, or cure the Diſeaſe, without exaſperating the parts; and he does not doubt but their Endeavours have ſuch a tendencies as this. However

The King of *England*'s Anſwer to the Proteſtants.

ever they ought diligently to beware of a ſort of Men, who aim at Innovations, and Preach up Levelling Principles, and endeavour to render Magiſtracy contemptible; for that he lately met with ſome perſons of this Leaven within his own Dominions, who were come thither out of *Germany*. And ſince they make mention in their Letters of the Reverence due to Magiſtrates, he therefore gives them this ſhort advice, that they would not open a gap to any Licentiouſneſs this way; and if they uſe but a ſufficient Caution in this Point, their Endeavours after a Reformation will prove a kindneſs of the higheſt Import to the Publick. As for a publick Council, there is nothing which he more deſires; and his Prayers to God are, that he would inſpire the hearts of the Princes with care and diligence in that Affair: That he hopes all things well of them, and there is nothing which he would refuſe for their ſake; he will likewiſe earneſtly intercede with the Emperor, that ſome terms of Accommodation may be found out, and in this buſineſs he will ſo behave himſelf, as they at their ſeveral opportunities ſhall judge moſt convenient. 1531.

The Opinions of the Cities concerning a King of the *Romans*.

When at the day appointed they were aſſembled at *Frankfort*, the Embaſſadors of the Cities, according to appointment, declare their Sentiments concerning the Creation of a King of the *Romans*. That after mature deliberation they conclude it not at all adviſable to raiſe an unneceſſary Squabble, or create to themſelves danger about giving the Title to King *Ferdinand*. For as long as the Emperor is alive, and within the Bounds of his Empire, the whole Sovereign Power is in his Hands; but in his abſence, the chief Adminiſtration indeed falls upon *Ferdinand*; but ſtill he muſt execute in the Emperor's Name, and as his Subſtitute. That they had ſeveral times offer'd, as much as lay in their Power, a reſignation of all their Affairs to the Emperor: and ſhould they now oppoſe the creation of a King, they muſt expect that moſt Men would upbraid them with the falſeneſs and vanity of their promiſe, and ſo upon that account become their enemies; and thus they ſhould draw upon them the enmity of many, who otherwiſe upon the ſcore of their Religion would never have acted againſt them. There is likewiſe great danger leſt others ſhould by theſe Meaſures be deterr'd from entring into the League, who might otherwiſe have comply'd. For theſe Reaſons they think it is not ſafe for them to oppoſe *Ferdinand* in this buſineſs. They will therefore carry themſelves indifferent as to the matter of the Election, which way ſoever it goes. But ſhould *Ferdinand* Command any thing contrary to the Word of God, they will then by no means obey; and ſhould he make any forceable Attempts, they will then act according to the form of the League, and contribute all they can towards a Defence.

But the Princes write thus to the Emperor and to *Ferdinand*; that they cannot poſſibly approve of any thing that is acted contrary to the Cuſtoms and Liberty of the Empire, and therefore cannot confer upon him the Title of King of the *Romans*. But the Duke of *Saxony* adds this in his Letters to the Emperor, That if the matter be carry'd on in a legal way, he will not ſhew himſelf unlike his Anceſtors. Concerning the admittance of the *Helvetians* into the League, which the Cities very much deſire, the Duke gives in this Anſwer by his Embaſſadors; that he cannot enter into any Society with them, becauſe they entertain a different Opinion concerning the *Lord*'s *Supper*. He is not indeed ignorant of how great conſequence their Acceſſion would be upon the account of their Strength and Power; but this is what he leaſt of all regards, leſt the event thereof ſhould prove as diſmal, as is recorded in Scripture to have faln upon them, who for the ſtrengthning of themſelves, had recourſe to any ſort of unlawful Aſſiſtances.

The reaſon why the *Switzers* are not admitted into the League.

During this Aſſembly there were Letters brought from the Duke of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave*, to the Embaſſadors of the other Princes and Cities, the Contents of which were to this effect: That the Emperor had permitted the Biſhop of *Mentz* and *Lewis* the Prince Palatine to be the Mediators of a Peace, who by their Letters had deſir'd that they likewiſe on their parts would give them the ſame permiſſion, and that then they would appoint a day for a Meeting. After ſome deliberation the Embaſſadors do return their conſent; and then the *Lantgrave* and the Duke of *Saxony* make the Mediators this Anſwer, That they are not againſt the Expedient, provided the *Exchequer* will be quiet in the mean time; this therefore being obtain'd of the Emperor, they appoint the 30*th* of *Auguſt* for the day of Meeting. The Cities which had their Embaſſadors in this Convention were theſe; *Straſburg*, *Ulm*, *Lubeck*, *Nuremburg*, *Conſtance*, *Rutelingen*, *Mem-*

1531. *Memmingen*, *Lindaw*, *Bibrach*, *Iſenach*, *Kempen*, *Hailbrun*, *Magdeburg*, *Bremen*, *Brunſwick* and *Gottingen*.

The Controverſie between the Biſhop of *Bamburg* and the Duke of *Brandenburg*.

I *Wigand* Biſhop of *Bamburg* had ſome years before made a Complaint to his Aſſociates of the *Schwaben* Confederacy againſt *George* Duke of *Brandenburg*, the ſubſtance of which was this; That he had diſturb'd him in his Eccleſiaſtical Rights, that he had very much ſunk his Cuſtoms, that he had converted the Revenues of the Church to other uſes, and forc'd the Prieſts into this Novel and falſe Religion, or elſe ejected them for their non-compliance. All which things are not only a Violation of the Pope's and Emperor's Edicts, but alſo of common Equity and the Laws of the Country; and ſince he highly ſuffers by them, he deſires, that they would either by their Intereſt and Authority reduce him to his Duty, or elſe afford him ſuch Aſſiſtance, as they are oblig'd to by the League, whereby he may be inabled for the time to come to defend his own, and recover what he had loſt. But when after various Diſputes, a day was appointed for the hearing of this Cauſe at *Nordlingen*, the Embaſſadors of the Proteſtants, at the *Brandenburger*'s entreaty, came thither in the month of *July*. With the Biſhop of *Bamburg* were the Biſhops of *Auſpurg*, *Wurtzburg* and *Aichſtadt*, as his Aſſiſtants and Counſellors. The Plaintiff puts in his Charge, wherein he ſets forth how great Injury and Damage he had ſuſtain'd; and withal declares, that notwithſtanding the Aſſociates of the League had under a penalty commanded the Defendant to deſiſt from his Undertaking, and to reſtore the Plaintiff to his own, yet nothing as yet had been effected. He therefore prays that he may be proceeded againſt according to the Preſcript of the League. The Defendant on the other ſide demurs to that part of the Charge which properly belongs to Religion and Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and Appeals from their Edicts and Decrees to a Council. But they after ſome days intermiſſion, reply that they very much wonder, he ſhould put in ſuch an Appeal as this; becauſe it is unuſual and againſt the Preſcript of the League, which takes care, that the Plaintiff and Defendant ſhall be both concluded by the Determination of ſelect Judges: That in this they had all agreed, to defend the Eccleſiaſtical Liberties, and therefore the Cognizance of this Cauſe does properly belong to them. And ſince He himſelf had hitherto without any exception acknowledged their Juriſdiction, with what reaſon could he now reject it? As for a Council, they are not by any means to be ſuperſeded by that, nor ought the Preference to be giv'n unto it in this matter: for theſe reaſons therefore they do not accept his Appeal, but proceed to confirm their former Edicts; and if he will not yield Obedience, they declare that they muſt proceed againſt him according to the Stipulation. The Defendant on the contrary proteſts, that he will ſtick to his Appeal in what relates to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, nor will he take any notice of their Sentence. This Cauſe was managed by the Duke of *Brandenburg*, both in his own Name, and upon the account of his Nephew *Albert*, Son to his Brother *Caſimire*, whoſe Guardian he was.

The Elector of *Brandenburg*'s Appeal to a Council.

A Diet appointed at *Spiers*.

In the mean time the Emperor appoints a Diet of the Empire to convene at *Spiers* upon the Sixth of *September*, for the compoſing of Religious Differences: But upon the 21*th* of *Auguſt* there came to the Duke of *Saxony* the Counts of *Naſſaw* and the Count *de Newenar*, Men of great Reputation for their Vertue; and being permitted by the Emperor to treat of a Reconciliation, they to that end lay down five Propoſitions, relating to the Supper of our Lord, Eccleſiaſtical Rites, the Goods of the Church, Aſſiſtance againſt the *Turk*, and the Election of King *Ferdinand*. But when it appear'd from their Diſcourſe, that the Emperor lay under a perſwaſion, as if the Duke was a Favourer both of *Zuinglius* his Doctrin and of the *Anabaptiſts*: His anſwer was, That 'tis ſufficiently known from the *Auguſtine* Confeſſion what kind of Doctrin it is which he profeſſes, and which the Miniſters within his Dominions do Preach in the Churches: That 'tis farther plain, that while he was at the Diet of *Auſpurg*, he had held no Correſpondence with thoſe who are reputed *Zuinglians*; nor yet afterwards, till they had giv'n him an explication of their Opinion: That he ſtill continues in the ſame mind, and ſhall, by the Grace of God, till his laſt breath, perſiſt in that Doctrin, of which he made profeſſion at *Auſpurg*: he therefore prays, that, as to that point, they will vindicate him to the Emperor. They tell him that, as for their parts, they were before very well ſatisfied of his Innocence, and will therefore do him juſtice to the Emperor, to whom they doubt not but this will prove very pleaſing and acceptable News. As to the other Propoſitions, they

Arbitrators for a Peace apply themſelves to the Duke of *Saxony*.

were

were pleas'd to refer them to the next Imperial Diet. However they intreated him that he would either come himſelf in Perſon to that Diet, or at leaſt ſend thither his Son. His Anſwer was, that truly he was deſirous in all things to oblige the Emperor, but that he was now very aged, and altogether unfit to undertake a Journey; beſides he had in reſerve ſeveral weighty Reaſons why he could neither come himſelf, nor yet ſend his Son thither, for he had met both at *Spiers* and *Auſpurg* with ſome things, which were none of the beſt Preſidents; ſo that unleſs the Emperor would publickly paſs his Word for the ſafety both of himſelf and his Friends, they could by no means make their Appearance. Beſides, in what place ſoever he was, he could not be without the Doctrin of the Goſpel, and Preaching of the Word of God; nor could he endure that in the matter of Diet any difference of meats ſhould be preſcrib'd unto him. Now if the deſign was to treat about Religion, the very nature of the thing requir'd, that he ſhould bring *Luther* and other Divines along with him, for whom he likewiſe expected a convenient Security. Moreover he had often apply'd himſelf to the Emperor, that he might be inaugurated into his Government according to the Cuſtom of the Empire, as likewiſe for ſeveral other things, none of which he could ever obtain, notwithſtanding many ſpecious Promiſes had been paſs'd upon him. Nay *Frederick* the Palatine had by the Emperor's Command return'd him ſuch an anſwer to his Demands in the laſt Diet at *Auſpurg*, as did let him plainly ſee that his Imperial Majeſty had great Reſentments againſt him, which he had but little deſerv'd. For theſe reaſons he thinks it not ſafe for him to make his appearance there. However would but the Emperor by their Mediation grant him theſe Requeſts before the ſitting of the Diet, he promiſes not to abſent himſelf. 1531.

Upon what Conditions the Duke of *Saxony* will come to the next Diet.

About the later end of *Auguſt* the Embaſſadors of the Elector of *Mentz* and the Prince Palatine arrive at *Smalcalde*, and there expreſs to the Proteſtants Embaſſadors how tender a regard their Princes have for their Country and the Publick good. For ſince the Diet at *Auſpurg* was broken up before the differences could be adjuſted, they, conſidering how great dangers might ariſe from ſuch Diſſentions, could not reſt till they had obtain'd leave from the Emperor to be the Mediators of a Peace: To which end they think it the beſt way to concert thoſe things again, which could not be decided at *Auſpurg*, and ſo to begin there now, where they left off then. To this the others made anſwer, That their Maſters were ignorant what Propoſals would be made, and ſo had not giv'n them any certain and determinate Commiſſion how to act, but had only commanded them to return to them in writing the Propoſitions that ſhould be laid down: ſo that if they now pleas'd to make their Propoſals, they would act therein according to their Maſters Commands. They on the other ſide do again largely rhetoricate about their Princes affection to their Country, and wonder that, ſince their requeſts about the *Exchequer* are obtain'd; they ſhould not be furniſh'd with a larger Power to act, eſpecially in thoſe things which could not be determin'd at *Auſpurg*; but if they muſt ſtick there, and cannot ſtretch their Commiſſion any further, it will prove a matter highly diſagreeable both to the Emperor and their Maſters. On the other ſide 'tis reply'd, That they are not to be blam'd upon this account. For ſince the Mediators had propounded no particular method of Treaty, but had only ſpoke of Peace in general; their Orders could not well be otherwiſe. And then for the debating of ſuch Matters as theſe, it is neceſſary that Divines and Men of Learning be made uſe of, to whoſe Function it belongs. Since therefore they were ignorant of what nature the Treaty would be, they pray that they may not be miſunderſtood, and that they will excuſe them to the Emperor, if need ſo require; and their earneſt deſire is, that they will in the mean time lay down ſome terms of agreement. Their Anſwer again is, that they might eaſily have collected from the Letters ſent to the Duke of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave* of what nature the Treaty was like to be. That 'tis none of their deſign to meddle with religious Dogmas; but ſince they themſelves deſire an Accommodation till ſuch time as a Council may be call'd, they are therefore willing to enter into diſcourſe with them, that ſo they may come in the mean time to ſome reſolution about thoſe Opinions which are as yet undecided; that they have indeed Orders to treat about theſe things, and to try which way a Peace, or at leaſt a Truce, may be eſtabliſh'd; which 'tis impoſſible to effect, before they come to ſome determination about the Points in Controverſie. But if they are not permitted by their Commiſſion to meddle

The Elector of *Mentz* and the Prince Palatine ſend Embaſſadors to the Proteſtants.

1531. in these things; yet however they ought to point out what they think to be the best and most convenient Expedient for accomodating the business. They return for answer, that there was nothing found in the Letters, which did signifie any Conditions of the future Treaty: and as to their desire of knowing what is to be done (till a Council shall be call'd) in relation to those Points which are not yet determin'd, they do not see how they can come to any resolution in that matter, unless it be first demonstrated from Scripture what is Pious and True, what Impious and Fictitious; for the effecting of which, this is by no means a proper place. For both the Writing which they exhibited at *Ausburg*, and also the Answer unto it were of a considerable bulk, and contain'd a great many things, for the handling of which, Men well skill'd in Divinity ought to be made use of. But for them to appoint some Expedient for a Reconciliation, they conceive it not to be their Duty, since they stand upon the defensive part. In the Diet of *Ausburg* the Emperor had often been solicited for Peace, and afterwards too both by Letters and Embassadors more than once; and they now do earnestly desire the same thing. 'Tis reply'd on the other side, That they think the Expedient, which they before had mention'd, to be very proper; but since they say that they have no Orders to act in that matter, they will not urge it any farther. However they think it not advisable to break up after this manner, and since the Emperor, at the Intercession of their Princes, had granted a Cessation, they think it may not be improper to appoint a certain day, upon which the Princes themselves, together with the Embassadors of the Cities, may have a Meeting. And since a Diet of the Empire is shortly to be held at *Spiers*, where without question the Emperor, and the rest of the States, will be present, what if they should agree to meet together there some time before the Diet; the doing of which may possibly procure the Cessation to be continued for some longer time, however it seems absolutely necessary that one Point be particularly consider'd, namely how every Magistrate ought in the mean time to behave himself as well towards his own Subjects as Strangers. But if after all they will not appear there unless the Publick Faith be giv'n for their Security, although they think there is no need of it, yet they question not but the Mediators will easily obtain it of the Emperor. The Protestants reply, That they had already acquainted them how far their Commission reach'd, namely that *whatever Propositions* should be made, they should carry them home *in writing*: and therefore they have no Power to act in those Affairs which they desire, or to propound any other Methods of agreement. As for their Princes, they are great Lovers of Peace, and all their Counsels are directed that way, as may easily be manifested from their former Actions. That they themselves are likewise of the same mind, and do acknowledge it to be their duty to labour for the advancement of the Health and Happiness of the Publick. When nothing else could be done, they at last agreed upon meeting at *Spiers* upon such a day as the Mediators should think fit; but first they are to understand the pleasure of the Duke of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave*, who at the first opportunity are to return their Opinions in that matter, both in their own names, and the names of their Allies. This Decree was made on the second day of *September*.

The Duke of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave*'s Letters to the Arbitrators.

But in the beginning of *October* the Duke of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave* dispatch their Answer in writing to the Elector of *Mentz* and the Prince Palatine, wherein they shew from the example of the former Treaty, that nothing can be done to any purpose in relation to the matters propos'd without the assistance of Divines: As for themselves they still persist in that Religion, of which they made profession at *Ausburg*. And since almost in every Diet, not only in the absence of the Emperor, but also of late when he was present, a Council had been promis'd, and promis'd too with such an Air, as if it was to have been call'd, and to begin its Session soon after the breaking up of the Diet: They now hope that the Emperor will take care to procure one in *Germany* with all speed. Then and there both they and their Associates shall make a larger Explication of their Doctrin, and shall omit nothing that may make for a pious Reconciliation. But for the prevention of Tumults in the Empire, their earnest and hearty desire is that they will prevail with the Emperor to suffer those to live in peace, who either are already Professors of the Evangelical Doctrin, or shall hereafter make Profession of it, till such time as the Decrees and Authority of a legal Council shall intervene. Now if they shall think fit to treat about Articles of Peace, and shall appoint a day for that purpose, they will send thither their Embassadors.

But

But if any one thinks that there ſtill remains any Error at the bottom of that Doctrin which they exhibited at *Auſpurg*, and ſhall evince the ſame; or if he cannot do that, ſhall ſubmit himſelf to the Teſtimony of Holy Scriptures, it will prove a matter highly agreeable both to them and their Confederates. If for this end the Emperor ſhall prefix a day for a meeting at *Spiers*; if he will vouchſafe a convenient Security to them and their Friends, and likewiſe to *Luther*, whom among other Miniſters of the Church they will bring along with them; if he will permit the Word of God to be freely and publickly Preach'd, and the *Supper of our Lord* to be adminiſtred according to Chriſt's Inſtitution; and if he will not oblige them to any diſtinction of Meats; then they will either come thither themſelves, or elſe ſend their Embaſſadors with neceſſary Orders; and then before the Eyes of all they will give in a rational Explication of their Doctrin. But if in that Aſſembly this Confeſſion of their Faith cannot be refuted from Holy Scripture, then they hope that the Emperor will ſtir no more in this matter, but ſuffer them quietly to enjoy their Religion. Now becauſe they have Appeal'd to a legal Council, and nothing has as yet been found in their Doctrin repugnant to the Word of God; and ſince it is evident both from Law and Cuſtom, that, during an Appeal, the Appellant ought not to be rigorouſly proceeded againſt; they have good confidence that the Emperor, at their Interceſſion eſpecially, will preſerve the Peace of *Germany*. 1531.

We have ſpoke before of a Diet of the Empire to be held at *Spiers* on the Sixth of *September*, but the Emperor being certified by ſeveral Letters and Meſſengers of the *Turks* Preparations, he Adjourns it till the next *January*, and ſets out *Ratisbon* for the place, becauſe that is ſo much nearer to *Auſtria*, where he foreſaw the Seat of the War would be. The Diet appointed to be held at *Ratiſbon*.

We have ſhewn in the Sixth Book how the War, which above two years ago thoſe of *Bern* and *Zurich* were about to make upon the five Confederate Cantons, was prevented by the Interpoſition of the neighbouring Cities. This year the Sore was rub'd up afreſh, and theſe two Cities, having poſſeſs'd themſelves of all their Paſſages and Avenues, would not ſuffer any Proviſions to be carry'd unto them. This happen'd about the Summer *Solſtice*, and now the face of things looking as if ſome great Storm was approaching, the King of *France*, together with thoſe of *Glarys*, *Friburg*, *Soleurre* and *Appenzel*, after their Mediation, and after a long Debate, they propound theſe Articles; That the remembrance of all Reproaches be laid aſide, and ſuch things forborn for the future, and that the Calumniators be at preſent pardon'd; that thoſe who were baniſh'd for the ſake of Religion be recall'd; that the five Cantons may indeed retain their own Religion, but however they ſhall not forbid their People the reading both of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*; that no Moleſtation be giv'n to the Aſſociates of *Zurich* and *Bern*; and that they afford one another mutual Aſſiſtances. Theſe Overtures being made in vain, thoſe of *Zurich* and *Bern* do publiſh a Writing, wherein they declare that they had been forc'd by great and manifold Injuries to put a ſtop, as they had done, to the Proviſions of their Adverſaries; and ſince they had rejected the Conditions of Peace which were propounded by the Mediators, and by that means giv'n a plain demonſtration of their Hoſtile Intentions; ſince they had violated the Agreement made ſome years before, wherein it was provided, that no body ſhould be put upon for the ſake of Religion; they think they may very lawfully hinder them from Victuals. If therefore any Diſturbance ſhall ariſe from hence, it ought to be laid at their doors, who are in love with nothing ſo much as Quarrels. This was done upon the ninth day of *September*. But when thoſe of the five Cantons were very much preſs'd with the want of Neceſſaries, having privately hired Forces, they march'd out on the ninth of *October*, and arrived at the Confines of *Zurich* with greater celerity than could be imagin'd; In theſe Coaſts thoſe of *Zurich* had planted a Guard of above a thouſand Soldiers; who upon the approach of the Enemy gave notice to thoſe in the City by ſeveral Meſſengers to fly with all ſpeed to their aſſiſtance; but ſuch was the Expedition of the Enemy, that they could not come in ſo opportunely to their Relief; for having got upon the top of a Mountain, over which they were to paſs, they beheld from thence their Friends in the Valley beneath very hardly preſs'd, and in a dangerous condition; having therefore encourag'd one another, they made a confuſed deſcent from the Mountain, the nature of which was ſuch, that they could not paſs above one at a time. Being therefore not able to draw up all their Forces, they were over-whelm'd with multi-

A quarrel among the *Switzers*.

Articles of Peace propounded.

The five Cantons are hindred from Proviſions.

The War breaks out between them.

Thoſe of *Zurich* are vanquiſh'd.

multitudes, and having loſt many of their Men, they at laſt turn'd their backs. This happen'd upon the 11*th* day of *October*. Among the number of the ſlain *Zuinglius* was found. For the cuſtom of *Zurich* is ſuch, that upon any Expedition, the principal Miniſter of their Church goes out along with them. Now *Zuinglius* who was in his own nature a very ſtout and couragious Man, conſider'd likewiſe with himſelf, that if he ſhould ſtay at home, and the battel ſhould go againſt them, he muſt needs draw upon himſelf a great Odium for animating other Men by his Preaching, and yet ſhrinking back himſelf in the time of danger, he therefore reſolv'd to run the common riſque. They us'd his dead body very barbarouſly, which ſhew'd that their revenge could not be ſatisfy'd ev'n with his death. He was aged 44 years, being four years younger than *Luther*. There was a Comet ſeen almoſt all the month of *Auguſt*, and about that time died *Lovice* Mother to the King of *France*, ſhe was Siſter by the Father's ſide to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*.

Zuinglius is ſlain.

Thoſe of *Bern*, who were to make War upon *Underwalt*, having underſtood the misfortune, ſend to encourage their Friends of *Zurich*, and to promiſe their aſſiſtance, aſſuring them that they will ſhortly be with them with all their Forces, deſiring that it might be left to them to revenge their Quarrel. But when upon a meeting, which was held about eight days after the battel, they of *Bern* appear'd ſomewhat ſlack in performance; the people of *Zurich* having receiv'd Aids from *Baſil*, *Schaffhauſen*, *Suntgaw* and *Mulhauſen*, draw out from their whole Body ſome ſelect Troops; who Marching out in the night do plant themſelves in a Mountain near *Memmingen*, that ſo they might be ready, as ſoon as the Moon was up, to make an effort, and ſurpriſe on a ſuddain the City *Zug*. But the Enemy, who lay encampt not far off, having notice of the Project, flew to their Arms with all ſpeed, and marching before it was light, came upon them unawares, ſetting up mighty Shouts and Cries for the greater incuſſion of Terror. This was upon the 20*th* of *October*. Many were on both ſides kill'd; and though the five Cantons had the better of it, yet thoſe of *Zurich* would not in the leaſt abate of their zeal for Religion. At length a Peace being made up through the mediation of Friends, this, among other Articles, was inſerted, That thoſe of *Zurich*, *Bern* and *Baſil*, ſhould depart from that League which they had lately made with the City of *Strasburg* and the *Lantgrave*, and that the five Cantons ſhould do the ſame with *Ferdinand*. And thus having drawn up Inſtruments which did mutually oblige them, the Confederacy was on both ſides diſſolv'd. Towards the end of *November* *OEcolampadius* departed this life. He had conceiv'd an extraordinary grief at the death of *Zuinglius*, which was thought to have heightned his Diſtemper, there having been an intimate familiarity betwixt them: He was aged 49 years. There are ſome Exercitations of his extant upon the Prophets, which are highly approv'd of by the Learned.

Thoſe of *Zurich* again defeated.

OEcolampadius dies.

On the 19*th* of *December* the Proteſtant Embaſſadors met again at *Frankfort*, and there came to an Agreement for a mutual Defence, which was the only thing they wanted. In this Convention thoſe of *Goſſar*, *Emberk* and *Embden* were admitted into the League, as thoſe of *Eſling* had been a little before. But *George* Duke of *Brandenburg* was abſent, as were likewiſe the Embaſſadors of *Nuremburg*, *Camin* and *Heilsburg*, who, though they profeſs'd the ſame Doctrin, yet as we hinted before, were averſe to the League. The Emperor leaving the *Low-Countries* in the beginning of *January*, directed his Journey towards *Ratisbon*, in order to hold a Diet there, as we have ſaid before. Having in his way thither, arrived at *Mentz* on the laſt day of *January*, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* and the Prince Palatine intercede with him again for Peace; about which when he had permitted them to hold a Treaty; they ſent adviſe to the Duke of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave*, that they would likewiſe give their Concurrence. Wherefore after ſome intercourſe of Letters, it was agreed that a Convention ſhould be held in the beginning of *April* at *Schwinfurt*, a Town of the Empire ſituated upon the *Main*. Here they began to treat about eſtabliſhing a Peace till the ſitting of a Council. The mediating Princes were there preſent themſelves, and by the Emperors Order laid before them theſe Injunctions, That they ſhould Innovate, Teach, and Publiſh nothing about Religion, beſides the Writing that was exhibited at *Auſpurg*; but ſhould keep themſelves within thoſe bounds till ſuch time as a Council ſhould ſit. That they ſhould not hold Communication with the *Zuinglians*, or the *Anabaptiſts*; leſt under the pretext of Religion they ſhould draw over to them, and receive under their Protection the Subjects of another State.

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Conditions of a Pacification laid down by the Arbitrators.

That

That they ſhould not ſuffer any of their own Subjects to teach without the limits of their Dominions: That they forbear all Reproaches, and give no diſturbance to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, or to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: That they Contribute their aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*, and that they be Obedient to thoſe Decrees which reſpect the Publick Good, and the adminiſtration of the Empire: That they be Obedient to the Emperor and the King of the *Romans*, and that they diſſolve whatever League has been made againſt the Emperor, the King, or thoſe States that are of a different Religion. If they will comply in theſe things they hope that both the Emperor and the King will lay aſide all Reſentments that have been formerly occaſion'd. The Duke of *Saxony* being detain'd by Indiſpoſition, had ſent thither *John Frederick* his Son; there were likewiſe preſent *Francis* Duke of *Lunenburg* and *Ainhault*; as likewiſe the Embaſſadors of the other Princes and Cities, to whom were lately added the Cities of *Noſtingen* and *Hall* and *Suabe*. After things had been long debated, the Mediating Princes diſpatch'd in writing all the Tranſactions to the Emperor, who was holding his Diet at *Ratisbone*, to the end that they might underſtand what his Pleaſure was. As to that Propoſition which requir'd that the Duke of *Saxony* and his Allies ſhould yield Obedience to the King of the *Romans*, they commit to writing, and deliver to the Mediators upon the 17*th* day of *April*, what 'tis they deſire and expect from the Emperor in relation to that Affair; requeſting that King *Ferdinand* would wave his deſign, and not carry himſelf as King of the *Romans*. But if the Emperor ſhall think that he has occaſion for a Coadjutor, that then being aſſiſted by the ſenſe and counſel of the Electoral Princes, he ſhould Interpret the *Caroline* Law, and by his Edict give it a perpetual Sanction, which, according to the rules of Juſtice, ought to run to this purpoſe, *viz.* That hereafter no King of the *Romans* be choſen during the life of the Emperor, unleſs firſt the Electors and ſix other Princes of the Empire ſhall judge it fit to be done: And when it ſhall plainly appear to them that 'tis for the advantage of the Publick, then the Elector of *Mentz* ſhall Summon his Colleagues together, with the other ſix Princes, to ſome convenient place, there to deliberate further about the Affair; and when they have throughly weigh'd and diſcuſs'd the Matter, then the Electoral Princes alone, with the addition of the King of *Bohemia*, ſhall have the Power of creating a King: That the King of the *Romans*, thus choſen while the Emperor is alive, ſhall not manage the Publick Adminiſtration in his own Name, but in the Emperor's; nor ſhall he arrogate any Power or Dominion to himſelf. That the Princes and States of the Empire ſhall not be bound in any Oath or Promiſe unto him till after the death of the Emperor. Upon the creation of a new King there ſhall no Oath be taken, but according to the tenour of the *Caroline* Law; nor ſhall it be in the Power of the Electors to alter that Form: And whoever ſhall be convicted of acting contrary to that Oath, or ſhall be under a violent ſuſpicion of ſo doing, and yet not be able to clear him, he ſhall be depriv'd of his Electoral right for ever. Moreover, for the avoiding of Preſcription, three Kings ſhall not be ſucceſſively created out of the ſame Family; and no Man ſhall be created King of the *Romans*, who does not deſcend from ſome Family of the Princes of *Germany*. That neither the Emperor nor the King of the *Romans* ſhall endeavour to alter, what the *Caroline* Law has ratify'd about the creation of a King. When the Electors ſhall ſee it convenient to create a King, they ſhall be under no neceſſity of giving notice before-hand to the Emperor; nor may he in that Caſe iſſue out his Orders to the Elector of *Mentz* to Convene the reſt of the Electors; but when they ſhall appear juſt and ſubſtantial Reaſons for the Creation of a King during the life of the Emperor; then the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* ſhall Summon in his Colleagues to appear at *Franckfort*, upon an appointed day: nor ſhall it be in his Power to appoint any other place for their Meeting, unleſs the Colleagues ſhall for weighty Reaſons allow of it. The Elector of *Mentz* may not, without the conſent of his Colleagues, demand the Crown and Scepter, and other Imperial Enſigns from the City of *Nuremburg*. Nor ſhall he cut off any thing from that in three months ſpace, which is allowed to the Princes for their meeting together, after they are Summon'd; for it might prove much to the prejudice of the Publick, ſhould the ſtreightneſs of time occaſion the abſence of one or two of them. While the Electors are upon their Conſultation at *Franckfort*, every body elſe ſhall be excluded. If any Breach ſhall be made in theſe Conditions, then the Electors ſhall not be oblig'd to appear there,

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Or the Law of *Charles* the Fourth.

The condition of creating a King of the *Romans*.

1532. there, or to make any ſtay; and whatſoever ſhall there be tranſacted by them, ſhall be accounted void. Neither the Emperor nor the King of the *Romans* ſhall ſuffer the Arms of the Electors to be diſplay'd in *Italy*, *France*, or other foreign Parts, or their proper Offices to be ſupply'd, but by themſelves or their Embaſſadors. The King of the *Romans* ſhall not accept his final Inauguration, but in the preſence of the Electors or their Embaſſadors. Neither the Emperor nor the King may hinder the Embaſſadors of Foreign Kings and Princes from coming to the Imperial Diets, and there propounding their buſineſs; for this is not only conſonant to the Law of Nations, but is alſo full of Humanity and Civility. Neither the Emperor nor the King of the *Romans* ſhall aſſume to himſelf any peculiar Power of judging in ſuch Cauſes, as may be depending between the Princes of the Empire, but ſhall ſuffer them to be legally try'd in the place where they ought. That the Emperor be careful to Maintain thoſe things which concern the Glory, Honour, and Safety of the Princes and the Empire, and which he has faithfully promis'd to obſerve; and that he rectifie whatever has been acted otherwiſe; and that it be provided by a Law, That, whoever is King of the *Romans*, he ſhall obſerve the ſame things. If the Emperor will explain and confirm the *Carolinè* Law in this ſenſe, the Duke of *Saxony* promiſes that he will not be wanting to his Duty, whenever the Good of the Publick ſhall require ſuch a Conſultation: but if the mediating Princes cannot obtain this of the Emperor, he will not however decline a legal Trial, provided that King *Ferdinand* does not in the mean time aſſume to himſelf, or Uſurp the adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Empire, or any other Authority, eſpecially over them, or over the two Brothers *William* and *Lewis*, Princes of *Bavaria*. But if they cannot obtain ſo much as this, then their Requeſt is, That the Emperor would be pleas'd to give them a publick Audience in an Aſſembly of the Princes and other States; where they will demonſtrate, upon what juſt and weighty Reaſons it is, that they cannot approve of this Election. And now ſince they underſtand, that they have, upon the account of this their non-compliance, incurr'd the ſuſpicion of Rebellion, not only with the Emperor, but alſo among Foreign Kings and People, they therefore earneſtly deſire that the Emperor would not take it amiſs, if they make known the reaſons of this their action to *all Men, not only through Germany*, but alſo beyond the Limits of the Empire; *for this they find 'tis* but neceſſary for them to do.

Among other things it has been ſaid, That the Electors are to ſwear according to the tenour of *Charles* the Fourth his Law. Now the thing is thus; When they are come to *Franckfort*, having perform'd their Devotion, they go up to the Altar, and laying their hands upon a conſecrated Book, as they call it, they, in a ſet Form of words, moſt religiouſly ſwear by that Faith which they owe both to God and the Empire, that they will chooſe ſuch a chief Magiſtrate of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, as they think to be worthy of ſo great a Charge, and who is every way fit and qualify'd for it, as far as the beſt of their skill and underſtanding will give them leave to judge; and that this they do without the prepoſſeſſion of any Bargain, Gift, Reward or Promiſe. Now the reaſon, that the two Brothers of *Bavaria* were inſerted in the number, is this: They among the reſt had oppos'd the Election of King *Ferdinand*, and having communicated their Counſels with the Duke of *Saxony*, the *Lantgrave*, and the King of *France*, they enter'd into the League for the defence of the Liberties of *Germany*: And the King of *France* had depoſited 100000 Crowns in the hands of the two Brothers, that they might be in a readineſs when occaſion would ſerve.

The form of the Oath which is taken by the Electors according to the *Caroline* Law.

The Princes of *Bavaria* oppoſe the Election of King *Ferdinand*.

The Mediating Princes upon the 20*th* of *April* return an Anſwer to thoſe things which we have recited. That 'tis for the ſake of Peace and Concord that they negotiate this Affair; nor could they think, that ſuch things as theſe would have been propounded by them. Now that a King of the *Romans* ſhould be choſen whilſt the Emperor is in being, they have many weighty Reaſons to urge, which reaſons have been formerly made uſe of to *John Frederick*, who was then his Fathers Embaſſador, and ſhould now, if the matter ſo requir'd, be more copiouſly explain'd. But ſince they are not alone concern'd in this buſineſs, but likewiſe the Emperor, the King, and the other Princes their Colleagues; they will not debate this Point any longer, but leave it undecided, that ſo they may come with greater eaſe to the accommodating of other things, as the occaſion of this Aſſembly does require. However if it be expected that they ſhould give them and their Allies a reaſon for what they do, they will not decline the trial,

The Arbitrators Anſwer to the Proteſtants.

and

and they queſtion not but they ſhall back their Cauſe with ſuch Proofs, as will not admit of any Exception. But now if an account of theſe things ſhould be brought to the Emperor, they are very much afraid that they will be ſo far from taking any place there, that they will rather prove an occaſion of interrupting, at leaſt this Pacifick Treaty, if not of wholly taking it away. 1532.

To the end therefore that a Truce and Reconciliation may be brought about, as well in relation to the matter of Religion, as to that of the Election, and that there may not be a ſeparation between thoſe two Points, they earneſtly intreat the two Princes of *Saxony*, the Father and Son, that they will have ſome regard to themſelves in this Affair, and depart from their Reſolution. For then they have reaſon to hope, that both the Emperor and King will abundantly take care, that this Election ſhall never be prejudicial either to them or their Heirs. Nay, they doubt not but they will lay aſide all Reſentment, and afford their Favour to them all, eſpecially to the Duke of *Saxony*, in promoting that buſineſs, which he now ſolicits, and ev'n in the Cauſe of Religion, as far as 'tis poſſible to be done. For they are very much afraid that he cannot be prevail'd with to grant them a Peace as to matters of Religion, whilſt the Point of Election remains undecided. As for their parts 'tis out of Love and Friendſhip that they give this advice, and do intreat them ſo to accept it, and that they would ſo manage themſelves, that they at length may ſee, that this their Interceſſion was not without it's weight, nor their Diligence imploy'd to no purpoſe.

The Prince of *Saxony*'s Anſwer to the Arbitrators.

Four days after *John Frederick* the Prince made them this return; *viz.* That he had not expected from them ſuch an Anſwer as this; for in that they had among other things affirm'd, That 'twas for the Safety and Dignity of the Empire that a King of the *Romans* ſhould be created, he is under a neceſſity of giving an Anſwer to this, as well in the Name of his Father as the other Aſſociates, whoſe perſwaſion it is, that this Election is irregular, and not at all for the Welfare of the Empire. Now ſince they ſuſtain the Character of Arbitrators, he greatly hop'd that they would not have defended this Cauſe, but have propounded it as a doubtful and controverted Point. For as to the other things mentioned by them, they do not properly belong to Arbitrators, but ought to be referr'd to ſuch a time, when they may fall under a common deliberation. Indeed when at *Cologne*, the Emperor deſir'd that his Brother *Ferdinand* ſhould be admitted into a Partnerſhip of the Empire, there were ſome Reaſons offer'd for the doing of it, but they were not of ſuch weight, that for their ſakes the *Caroline* Law, together with the Rights and Liberty of the Empire, ſhould be violated; that at the ſame time He, together with the reſt of his Father's Embaſſadors gave in their Reaſons, by way of Anſwer, why it ought not to be done. He therefore now again repeats, what he ſaid before, that, if the Emperor would not admit of theſe their Propoſitions, then the Cauſe may come to be diſcuſs'd in a fair Trial, that ſo the reaſons of their Deſcent may be known. Now ſince 'tis their part to act equally and impartially, he did imagine, that being Arbitrators in other matters, they would likewiſe in this Controverſie find out ſome honeſt Expedient, which might be for the advantage of the Empire; but ſince nothing of this is done, he will not urge them any further. As for his Father and his Confederates, they will undoubtedly make it evident (without injuring any Man) how great a Breach this is upon the Laws and Liberty of the Empire; and that they are not to be blamed, if any inconvenience ariſes from thence. He hopes likewiſe, that, ſince theſe things concern the Honour and Safety of the Empire, the Emperor will not take it unkindly.

The Tricks of the Popiſh Party.

Among the other Propoſitions, the firſt, which belongs to that head in which the *Zuinglians* are concern'd, has this tendency, *viz.* to hinder the Princes from confederating with a number of Cities, and ſo indeed the Umpires did in their debate explain it. That if the *Zuinglians* would confeſs and forſake their Error, then they ſhould be included in the Peace; but if otherwiſe, then they were to be deſerted, no aſſiſtance to be afforded them, nor any League to be made with them. But laſt year at *Smalcalde* there happen'd to be a good underſtanding between the Proteſtants; for when thoſe of *Strasburg*, together with ſome Cities of *Schwaben*, had made a fuller explication of their Doctrin about the *Lord's Supper*, which before had only been propounded in the Diet at *Auſpurg*; this their Interpretation was accepted of by the *Saxons*. Being therefore now unanimous, they all of them return the ſame Anſwer to the former Propoſitions, and agree at laſt to lay down theſe conditions of Agreement. That they, who have exhibited

The Agreement between the *Zuinglians* and the *Lutherans*.

The Proteſtants lay down their conditions of a Pacification

1532. exhibited a Confeſſion of their Doctrin, and an Apology for the ſame, at *Auſpurg*, as likewiſe thoſe, who hereafter ſhall receive the ſame Doctrin, ſhall keep themſelves within thoſe bounds, and ſhall make no further Innovations, till ſuch time as a Council ſhall ſit, which has ſo often been promis'd and agreed upon, that they ſhall not joyn themſelves (as to the Doctrinal part) with thoſe, who entertain different Opinions about the *Lord*'s *Supper* and *Baptiſm*, from what is contain'd in the Writing ſet forth at *Auſpurg*. They ſhall not draw over to them, or give Protection to the Subjects of other States, upon the ſcore of Religion. But if there be any whoſe condition is ſuch that they may lawfully go whither they will, theſe, having firſt giv'n notice to their Governors, may Travail, if they pleaſe, and be entertain'd; they ſhall not ſend out any Preachers to teach without their Dominions, unleſs the Magiſtrate of ſuch a place, where a Convention is held, ſhall deſire or permit it: But if he refuſes it, they ſhall then have liberty to do it privately at home. But whenever they are preſent at a Diet of the Empire, or do ſend out Forces againſt the *Turks*, they may then make uſe of their own Teachers, and receive the *Supper of our Lord* according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt. That all Reproaches be forborn, however the Miniſters of the Church may, as they are in duty bound, rebuke Vice and Error, and ſhew which is the right way, provided they do it with temper and moderation. That thoſe of their Religion be not excluded from the Imperial Chamber. That Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction ſtand where it does, but that the Biſhops may not bring thoſe into danger or trouble, who make profeſſion of this Doctrin. That thoſe Ordinances, which have been made (but are not yet put in execution) concerning Religion, Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, Ceremonies, and the Goods of the Church, be ſuſpended till the time of a Council: That the Goods of the Church be made uſe of and enjoy'd by them, who are in poſſeſſion of thoſe places, to which thoſe Goods do properly belong, and that nothing be taken by violence from any Man; but that the annual Revenues be diſpos'd of to thoſe places, which have formerly receiv'd them, till ſuch time as a Council ſhall decree otherwiſe. That in political Affairs every Man perform his duty; that all Men endeavour the good of the Publick, and exerciſe acts of mutual kindneſs and fidelity to one another.

Though both ſides ſtood thus at a diſtance from one another, *without any probability* of a nearer Conjunction, yet the Arbitrators thought fit to proceed in the Treaty; and therefore, for the convenience of diſpatching a more ſpeedy account of all things to the Emperor, they appoint another Meeting to be held at *Nuremburg* upon the third of *June*. Now though the main Controverſie could not here be made up, yet by reaſon of the *Turks* Interruption into *Germany*, the Emperor finding himſelf obliged to draw his whole Strength together from all parts, ratify'd a general Peace to all *Germany*; and did by his Edict command that no Diſturbance ſhould be giv'n to any Man upon the account of Religion, till ſuch time as a Council ſhould ſit; and if no Council ſhould be held, then till ſuch time as the States of the Empire ſhould find out ſome expedient to ſalve theſe Differences. To thoſe that ſhall diſobey this Edict he threatens a very ſevere puniſhment, and declares, that he will uſe all his Endeavours, that a Council may be call'd within ſix months, and begin it's Seſſion the year *following*: But if this cannot be brought about, then the whole matter ſhall be brought to an Iſſue in a Diet of the Empire. He therefore Commands that all judicial Actions commenc'd upon the ſcore of Religion, be ſuſpended; and that no Proceſs be hereafter carry'd on againſt the Proteſtants, or if there be, that all ſuch Proceſs become null and void. The Proteſtants on the other ſide, who were then ſeven Princes and 24 Cities, do make him a tender of their utmoſt Obedience and Devoir, and promiſe their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*. This Scheme of a Peace was by the Arbitrators drawn up on the 23*th* of *July*, and the Emperor, to whom they had addreſs'd by Letters and Meſſengers, gave it his Confirmation on the ſecond of *Auguſt*, and ratify'd it afterwards by a publick Edict, commanding the Imperial Chamber and his other Judges to be obedient to it. Whilſt theſe things are tranſacting, the Emperor, as we ſaid before, is holding a Diet at *Ratisbon*, where, among other things, he declares, that he had ſome time ſince ſent an Embaſſy to the Pope, and the Colledge of Cardinals, about calling a Council, to which he has likewiſe received an Anſwer, which he communicated to the King of *France*; whoſe judgment it is, that a Council is neceſſary. But as to what the Pope has writ back concerning the manner, but more

The Emperor upon neceſſity confirms a Peace to all *Germany*.

The number of the Proteſtants.

more eſpecially the place of holding the Council, there ariſes very great difficulty, nor can they as yet come to any Reſolution about it. But becauſe theſe differences about Religion do daily increaſe, from which there is great danger fear'd, he will therefore endeavour to prevail with the Pope, to call a Council to ſome convenient place within the time appointed, and he hopes that he will not be wanting either to his own Duty, or the Publick Good. But if this cannot be effected, then he will endeavour to find out ſome remedy in another Diet of the Empire, which he will call for that purpoſe. It was decreed in the Diet at *Auſpurg*, that a Reform ſhould be made in the Court of the Imperial Chamber. To which purpoſe the Emperor adds two Commiſſioners in his own Name, and moreover delegates the Elector of *Mentz* and the Prince Palatine, together with the Biſhop of *Spiers*, *John Simmerius* the Palatine, *William* Biſhop of *Strasburg*, and *Philip* Marqueſs of *Baden*. The Embaſſadors of all which Princes, having met together at *Spiers* on the firſt day of *March*, do Enact certain Laws, which partly affect the Judges, partly the Advocates, and partly the Litigants: A Copy of this Reform they preſent to the Emperor, with which, having firſt conſulted his Friends, he declares himſelf to be well pleas'd, having firſt made ſome ſmall additions to it. 1532.

Delegates appointed to reform the Imperial Chamber.

This year (which was the Tenth of his Exile) *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark* having got together a Navy, had ſome hopes of recovering his Loſſes, but being taken at Sea, he was committed to Cuſtody, and about the ſame time his Son died, being a young Man, and educated by the Emperor his Uncle.

The King of *Denmark* taken Priſoner.

In a former Book we took notice, how the Emperor had reſcinded the Contract that was made between *Albertus* Duke of *Pruſſia* and *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*: but *Albert*, perſiſting in his purpoſe, was about this time proſcrib'd by the Imperial Chamber, at the Suit of *Walter Cronberg*. Which thing when the King of *Poland* underſtood, he ſet forth in this Diet by his Embaſſador, how *Pruſſia* had been anciently under the Command and Patronage of his Kingdom, and therefore deſires that this Proſcription may be totally revers'd. But *Cronberg* on the third of *June* did in a long Harangue declare, that *Pruſſia* was a dependency of the Empire, and did not at all belong to the King of *Poland*. For though their Anceſtors being overcome in battel, had been forc'd to promiſe Fealty to *Caſimire Sigiſmund*'s Father, yet this was altogether contrary to former Covenants: and that this is true, may be evinc'd ev'n from the teſtimony of *Albert* himſelf, who about eight years ſince profeſs'd the ſame thing at the Diet of *Nuremburg*: He prays therefore, that the King of *Poland*'s Demand being rejected, the Sentence pronounc'd againſt *Albert* may be put in execution. In this Diet the chief thing that fell under Deliberation was the War againſt the *Turks*. And now Intelligence being daily brought both by Letters and Meſſengers, that the *Turk* had ſent before vaſt bodies of Horſe towards the *Danube*; and the Embaſſadors from *Auſtria* and other Neighbouring Countries having giv'n an account what great danger they were in; It was reſolv'd that there ſhould be a general Contribution of Aids, and that the States of the Empire ſhould ſend ſupplies of Men rather than Mony towards this War. Therefore upon the 27*th* of *July* this Diet broke up, and all went to prepare for the War. Upon the 6*th* of *Auguſt* the Elector of *Saxony* ended his days, to whom *John Frederick* his Son ſucceeded.

Albert Duke of *Pruſſia* proſcrib'd.

An Irruption of the *Turks* into *Auſtria*.

When *Solyman* was come to *Belgrade*, he ſtruck off towards the left, and attack'd in vain the Town and Caſtle of *Gunza*, which was very bravely defended by *Nicolas Juriſch*; from thence he ſent out 1500 Horſe to Plunder under the Command of *Caſon*; who making Excurſions as far as *Lintz*, which is above *Vienna*, and having ravag'd the Country far and near, exercis'd all manner of Barbarities. But being about to retreat, they fell among our Horſe, who had been ſent out to hinder their Plunders and Rapine, and being charg'd in diverſe places, they were at length almoſt all cut in pieces, and *Caſon* himſelf was ſlain in the action. *Solyman* keeping more and more to the left, came at laſt to *Gratz*, a Town of *Stiria*; which when the Emperor, who was then at *Lintz*, underſtood; he conſider'd what was to be done, and came at laſt to this Reſolution, *viz.* To encamp his whole Army near *Vienna*, and there to expect the Enemy. But *Solyman* went back without performing any memorable Action.

The *Turkiſh* Horſe deſtroy'd.

The Emperor had ſent to the King of *France* for his Aſſiſtance; but his anſwer was (as the Emperor then reported it) that *Germany* was powerful enough of it ſelf to oppoſe the Incurſion of the *Turk*. The King of *England* was alſo very

dilatory and obſcure too in his Anſwer. Pope *Clement* did contribute his Aid, and committed the chief management thereof to Cardinal *Hippolitus* of the houſe of *Medices*. The *Switzers*, though ſolicited by the Emperor, would not ſtir. At this time in the months of *September* and *October* there appear'd a Comet before Sun-riſing. When the *Turks* were retired, the Emperor, contrary to the opinion of thoſe, who advis'd him to perſue the Enemy, broke up his Army, because Winter was near, and departed from *Vienna* towards *Italy*.

The Emperor goes for *Italy*.

When he was at *Mantua* he diſpatch'd Letters, dated the 10*th* of *November*, to the States of the Empire, wherein he ſignify'd, that his Brother the King of the *Romans* was to Govern the Empire during his abſence. That 'twas for very weighty Reaſons that he had left *Germany* for *Italy*: and that there he would treat with the Pope about a Council, as it had been reſolv'd upon at *Ratisbon*; he hopes therefore they will preſerve that Peace, which he had lately ratify'd by his Edict, and that they will pay the ſame Obedience to his Brother as to himſelf. Going from thence to *Bononia*, he came to a Conference with Pope *Clement* the Seventh, and among other things he held a Conſult with him about Religion and a Council. He likewiſe enters into a League with him, and the other Princes of *Italy*; or rather he verbally renews it for half a year longer, in order to maintain the Peace of *Italy*; or indeed rather to preclude the *French* from any entrance thither. The *French* Embaſſadors vigorouſly oppos'd it, but *Clement* advis'd them to act more calmly, giving them notice privately, that it was not like to laſt long. For the Emperor had brought with him a great number of *Spaniſh* Forces, of which the Pope had a deſire to clear *Italy*: He therefore approv'd of this League in compliance with the times.

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After this the Emperor in the month of *March* ſets Sail for *Spain*, and ſoon after the Pope ſends *Hugh Rango* Biſhop of *Regium* Embaſſador into *Germany*. Who coming to the Elector of *Saxony*, in company with the Emperor's Embaſſador, made a Speech to this effect: That ſome months ſince the Pope and Emperor entring into a Conſultation at *Bononia* about ſeveral weighty Affairs; they likewiſe took the Cauſe of Religion into their Conſideration: upon which account the Pope has thought it convenient to ſend an Embaſſy into *Germany*. And though the greatneſs of the Affair deſerves that a Man of larger abilities and experience ſhould be imploy'd in it, yet this Province is put upon him, though very much againſt his will. The occaſion therefore of his preſent coming is to let him underſtand the Pope's mind and pleaſure in this matter: nor are theſe things done without the conſent and approbation of the Emperor. It has been the earneſt deſire of *Clement* the Seventh ever ſince his entrance upon the Papacy, that theſe Differences, which have been created in *Germany* about Religion, ſhould be compos'd, that ſo he might manage the Government of the Church with greater Eaſe and Tranquility. That for the effecting of this he has more than once ſent Men very eminent for their Learning into *Germany*; but his labour has hitherto prov'd to no purpoſe. But when the Emperor was come at laſt from *Spain* into *Italy*, and was about to depart from thence into *Germany*, the Pope had then great hopes that he might by his Countenance and Authority eaſily appeaſe theſe Animoſities: Nor did the Emperor ſpare any diligence whereby he might reſtore his Country to its ancient Religion; to which purpoſe though he held ſeveral Diets, yet he could effect nothing; eſpecially ſince thoſe his excellent Endeavours have been ſlackned and impeded by the Incurſion of the *Turk*, that Enemy of the Chriſtian Name. But now ſince the Emperor has been a ſecond time in *Italy*, and held a long Diſcourſe with the Pope, wherein he diſcover'd it to be his ſenſe, that there could not be a more proper and efficacious remedy found out, than a general Council would be, of which likewiſe the *German* Princes are eagerly deſirous: The Pope likewiſe declares himſelf to be well pleas'd with this Expedient, both for the ſake of the Publick, and of the Emperor, whom he is very willing to gratifie. This is the occaſion of their Embaſſy, and they are oblig'd by their Inſtructions to declare this unto him in the name of the Pope. But ſince the nature of the thing requires, that they ſhould firſt deliberate about the manner, time, and place of holding the Council; they have therefore brought with them certain Heads ſubſcribed by the Pope, which contain the whole Model of that Affair; ſome of which do relate to the Method and Order of it: As, that it ſhall be a free and general Council, *ſuch as* the Fathers were wont to hold, whoſe minds were undoubtedly guided by the Divine Spirit. Then that all, who are preſent at the Council, ſhall promiſe to be

The Popes Embaſſador's Oration to the Duke of *Saxony*.

obedient

obedient to the Decrees thereof: for unleſs care be taken of that, all their labour will be in vain. For to what end will it be to enact Laws, which no body will obſerve, and which any Man may ſafely violate? Moreover they, who cannot be preſent themſelves, ſhall ſend thither their Deputies: And laſtly, that in the mean time all things ſhall remain in the ſame poſture and condition they are in, and that no Innovation be made till ſuch time as it ſhall be decreed by the Council. About a Place, the Pope has been a long time conſidering: For 'tis highly fit that ſuch a Place be made choice of, as is fruitful, and able to ſupply Proviſions, and ſuch an one as has likewiſe a wholeſome Air. He therefore conceives that *Piacenza* or *Bolonia* will not be incommodious; or at leaſt *Mantua*, which is a City of the Empire, and near to *Germany*, ſituated in a pleaſant place, and abounding with all things neceſſary. They have therefore their liberty to chooſe one out of theſe three places. But if there be any Princes, who will neither come themſelves, nor yet ſend their Deputies, the Pope however ſhall go on with the buſineſs of the Council. And if there be any, who ſhall refuſe to obey its Decrees, and ſhall make a Revolt from the Pope, then it remains that the Emperor with other Kings and Princes undertake the Defence both of him and the Church, that they may not receive any Injury. But now the great reaſon why a Council ſhould not be call'd immediately, is this; becauſe 'tis neceſſary beforehand diligently to weigh and conſider all the Circumſtances of it; and therefore the Emperor, who has ſo often giv'n them hopes of ſeeing a Council, has pleas'd to take care that the Princes of *Germany* ſhould be acquainted with the Pleaſure of the Pope in this matter: And now if the King of the *Romans* and the reſt of the *German* Princes ſhall return an agreeable Anſwer to theſe Propoſals, it will have this effect, that the Pope will Proclaim a Council within ſix months, which ſhall begin to ſit the year following. That ſo in that interim Proviſions and other neceſſaries may be got together, and all Men (eſpecially thoſe who live furtheſt off) may have time to prepare for their Journey. When he had thus harangued, he deliver'd the foreſaid Heads drawn up in writing to the Elector. And then the Emperors Embaſſador began his Speech, which was to this purpoſe: That ſince the ſettlement of religious Affairs has hitherto been in vain attempted in all the former Diets, and 'tis judg'd that the matter may be accommodated by a Council; the Emperor has therefore lately prevail'd with the Pope, that one may be held after the ſame manner, and at the ſame Time and Place as his Embaſſador has now particulariz'd. The purport therefore of this his Meſſage from the Emperor is, To teſtifie that a Council is very acceptable to the Pope; and ſince his Embaſſador has already fully ſpoken to the whole matter, 'twill not become him to enlarge any further. He only prays that this his Relation may be entertain'd as a truth, and a friendly Anſwer return'd. The Elector replies, that, ſince 'tis a matter of great Importance, he will take ſome time to conſider of it, and therefore deſires that they will not be uneaſie under a ſhort delay. To which the Pope's Embaſſador makes anſwer, That he is very much in the right to proceed deliberately, and that ſo arduous an Affair doth juſtly deſerve ſome time for conſideration. Theſe things were done at *Weimar*. A few days after the Duke of *Saxony* return'd this Anſwer, That he heartily rejoyces to find that the Emperor and the Pope have determin'd for a Council. For the Publick State of Affairs does neceſſarily require that ſuch a Council be held, as the Emperor has often promis'd to the *Germans*; a Council, wherein things may be regularly handled, and according to the Standard of the Word of God: and if this be done, he doubts not but all things will go very well. As for his part, he earneſtly prays to God, that he would grant this, and his advice to all the people within his Dominions ſhall be, that they would do the ſame: He likewiſe will uſe the beſt of his endeavours for the effecting of it, and will take care that his Allies ſhall apply their Induſtry the ſame way: His deſire truly is to give in his Anſwer forthwith; but there are many of the ſame Religion, who in company with his Father made profeſſion of this Doctrin before the Emperor at the Diet of *Auſpurg*: And therefore 'twill neither be juſt, nor yet for the advantage of the Cauſe, to give in a private Anſwer, without taking them into a Conſultation; but an Anſwer under all their Hands will be much better. Now becauſe the Pope and the Emperor had by their Letters dated, laſt Winter, from *Bononia* giv'n the States of the Empire hopes that there would ſhortly be an Embaſſy, and conſequently upon that a Council: He therefore and his Allies had agreed to meet together at *Smalcalde* upon the 24*th* of *June*, there

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The Emperor's Embaſſador's Speech to the Duke.

The Duke's anſwer to the Embaſſador.

1533. to deliberate about the whole buſineſs. As ſoon therefore as the Confederates ſhall meet together (which will be at the day appointed) they will enter into a Conſultation, and diſpatch away their Anſwer with all ſpeed either by Embaſſadors or Letters. As for his part, he ſhall by the Grace of God, ſo behave himſelf, that not only the preſent Age, but Poſterity alſo may ſee, that of all things in the World he deſires nothing more, than that pure Religion and a flouriſhing Peace may be eſtabliſh'd not only in *Germany*, but alſo through the whole Chriſtian World; and that the Emperor, as Supream Magiſtrate, may enjoy all that Honour and Dignity which juſtly belongs unto him.

A full and large Anſwer of the Proteſtants to the Pope and the Emperor.

Accordingly when the Confederates had met together, and concerted the whole buſineſs, upon the laſt day of *June* they return an Anſwer by Letter in the name of their whole Body: wherein they give the Emperor all poſſible Thanks for taking ſuch pains for the Glory of God, and the Publick Welfare; nor do they in the leaſt doubt, but it is from his heart, that he deſires a Council. They therefore pray God to confirm his Reſolution, and ſo to direct him, that Truth may again be brought into faſhion, and that falſe Doctrin, with corrupt Rites and Modes of Worſhip, may be taken away, and all Error may be rooted out from the hearts of Men, that ſo the pure Worſhip of God, and other Pious performances may be again reviv'd. For they ſincerely deſire ſuch a Council, where the Points in Controverſie may be rightly and orderly determin'd; and ſuch a Council too the Emperor has formerly promis'd, and it has been decreed upon weighty deliberation in many Diets of the Empire that the ſame ſhould be call'd together in *Germany*. For the Fountain, from whence theſe Diſſentions have been deriv'd, was the overgrown Impudence of ſome Men, who preach'd up things here call'd *Indulgencies*. At which time likewiſe certain egregious Errors (ſuch as could not be diſſembled) were detected and expos'd. And though Pope *Leo* condemn'd this Doctrin which laid open thoſe Errors, yet to this his condemnation they confronted the Teſtimonies of the Prophets and Apoſtles. Wherefore they always thought a Council to be highly neceſſary, wherein they might come again to a right underſtanding of the Cauſe, that is, wherein it might be made plainly appear what is Truth, and what is Error. And this was not only their own ſenſe, but alſo the judgment of all the other Princes and States; becauſe they plainly ſaw and confeſs'd that many things had crept into Religion, which ought either to be taken away or reform'd; and becauſe they well knew what it was that Men did wiſh for, and what was requiſite for the Publick Good. But when the Pope had condemn'd this their Doctrin, Decrees were made in the Imperial Diets in theſe very words, *viz.* That a free and Chriſtian Council ſhould be conven'd, either of all Nations in general, or elſe of the *German* Empire only. And the reaſon, that they were conceiv'd in theſe very words, was, that the Cauſe might not be prejudg'd or over-rul'd either by the foreſaid Sentence of the Pope, or by the force and power of any Man whatever. And that Judgment might be made of the whole Controverſie, not from the Pontificial Laws, or the Opinions of the Schools, but from the Holy Scriptures. For if any Man's authority be ſo great as to overballance the Holy Scriptures, and right reaſon; who can doubt but that all their pains and endeavours will be in vain, when plac'd in oppoſition to the Pope? For 'tis well enough known what Progreſs has been made that way in ſome paſt Councils; where a Reformation indeed has been ſet on foot, but by the Interpoſition of the Popes has ſtill been wholly ſet aſide. It has therefore been for very weighty Reaſons decreed, that a Council ſhould be held in *Germany*: and this has likewiſe been approv'd of by the Emperor. But theſe Propoſals of the Pope do altogether run counter to the Decrees of the Empire, which have paſs'd the Seals both of the Princes and the Emperor. For though he ſpeaks of a Free Council, yet who can doubt but that he has quite another Proſpect, ſince his great Endeavours are to bring over Kings and Princes to his ſide? For was he willing it ſhould be Free, to what purpoſe would theſe Engagements be? But ſince he is ſo very induſtrious this way, 'tis manifeſt that his deſign muſt be this, to keep up and maintain his Power and Tyranny by the Authority of a Council; that ſo no body may dare to reprehend theſe Errors and Corruptions, or if any one be ſo hardy, he may pay very ſoundly for it. What others will do they cannot tell; but their opinion is, that theſe his Propoſals are of ſuch a nature, and ſo contriv'd, that they are apt to deter Men from a Council, rather then invite them to it. For who will ingage himſelf at this rate, eſpecially when it does not yet appear, what is like to be

the Order, Form, or Method of the Council? When it is not yet known whether the Pope will not ſet up his own Authority as Supream there, and whether he is willing the Controverſie ſhould be diſcuſs'd according to the Holy Scriptures, or according to thoſe Traditions and Canons, which are not confirm'd by any Teſtimonies from Scripture? The Freedom of the Council is likewiſe in danger from that expreſſion of his, That it ſhall be manag'd after the ancient and received manner. Now, though they do not in the leaſt reject thoſe Decrees of ancient Councils, which are conſonant to the Holy Scriptures; Yet they think that there is a vaſt difference between thoſe Councils, and theſe which have been held within their own Memory, or ſomewhat before; wherein the Pope and Humane Decrees have been advanc'd to an extravagant Pitch. Therefore when he ſaies it ſhall be held after the wonted manner, it is a captious expreſſion, and may include, that there ſhall not be ſuch a freedom of Votes as they deſire, and the Cauſe *it ſelf requires*; but that Judgment ſhall be giv'n according to his own Laws, and that Power which he has arrogated to himſelf, as it has been done in ſome of the laſt Councils. But ſuch proceedings as theſe are ſo far from reconciling the Churches, and extricating doubtful and afflicted Conſciences, that they will rather involve them in thicker Darkneſs, and plunge them into a deeper Slavery. Since therefore the Pope has not yet anſwer'd the deſire of the Emperor and the other States, their earneſt Requeſt is, that the Emperor would conſider the vaſtneſs of the Cauſe (wherein the whole Chriſtian Commonwealth is concern'd) and endeavour that it may be juſtly and legally manag'd. For this is his proper Province, and he has Power by the Laws to do it, whenever Truth ſhall be obſtructed by the Pope. For care is to be taken that he may not be both Party and Judge at the ſame time. Beſides, all People are ſet on tiptoes with the hopes of this Council, and 'tis the Subject of their moſt eager wiſhes and prayers, that they may at laſt be deliver'd from the doubts and anguiſh of an afflicted Conſcience, and be ſet into the right way to Salvation. For there have not been, for many Ages, ſuch ſtruglings about ſuch momentous Affairs, as there are now; the occaſion of which are thoſe numerous Errors and Corruptions, which long before our time have broke into the Church. Now if the general expectation ſhall be thus made fruſtrate, and ſuch a Council, as has formerly been promis'd, cannot be obtain'd, we may eaſily imagine what a ſurpriſing ſorrow and affliction it will ſtrike upon the minds of Men. Moreover, if the Pope ſhall refuſe to come to a fair Judgment of things, it is much to be fear'd that both the Church and State will be agitated with more dangerous Tempeſts than ever. But ſince all the States of the Empire have in all their Diets decreed for a regular Council, they cannot doubt but they will ſtick to their Principles, and kick in pieces thoſe Snares which the Pope is preparing for them: They likewiſe expect the ſame things from the other Princes. For this Engagement, which is now working, is altogether full of trick and deſign; and 'tis impoſſible that Men ſhould ever make a true and right judgment of things, unleſs all their minds be kept free and unbiaſs'd. But if he be reſolv'd to go on, and to have a Council after his own way, they will then commit the whole Affair to God Almighty, who will undoubtedly Vindicate his own Cauſe and Religion. However if things ſhall come to that paſs, that the Pope muſt have his mind in this buſineſs (which they can hardly believe) they will yet conſider what is further to be done. And if they happen to be cited, and ſee that they can do any thing for the Glory of God; they will then make their appearance, if they may but have convenient Security giv'n them upon the Publick Faith. Or elſe they will ſend thither their Embaſſadors, who ſhall publickly propound whatever the neceſſity and reaſon of their Cauſe requires. This however ſhall be the condition, that the preſent Propoſitions of the Pope ſhall not be accepted of, nor any ſuch Council allow'd as is contrary to the Decrees of the Empire. For they cannot ſee how this Project of the Pope has the leaſt tendency to advance a laſting Peace either to the Church or State; nor does it become him to act after this Rate, if he intends to diſcharge the Duty of a faithful Paſtor; which obliges him to adviſe Men for the beſt, and to diſpenſe unto them the wholſome Food of ſound Doctrin. Now ſince theſe things are ſo, they earneſtly deſire them to deliver in this their Anſwer to the Emperor and the Pope; hoping that the Emperor (whom with all Reverence they acknowledge to be the Supream Magiſtrate conſtituted by God,) will not receive it with any Reſentment; but will uſe his Intereſt that ſuch a Council may be call'd, as is agreeable to the Decrees of the Empire, and

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that

1533. that the whole Controverſie may be diſcuſs'd by pious and unſuſpected Men. For it will without doubt very much redound both to his Glory and Advantage, if he ſhall imploy all his Power and Authority towards the propagating of ſound Doctrin, and not to ſtrengthen the cruel hands of thoſe Men, who have been for many years committing Outrage upon innocent Men, only for their honeſt profeſſion of ſuch a Doctrin as is moſt agreeable to the Goſpel. Now for what remains, they tender the Emperor their Service in all things, and ſhall yield him a ready Compliance in all his other Affairs.

There was then with King *Ferdinand*, *Vergerius* the Pope's Legate, who has been mention'd in the former Book. And becauſe the Biſhop of *Rhegium* was both ancient and infirm, *Clement* had giv'n Orders to *Vergerius* to take upon him the Embaſſy, if any difficulty ſhould ariſe; and that he ſhould be ſure to keep always in his View what the Pope's deſign and intentions were in relation to a Council. He muſt therefore keep himſelf very cloſe to his Orders, and the foremention'd Propoſals; and not recede one hairs breadth from them. But muſt take care not to run the Pope into ſtreights, and bring him under a neceſſity of holding a Council; though he be never ſo hardly preſs'd by King *Ferdinand* himſelf.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK IX.

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1533.

WHen they had given the Embassadors this Answer, they made these following Decrees: First, That a Committee of Divines and Lawyers should be chosen to draw up a Scheme of those Points which they were to insist upon at the Council in relation to Form and Debate. 2ly, That their Answer to the Pope should be published, and imparted to foreign Princes and States. 3ly, They decreed to dispatch away their Agents to the Judges of the Chamber of *Spire*, who hath prosecuted some Persons upon the account of their Religion, contrary to the Emperors Edict. Which Prosecutions, if they were not ceas'd, the Protestants resolved to demurr to the Jurisdiction of their Court. 4ly, That an Embassy should be sent to the Elector of *Mentz* and the *Palsgrave*, who were Princes of the Mediation; and an account of all their Proceedings transmitted afterwards in writing to the Emperor.

George Duke of *Saxony* makes Search after the *Lutherans.*

I have already mentioned in several places that *George* Duke of *Saxony* had a particular hatred to *Luther*'s Person, as well as a general aversion to his Doctrin. Now

1533. Now this Prince underſtanding that many of his Subjects maintained that the *Lords Supper* was to be received according to our Saviour's Command, ordered the Parochial Clergy that thoſe who came to them at *Eaſter* and confeſſed themſelves conformably to the ancient Cuſtom, and received the *Euchariſt* according to the Canons of the Church of *Rome*; ſhould have Tickets given them, which they were to deliver into the Senate, that ſo the *Roman* Catholicks and the Lutherans might be diſtinguiſh'd. This ſcrutiny diſcovered ſeventy Perſons at *Leipſick* (the Capital Town of that Country) without Tickets: Theſe Perſons had conſulted *Luther* before what they ſhould do, who wrote them word, that thoſe who were juſtly perſwaded that the *Communion* was to be received in both kinds, ſhould do nothing againſt their Conſcience, but rather run the hazard of loſing their Lives. This advice kept them conſtant to their Opinion; ſo that when they were ſummoned to appear before their Prince, and had almoſt two months time allowed to conſider; they could not be prevail'd upon to alter their Reſolution, though they were ſingly dealt withal in private; but rather choſe to be baniſh'd the Town, which was executed accordingly. *Luther* in the Letter which I ſpoke of, called the Duke of *Saxony*, *The Devil's Apoſtle.* This Language made a great Noiſe and Diſturbance, and the Duke immediately complained againſt him in a Letter to the Elector his Cozen German, that he had not only affronted, and railed on him; but that he endeavoured to harangue his Subjects into a Rebellion. The Elector writes to *Luther* about it, and tells him, among other things, that unleſs he can clear himſelf of the Crime objected againſt him, he muſt be forc'd to puniſh him. This made *Luther* purge himſelf in Print, where he affirms, that he did not adviſe any perſons to reſiſt their Prince, though his Commands were wicked, but rather ſubmit to Baniſhment: Now this cannot in any reaſonable Conſtruction be called teaching of Rebellion. Thoſe only are chargeable with that Imputation, who aſſert the Magiſtrate may be lawfully reſiſted by force of Arms. And as for the Duke, his ſwearing his Subjects to Perſecute the reformed Religion, he refers it to all Men of ſenſe to determine how defenſible ſuch a method is: Nay he knows his temper ſo well, that if the Prince Elector ſhould oblige his own Subjects to return him any uſage of the like nature, he does not queſtion but that he would look upon it as Seditious. Now as touching Magiſtracy and Laws, no Man can raiſe their Character and Sacredneſs higher, nor repreſent them with more advantage than he has done in his Writings. Indeed when Popery governed Chriſtendom, this Doctrin concerning Magiſtrates underwent the ſame fate with other material Truths, the miſtakes about it making part of the ignorance of thoſe things; for then moſt People were perſwaded that ſuch an active ſort of life was not acceptable to God Almighty. But thoſe who advance ſuch Tenents as theſe, are Seditious to purpoſe, and St. *Peter* has given us a Prophetick deſcription of their doom. But he did wonder at the Duke's accuſing him in this manner; for the Profeſſors of the true Religion have always been loaded with the Charge of Sedition. Our Saviour himſelf was haled away, and ignominiouſly put to death under this pretence, as if he deſign'd to ſet up himſelf for a King, and endeavour'd to draw off the People from their Allegiance to the Emperor. To this little Book he added a Conſolatory Letter to the *Leipſickers* who were baniſhed; exhorting them to bear their preſent Adverſity patiently, and alſo to give God thanks for that Fortitude and Conſtancy which they have hitherto ſhewed. That the ſatisfaction which the Enemies of the Goſpel took in their ſucceſs, would not laſt long, but fall off ſooner than was generally imagined; As all their former Attempts by the eſpecial Mercy of God had been diſappointed, and brought to nothing. I have already mention'd the Interview between the Emperor and *Clement* the Seventh: Now when the Emperor was returned into *Spain*, the Pope at the requeſt of the *French* King ſailed through the Sea of *Genoa* to *Marſeilles*, where he arrived in Autumn; and that there might be a more intimate Correſpondence between them, he married his Niece, *Catharine de Medices*, to *Henry* the Kings Son, who was Duke of *Orleance*, and about fifteen years of age. And in regard the occaſion ſeems to require it, I ſhall give a ſhort account here of the Family of the *Medices*. *Sylveſter*, *Averard* and *John*, ſtand in the Head of the Pedigree, and were Noblemen of *Florence*; But *Coſmo* was the firſt who raiſed the Grandeur of the Family, being far the richeſt Man, not only of his own City, but of all *Italy*. *Coſmo* his Son *Peter* begat *Laurence* and *Julian*; *Julian* had a Son born after his death called *Julius*, who was afterwards *Clement* the Seventh, although there are different

Luther publiſhes a Book to juſtifie himſelf.

An account of the Family of the *Medices.*

different Reports concerning his Extraction. *Laurence* had *Peter*, *Julian* and *John*, who was at laſt Pope *Leo* the Tenth. *Julian* left no Children: *Peter*, who was baniſhed *Florence*, and afterwards caſt away in a Storm at the mouth of *Garigliano*; had a Son named *Laurence*, who married a *French* Woman, of the Houſe of *Bolen*, and had this *Catharine* we now ſpeak of, by her. The Pope ſtaid about a month at *Marſeilles*, and before he returned home to oblige the King and his Nobility, he made four *French* Men Cardinals, whom he knew to be the Kings Favorites, *viz.* *Odet Caſtillon*, *Philip* of *Bolen*, *Claude Gifre*, and *John Vener* Biſhop of *Liſieux*. Moſt People believ'd this Affinity would produce a change of Affairs in *Italy*; and the diſproportion of the Match was generally wonder'd at: Nay they ſay *Clement* himſelf doubted the Event, and ſcarce believed the *French* King in earneſt, till the Marriage was conſummated. Some few months after the *Lantgrave* took a Journey to the *French* King, the occaſion of it was this: In the year 1519. *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemburg* was expelled his own Dominions by the Confederates of the League of *Schwaben*, becauſe he had lately taken *Ruteling* a Town of the Empire, and under the Protection of the League: This Country the Emperor purchas'd of the Confederates, and afterwards gave it his Brother *Ferdinand* when they divided their Inheritance. Now in the Diet at *Auſpurg* ſeveral of the Princes interceded that *Ulrick*, who had now been baniſh'd eleven years, might be reſtored: But this motion was to no purpoſe, for the Emperor at that time after he had declar'd the Reaſons at large why *Ulrick* was diſpoſſeſs'd, he publickly gave his Brother the Ducal Ornaments and Badges of Soveraignty for that Country. The *Lantgrave* therefore who was nearly related to the Duke, and very much his Friend, had thoughts of attempting ſomething in his behalf at that juncture, but being diſappointed by Perſons, who had promis'd their aſſiſtance, he deferr'd his Deſign till he had a better opportunity. But now the Emperor being abſent, and the League of *Schwaben* which was made for a eleven years paſt exired, away he goes for *France* and Mortgages *Mount Pellicarde* to the King in Duke *Ulrick* his name, for a certain ſum of Mony; Upon condition, that if the Duke did not diſcharge the Mortgage within three years, the Premiſes ſhould be annexed to the Crown of *France*. Beſides this Sum, the King promis'd to lend him another, and gave him ſome hopes, that he would not demand it again.

Clement creates four *French* Men Cardinals.

The *Lantgrave* endeavours the Reſtitution of *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemburg*.

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At this time there was a very great alteration of Affairs in *England*, which happen'd in this manner; *Henry* the Seventh, King of *England* had two Sons, *Arthur* and *Henry*. *Arthur* married *Catharine*, Daughter to *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, and died without Iſſue. *Henry* the Father who deſired the Alliance he had contracted with *Spain* might be continued, procured a Diſpenſation from Pope *Julius* the Second, and got *Catharine* contracted to his other Son, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdom at his death, in the year 1509. *Henry* the Eighth therefore who married this Lady ſoon after his Father died, when he had reigned a great many years, and was well ſetled in his Kingdom, acquaints ſome of the Biſhops that he was diſſatisfied in his Conſcience; puts them upon an Enquiry, whether it was lawful for a Man to marry his Brothers Relict, and as it's ſaid abſtain'd from the Queen's Bed for ſeveral months. The Biſhops, by the King's Order, diſcourſe the Queen privately, and acquaint her that the Popes Bull was not ſufficient nor authentick. She anſwer'd, that it was too late to complain of the Bull now, ſince they had approv'd it ſo long before.

A great Revolution in *England*.

And when the Diſpute began to grow warm, the Pope's aſſiſtance was deſir'd to determine the Matter. The Queen had miſcarried ſeveral times, neither did any of her Children live, excepting the Princeſs *Mary*. The Pope therefore undertook the Cauſe, and delegated the hearing of it to the Cardinals *Campegio* and *York*. And after a long debate, when the King had hopes given him from *Rome*, that things ſhould go on his ſide, *Campegio*, by the Pope's Order, when he was juſt upon the Point of the Sentence, began to draw back, and to throw in delays. This Turn they ſay was occaſioned by the death of General *Lautrech*, and the loſs of the *French* Army before *Naples*, *Andrew Auria* likewiſe happening to revolt from *Francis* at the ſame time; which made the Pope conclude that the Emperor, *Catharines* Nephew by her Siſter, who was now ſo proſperous in *Italy*, ought not in prudence to be diſoblig'd. *Campegio* therefore at laſt leaves *England*, without bringing the Affair to any point, at which the King was extreamly diſſatisfied. But that he might not ſeem to do any thing raſhly, he diſpatch'd away ſeveral Agents into *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, to Collect the ſenſe of the

1534. Divines concerning his Marriage; The *Pariſians* and moſt of the reſt ſeemed to declare for the unlawfulneſs of it, though they were ſuſpected to be bribed into their opinion: Now there was one *Anne Bolen* in the Queens Service, an incomparable handſome Maiden-Lady; This Perſon the King began to ſet his Affections upon, and diſcover'd intelligibly enough that he had a mind to marry her. As ſoon as Cardinal *Woolſey* who was moſt intimate with the King, and as they ſay, moved firſt for the Divorce, underſtood this deſign, he changed his Reſolution, and writing to the Pope, adviſed him not to null the Marriage; for if he did, another Woman infected with *Lutheraniſm*, would ſucceed *Catharine*.

When the King was acquainted with the *Cardinals* proceedings, by his Embaſſador at *Rome*, he was very much offended with him, and not long after removed him from his Office of *Lord Chancellor*, and deprived him of two of the three Biſhopricks which he held. At laſt being reduc'd to a private life, and letting fall ſome paſſionate indecent Expreſſions, importing a deſire of revenge; The King commanded him to diſmiſs the greateſt part of his Servants, and to come to Court with a ſmall Retinue. The Cardinal not being able to avoid it, ſets forward, but before he reached the King, he fell into an acute Diſtemper contracted by the diſſatisfaction of his mind, and died upon the way. Now the Pope, that *Campegio* might have ſome pretence for coming away, revokes the Cauſe to himſelf at *Rome*. And foreſeeing the Marriage with *Anne Bolen* would be of very ill conſequence to himſelf, he plies the King with Admonitions, and ſometimes with Threatnings, to give over his deſign: But not being able to prevail there, upon the 24*th* of *March* this year, to oblige the Emperor, he gave Judgment on the Queens ſide. When the King was already divorc'd from her, had declar'd his Daughter *Mary* Illegitimate, and married the other Lady above a year ſince. As ſoon as the King underſtood that Sentence was pronounced againſt him, he began to hate the Pope mortally, and immediately paſſeth an Act, in which he declares himſelf Head of the Church of *England* next after Chriſt, denies all manner of Obedience to the See of *Rome*, and makes it death for any one to maintain the Pope's Supremacy: He likewiſe refuſeth to pay the yearly Tax which the Pope's Collector uſed to receive, and forbids the Conveyance of any Mony to *Rome* under ſevere Penalties; all which Injunctions were confirmed by the States of the Realm, which they call a Parliament. *Francis* the *French* King is thought to have ſtruck a Conſiderable ſtroak in this Divorce, that he might make an irreconcilable Breach between *Henry* and the Emperor. As concerning the Tax which I mention'd, the Caſe ſtands thus: *Ine* King of *England* in the year 740. out of a ſenſe of Piety made his Kingdom Tributary to the Pope, (as the Hiſtory of thoſe times informs us) and charged every houſe with the payment of a peny. From that time the Popes ſent their Collectors thither yearly to receive this Duty, which was commonly call'd *Peter-pence*. This payment having been made by the *Engliſh* without any Interruption from the firſt Grant, this *Henry* was the firſt who forbad the Continuance of it any longer.

Woolſey dieth with diſcontent.

Peter-pence forbidden.

I have given an account in the Fourth Book how *Luther* and *Eraſmus* wrote againſt each other concerning the Subject of Free Will. This year the Pique between them broke out again: For *Luther* in a Letter to a Friend takes occaſion to charge *Eraſmus* very high, as if he ridiculed the Chriſtian Religion, and expos'd it to queſtion and contempt; and cites ſeveral places in his Writings to make good his Accuſation. He alſo objected, that the other had an equivocal two-handed way in expreſſing himſelf, and made a Tyrannical uſe of his Elocution; And in regard he takes the liberty to play with religious Arguments at that ambiguous rate, when he both can, and is obliged to be more clear, he ought always to be conſtrued in the worſt ſenſe. This Letter was afterwards anſwer'd by *Eraſmus*, and ſmartly too, who was more ſenſibly concern'd for nothing than to keep up the Reputation of his own Writings. About this time the *Franciſcans* made a ſtrange tragical piece of Work of it, at *Orleans* in *France*. The thing was thus; The Provoſt's Wife of that Town had order'd in her Will to be buried without any Ceremony or noiſe. For when any one dies in *France*, it's the Cuſtom for Funeral Cryers, who are hired for this purpoſe, to go about the principal Streets in the City, and call the common people together with their hand-Bells. When they have done this, they tell the Name and Quality of the Perſon deceas'd, and exhorting the Company to pray to God for his Soul; they let them know when and where he is to be buried. When the Corps goes to the Grave, the *Mendicant Friers* are uſually invited to attend it, and a great many Torches

A Pique between *Luther* and *Eraſmus*.

The Impoſture of the *Franciſcans* at *Orleans*.

Torches are carried before the Hearſe. In theſe Solemnities people commonly ſtrive to out-do one another, for the more expenſive the Funeral is, the greater Crowd there is to ſee and admire it. But this Woman I ſpoke of would have none of all this. Her Husband therefore who loved her entirely, perform'd this part of her Will, and burying her by her Father and Grandfather in the *Franciſcans* Church, preſented theſe Gentlemen with no more than ſix Crowns; whereas they expected a much greater Sum. Afterwards when he felled a Wood and ſold it, they deſired him to give them ſome Timber, but were denied: They took this very heinouſly, which, with their former Diſguſt, made them reſolve to revenge themſelves upon him, by raiſing a report, that his Wife was damned. The principal Contrivers of the Farce were *Coliman* and *Stephen* of *Arras*, both of them Divines and Preachers. The firſt was likewiſe an Exorciſt, and had all his Conjuring Artillery ready, which was proper upon ſuch occaſions. Now they threw their buſineſs into this method. They order'd one of their Novices to plant himſelf upon the roof of the Church; This young Fellow in the dead of the night, when they came to mutter over their prayers, according to their cuſtom, makes a great noiſe, upon this alarm they preſently let fly ſome Conjurations and Exorciſms at him; but not a word would he ſpeak: When they bid him make a ſign to let them know if he was a dumb Spirit, he falls a clattering again at a very conſiderable rate, by which they were to underſtand that he could not converſe more intelligibly with them. When their Plot was thus well grounded, they go and make a Viſit to ſome eminent Citizens of the Town, who had a particular regard for them: Here they relate that a ſad Accident had befallen them as Home, without mentioning what it was, but deſir'd them that they would pleaſe to come to their Nocturnals: As ſoon as theſe Townſmen came thither, and Prayers were begun, the Gentleman upon the top of the Houſe makes a rout and a diſturbance as his Superiors had directed him. When they asked him what he would have, and who he was, he let them underſtand that he had not the liberty to ſpeak: upon this they command him to make ſigns to their queſtions. Now there was a hole in the Roof, by laying his Ear to which, he could underſtand what the Exorciſt ſaid: beſides he had a Board in his hand which he ſtroke with that force upon every queſtion, that they might hear him below in the Church. The firſt thing they asked him was, whether he was buried there? Then they named a great many of thoſe who were interr'd there, till at laſt they came to the Provoſts Wife. Here he makes a ſign to let them know he was her Spirit: Then they ask him, whether he was damn'd, and for what? 2. Whether it was for Covetouſneſs or Pride, or Lewdneſs or Uncharitableneſs, or for *Luther's* new Hereſie? Laſtly, they would know what he meant by that buſtle and ſtir? Whether he would have his body digg'd up out of that holy place, and carried ſome whither elſe? He makes anſwer to all theſe queſtions as he had been preinſtructed, by ſigns, which ſtood for Yes, or No, according as he gave two or three knocks upon the Board: And when he had let them underſtand that he was damned for the *Lutheran* Hereſie, and that his Body muſt be digg'd up; the Monks deſired the Townſmen they had brought thither to make *Affidavit* of what they had ſeen, and ſubſcribe the Regiſter which they had lately made of this Accident: This the Townſmen upon conſideration refus'd to do, for fear of diſobliging the Provoſt, and bringing themſelves into trouble: The *Franciſcans* notwithſtanding take up their unleaven'd Wafer, which they call the Hoſt, and Body of our Lord, together with all the Relicks of the Saints, and carry them to another place, and there they ſay their Maſs. This cuſtom the Church of *Rome* enjoyns the Prieſts to obſerve, when any place of Devotion is to be conſecrated over again, for lying under the Cenſure of ill Reports and Profanation: And there is a particular Order in their Rituals what they are to do upon ſuch an occaſion. When the Biſhops Eccleſiaſtical Judge, whom they call his Official, heard this Relation, he reſolv'd to underſtand the bottom of the matter, and therefore comes to the place himſelf and brings ſeveral conſiderable Perſons along with him; bidding the Monks begin their Exorciſms, and that ſome of the Company ſhould go upon the Roof and ſee if they could diſcover any Apparition. Now *Stephen* of *Arras* did not like this way by any means, but diſſwaded them from it with all the earneſtneſs imaginable, for the Spirit he ſaid ought not to be diſturb'd. And though the Official was very urgent to ſet them a Conjuring, yet he could not prevail. In the mean time the Provoſt after he had acquainted the other Judges of the Town with his Intentions, goes to Court and relates the

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1534. whole Story to the King. And becauſe the Monks inſiſted upon their Priviledges and Exemptions, and refus'd to acknowledge the ordinary Juriſdiction of the Secular Magiſtrate; The King ſends a Commiſſion to certain Perſons of the Parliament of *Paris* to try the Cauſe, and gives them full Power for Examination and Sentence: The ſame Authority was given them by the Chancellor, *Anthony du Praet*, who was a Cardinal and the Pope's Legat for *France*. Therefore having nothing to except againſt their Judges, they were carried to *Paris*, and forc'd to plead to the Indictment: but no Confeſſion could be gotten out of them. However they kept them under diſtinct Confinements: The Novice was ſecured in the houſe of one *Fume* a Gentleman of the Parliament, and was often preſſed to a diſcovery, but would make none, for fear of being murther'd by his Confederates for diſgracing their Order. But when the Judges promis'd him a Pardon, and that he ſhould not be returned into the Juriſdiction of his Fraternity, he gave a full account of the whole Intrigue: And being confronted by the other Criminals, maintained his Teſtimony to their Faces. Theſe Monks, notwithſtanding they were convicted and taken almoſt in the very act; yet they excepted againſt their Judges, and made a noiſe with their Priviledges. But this was to no purpoſe, for they were condemned by the whole Court to be ſent back to *Orleance*, and impriſoned, and then to be brought publickly to the Cathedral and to the place of Execution, and there to make an acknowledgment of their Lewdneſs. But at this time there happen'd to be a Perſecution againſt the *Lutherans*, as I ſhall ſhew afterwards, which was the reaſon why the Sentence was not executed, though it was a very gentle one, conſidering the nature of the Crime. For *Lutheraniſm* being ſo violently hated, they were afraid if any ſeverity had been us'd, it would have looked more like an affront to the Society, than a puniſhment of the Malefactors of it: And whatever they had ſuffer'd, moſt people believ'd the *Lutherans* would have been extraordinarily pleas'd with it. Now the Order of the *Franciſcans* hath a great Reputation for Sanctity with the generality. And when theſe Brothers were condemn'd at *Paris*, and carried away to *Orleans*, ſeveral Women out of meer pity went ſighing and weeping after them to the Gate of the Town. When they came to *Orleans*, they were committed to diſtinct Priſons, where they inſiſted again very ſtrongly upon their Immunities and Priviledges. And at laſt, after a long Impriſonment, they were ſet at liberty without undergoing any greater Puniſhment. During their Impriſonment they were very liberally ſupply'd with Mony, eſpecially by the Women, who furniſh'd them ſufficiently, both for the procuring of Diet and Intereſt too. But if that Perſecution and burning of Chriſtians, which I juſt hinted had not happen'd, and taken the King from his deſign, he was reſolv'd, as they ſay, to have pulled down their Convent, and levell'd all their Works. And here we may obſerve that before the Reformation there was abundance of Apparitions. For the Spirits of the dead, as was ſuppoſed, us'd to be very troubleſome to this World as ſoon as their Funeral was over; and come and tell people either why they were damn'd, or tormented for a time in Purgatory; begging their near Relations or Friends to have pity on them. Now it was common for them to deſire either that their Vows which they had made to the Saints might be diſcharged, or that the Prayers and Sacrifice of the Maſs might be repeated as often as they gave directions for their enlargement. This practiſe confirm'd the belief of Purgatory wonderfully, and gave a mighty Reputation to Maſſes, and enrich'd the Prieſts more than can be well imagin'd. But after *Luther*'s Doctrin appear'd, and got Footing, theſe Goblins went off by degrees and vaniſh'd. For *Luther* proves from the Holy Scriptures that departed Souls are at reſt, and confin'd till the laſt Judgment: And that thoſe Diſturbances, thoſe horrible Noiſes and Sights are cauſed by the Devil; who omits no opportunity to eſtabliſh an unlawful Worſhip, and to confirm Men in miſtaken Notions concerning Religion, that ſo he may make the Incarnation of our Saviour ineffectual.

Apparitions frequent in the times of Popery.

The *Lantgrave* his Expedition.

The *Lantgrave* after he had contracted with the *French* King, raiſeth an Army in the beginning of the Spring, and before he proceeded any farther, the Duke of *Wirtemburg* and himſelf wrote to King *Ferdinand* to juſtifie what they had done; but receiving no other ſatisfaction from *Ferdinand*, than that he was willing to have the Difference decided by Law; at laſt they brought their Men into the Field: And upon the 13*th* of *May* meeting with the Enemy, who were ten thouſand ſtrong in Foot, they played their Cannon upon them, and routed them near *Laufen*, a Town in the Dukedom of *Wirtemburg*. *Philip* Prince Palatine who was

Ferdinand's

Ferdinand's General, was wounded with a Musket-ſhot in this Action, and loſt his Feet; And a great many of his Soldiers were drown'd in the River *Neckar*, which they attempted to croſs in their flight. After this Defeat almoſt all the Dukedom of *Wirtemburg* ſubmitted to *Ulrick* their Prince. And at laſt *Auſpurg* which was built upon an extraordinary ſteep Rock, together with *Aurach*, *Tubingen* and *Nipha*, all ſtrong Forts upon the account of their ſituation, ſurrendred themſelves. Upon the firſt of *May Ferdinand* publiſhed a Proclamation, and wrote particularly to all the Proteſtants, That none ſhould be aiding to the Faction of theſe Princes, but reſiſt them to the utmoſt of their Power. The Emperor alſo ſet forth an Edict to the ſame purpoſe a few days before; inſomuch that no body gave them any aſſiſtance openly, and all Peoples thoughts were in ſuſpence and concern'd about the Conſequences of this Commotion. While this War was carrying on, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* and *George* Duke of *Saxony*, who was Father in law to the *Lantgrave*, endeavour'd a Reconciliation between King *Ferdinand* and the Elector of *Saxony*; and at laſt, upon the 29*th* of *June*, they concluded a Pacification upon theſe Conditions: That no Violence ſhould be offer'd upon the account of Religion, nor no Law Suits commenced; and that the Peace which the Emperor had made, ſhould be kept: That *Ferdinand*, by the Emperors Authority, ſhould ſtop all manner of Proceſſes of the Chamber of *Spire* againſt the Proteſtants, under which denomination neither the *Anabaptiſts*, nor the *Sacramentarians*, nor ſuch other Sectariſts, were to be comprehended: The Elector of *Saxony* and his Confederates ſhould be oblig'd to acknowledge *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, and give him that Title. *Ferdinand* alſo engaged himſelf to procure a Decree of the Emperor and the reſt of the Electors to this effect; When there ſhall be an occaſion to make a King of the *Romans* in the Emperor's life time, that then the Electors ſhall meet before-hand, and conſult whether there is good and ſufficient reaſon for ſuch a creation; if it appears there is, then they ſhall proceed according to the Form of the *Caroline* Law: All Creations contrary to this Proviſion ſhall be reputed null: In caſe this Decree is not made within ten months, the Elector of *Saxony* and his Allies are not to be obliged by this Treaty: The Emperor likewiſe ſhall within the ſaid term confirm the Elector of *Saxony* his Succeſſion to his Fathers and Anceſtors Dominions. And laſtly, that *Ferdinand* ſhould endeavour to get the Emperor's Approbation of the Elector of *Saxony* his Marriage, with the Duke of *Cleave*'s Daughter. While theſe things were debating, another Treaty was brought on; where the Elector of *Saxony* engageth as a Perſon Commiſſioned by the *Lantgrave* and the Duke of *Wirtemburg*, that thoſe Princes will make good whatever is concluded by him: At laſt, after a long Diſpute, which continued till all the Dukedom was recover'd by force, they came to this Agreement: By vertue of which Duke *Ulrick* and his Heirs-Male were to come under Vaſſalage to *Ferdinand* as Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, and hold the Dukedom of *Wirtemburg* of him as Lord of the Fee: And if the Family of the *Wirtemburgs* ſhould happen to be extinct, or have no Heirs-Male, that then this Territory was to deſcend upon the Arch-Dukes of *Auſtria*, who were to hold it of the Empire, to which they ſhould be oblig'd to pay Homage and Service upon this account: *Ulrick* was bound to acknowledge *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*; and never enter into any League againſt him: The *Lantgrave* and *Ulrick* were to make Reſtitution of thoſe Eſtates and Goods which had been ſeized on during the War; To force no perſons to change their Religion; To permit the Clergy the enjoyment of their Revenues without any moleſtation: That thoſe who have withdrawn either upon the account of danger or contempt, may return home, if they pleaſe; and others who have a mind to depart the Country, ſhall have the liberty to carry their Effects with them: The Ordnance with which *Auſpurg* was fortified, ſhall be deliver'd to *Ferdinand*: The mony which *Ferdinand* hath borrowed and converted to his own uſe, he ſhall pay himſelf; but that which hath been laid out for the advantage of the Country, ſhall be diſcharged by *Ulrick*: Duke *Ulrick* and his Heirs ſhall do Homage to *Ferdinand* and his Heirs, Kings of *Bohemia*, for thoſe Lands in the Dutchy of *Wirtemburg*, which they hold of that Kingdom: *Philip* Prince Palatine and the reſt of the Priſoners ſhall be diſmiſſed without Ranſome: The *Lantgrave* and *Ulrick* are oblig'd within a certain time to be ſpecified, to beg King *Ferdinand* his Pardon either in their own Perſons, or by their Embaſſadors; at which time the Duke ſhall be put into full Poſſeſſion by *Ferdinand*, who promiſeth to intercede for their Pardon with the Emperor alſo. Nothing ſhall be required of either ſide for the Charges of the

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A Pacification between *Ferdinand* and the Elector of *Saxony*.

A Treaty between *Ferdinand* and the Duke of *Wirtemburg*.

1534. the War. The *Lantgrave* and *Ulrick* oblige themſelves to ſupply *Ferdinand* with five hundred Horſe and 3000 Foot out of the Forces they have now in pay, and to ſend them at their own Charge to the Siege of *Munſter*, where they ſhall ſwear Allegiance to *Ferdinand*, and continue in his Service for three months if there be occaſion. *Sabina Ulrick* his Dutcheſs ſhall enjoy her Joynture without any Interruption. Laſtly, this Treaty ſhall be ratify'd by the Nobility and all the Commons.

Munſter a City of *Weſtphalia* which the *Anabaptiſts* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of, was beſieged at that time, as ſhall be ſhewed afterwards in its proper place; Now to carry on this Siege *Ferdinand* required Supplies of them. And here we may obſerve, that at laſt when the Territory of *Wirtemburg* was almoſt all recover'd, the mony was brought to the Duke which the *French* King agreed to lend upon the Mortgage; though it's true it was none of the King's fault that it came no ſooner, but his Treaſurers, who diſliking the drawing of the Conveyance, delayed the affair longer than his Majeſty intended. Now when the Peace was concluded, and the Army disbanded, the other mony came which the King promis'd to furniſh him with, without Security. But before the year came about, *Ulrick* paid off the Mortgage, and redeem'd *Mount Pellicarde*: As for the mony that was borrowed upon Honour, which was no inconſiderable Sum, the King made him a Preſent of it.

ulrick Duke of *wirtemburg* recovereth his Country.

Peter Paul Vergerius the Pope's Nuncio took this Pacification very ill, and reprimanded King *Ferdinand* in his Maſter *Clement*'s Name for coming to an Accommodation with the *Lutheran* Princes. The King told him, he did it only to prevent greater Broils and Diſturbances, and that he was oblig'd to comply with the neceſſity of the times. When *Ulrick* was baniſhed his Country, his Son *Chriſtopher* was about four years of age, who at firſt was Educated by *William* Duke of *Bavaria* his Uncle, but afterwards he was ſent to *Inſpruck* a Town under *Ferdinand* his Juriſdiction. And when the Emperor upon the *Turk*'s retreat, return'd into *Italy*, which I have already mention'd; Then this young Prince left the Emperor's Train, and went into *Bavaria*, which was hard by his Fathers Dominions; being before adviſ'd and importun'd by his Relations and Friends to make this Eſcape. For he being the only Heir, it was thought the *Auſtrian* Party had a deſign to carry him into a foreign Country, and make him a Clergy-Man. But after his Father was reſtord he travelled into *France*, and put himſelf into the King's Service. After things were accommodated, the *Lantgrave* upon the 21ſt of *July* wrote to the Emperor into *Spain* by a Currier, where he acquainted him with the Conditions of the Pacification, and begg'd his Pardon for himſelf and Duke *Ulrick*, and promis'd that both of them would pay his Majeſty and King *Ferdinand* all Obedience for the future. To this the Emperor returns him an anſwer from *Valencia*, dated *September* the firſt, in which he tells him, that he had receiv'd an account of the whole buſineſs from his Brother *Ferdinand*. To whom he had already declar'd his Reſolution in writing, and now had ſent his Embaſſador to do it by word of mouth. Therefore he referreth him to his Brother, who would ſhortly acquaint him with his Clemency and Inclination to Peace; afterwards he adviſeth him to make good his promiſe, and ſhew himſelf obedient, and not to engage in any turbulent Deſigns. During the Wars in the Dutchy of *Wirtemburg*, *Francis Sforza* the Second, Duke of *Milan*, married *Chriſtina*, Daughter to *Chriſtiern* the Captive King of *Denmark*, and Niece to the Emperor by his Siſter. The *French* King was about to make War upon this Duke, but the death of *Clement* the Seventh with whom he had lately entred into a *League*, was thought to have hindred him from proſecuting his Deſign at preſent. This Pope died at the later end of *September* of a diſtemper in his Stomach, which had continu'd a great while upon him, and was occaſion'd by his altering his Diet in his old age, which he did by the advice of his Phyſician *Curtio*. *Paul* the Third of the Houſe of *Farneſe* was his Succeſſor, who not long after created *Alexander* and *Aſcanio* Cardinals, both of them his own Grandchildren, and very much under the age of Manhood; his natural Son *Aloiſio* was Father to the former, and the other was the Son of his Daughter *Conſtanza*. Afterwards he recalls *Vergerius* out of *Germany*, and enquires concerning the State of Religion there, and conſults with the Cardinals how they may prevent a National Council, till, by private and unſuſpected Contrivances, they have embroil'd the Emperor and other Princes in a War. At laſt he reſolv'd to ſend *Vergerius* back into *Germany*, to proffer that Nation a general Council as they call it. More particularly his Inſtructions were to take care that

Chriſtopher ulrick Duke of *wirtemburg* his Son.

The *Lantgrave* his Letter to the Emperor.

Francis Sforza marrieth.

clement the Seventh dies.

Paul the Third choſen Pope.

that his proceedings might not be like thoſe of *Clement*, fall under the ſuſpicion of artifice and reſerve, and that he ſhould go to all the Princes, acquainting them that the Pope would call a Council at *Mantua*, and there the Regulations of it ſhould be ſetled: But he was more eſpecially to obſerve what Form the Proteſtants would inſiſt upon in reference to the Qualifications, Votings, and Diſputations of the Council, that when this was known, there might be ſuch Terms and Laws impoſed upon them, which he was aſſur'd they would not conſent to: He alſo commanded him to exaſperate the Princes of the Empire againſt the King of *England*, whoſe Dominions he was now thinking to give to any Body that could Conquer them: He was likewiſe to conſider if there was no poſſible Expedient to bring over *Luther* and *Melancton*. In this Conſiſtory there were nine Cardinals and Biſhops pitch'd upon to draw up a Form for the Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and Concerns, which afterwards became publick, as ſhall be diſcours'd in its place. Now the reaſon why *Vergerius* was ſent back into *Germany*, was, becauſe King *Ferdinand* had recommended him to the Pope, as a Perſon extraordinarily well qualified for the manage of that Employment. 1534.

Andrew Grittus Doge of *Venice. Lewis Andrew* his Son.

At this time *Andrew Grittus* was Doge of *Venice*, a Perſon of very great Reputation for his Prudence and Experience. This Nobleman when he liv'd at *Conſtantinople* had a natural Son named *Lewis*, who being brought up there from his Childhood, and having by his ſingular Induſtry and Ingenuity, rais'd a vaſt Eſtate, and gain'd himſelf a conſiderable Intereſt by his Liberality; got acquainted with the Courtiers firſt, and afterwards by the Recommendation of *Ibrahim* the Grand Viſier, who then had the ſole direction of Affairs, was ſo well known to *Solyman*, that he admitted him to a private Diſcourſe. And purſuing this lucky opportunity, he worked himſelf ſo far into *Solyman*'s Favour, that at laſt he was ſent into *Hungary* with a very ſplendid and numerous Attendance, having a Commiſſion to poſſeſs himſelf of that part of *Sclavonia* which bordereth upon the *Venetians*; but the lower *Hungary* (of which *Belgrade* is the Capital Town) he was to Govern as the Grand Seignior's Lieutenant. His Son *Anthony* was Biſhop of Five-Churches, and very near greater Preferment; for Pope *Clement*, to oblige his Father and Grandfather, intended to make him a Cardinal. But then the remarkable Turn came in, for which *Lewis* promis'd himſelf no leſs than a Kingdom, and had his Expectations ſtretch'd to the height in all reſpects. His Father likewiſe being mightily tranſported with his Son's Succeſs, there was a Faction form'd againſt him upon the account of ſome miſunderſtandings, by which he was taken Priſoner and beheaded, much about the time that *Paul* the Third came to the Popedom. This year there was a Perſecution rais'd in *France* againſt thoſe who were any ways ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm*, the occaſion was this; At *Paris* and in ſome other places, not excepting the King's Palace, there were Papers poſted up in the night, containing a great many Controverſal Diſputes, eſpecially concerning the Maſs: Upon this there was diligent enquiry made after the Criminals, ſome of which were diſcover'd by Informers, others were apprehended upon ſuſpicion, and put to the Queſtion, and both ſorts of them burn'd after a barbarous manner: For they were tied to a Pulley and drawn up a great height, then they let them down into the fire, and preſently after ſnatched them up again; at laſt the Executioner cut the Rope and dropped them in the Flames. Thoſe who were thought to be a little more learned than the reſt, had their Tongues cut out before they were brought to the Stake, leſt they ſhould tell the people why they ſuffer'd, and what they believed. *John Morin* under-Provoſt was a very fit Perſon to carry on this Cruelty. For as he was very dextrous in finding out thoſe who were in the leaſt ſuſpected, ſo when they were once convicted, he puniſh'd them with that rigour, which ſhew'd he had ſcarce any thing of the tenderneſs of humanity in him. Notwithſtanding there came out a little Book of an unknown Author, written in *French* againſt the religious Huckſters of thoſe times; the Pamphlet was pleaſant enough, but yet with a mixture of gravity. And firſt he tells us, that Trade is a Calling neither uncreditable, nor unprofitable to the State, if we can but ſtand clear of cheating and covetouſneſs. For our Saviour took his Similitude from this ſort of Employment, when he commands us to make uſe of the Talent we have receiv'd, that it may turn to account, which place is to be underſtood in a figurative ſenſe; For there is nothing more unbecoming the Character of a Church-man, than the leaſt reaſonable ſuſpicion of his being inclin'd to inrich himſelf by ſordid advantages. Notwithſtanding God being offended with our Sins, hath not only permitted Tradeſmen of vaſt Fortunes to circumvent, but Thieves to rifle his Church. For who can deny his being a Thief, who ſells

A Perſecution in France.

another

1534. another Man's Goods for his own, and counterfeit for right? Do you think the Buyer is not finely cheated of his Mony? But this hath been our Misfortune long ſince; For in ſtead of Shepherds, Woolves of an unuſual greedineſs have worked themſelves into the Flock. And though no Man hath Parts or Language to lay open all their Tricks, yet I will venture to give you a taſt. Now you muſt know that theſe Men we are talking of, are wonderful ſubtle Merchants, and have laid in ſuch a prodigious Stock, that there is ſcarce any place or corner without a Shop of theirs in it, and all this is done under a pretence of Holineſs. Their Habit is different from that of other people, and moſt of them have ſhaven Crowns. For none are allowed to Traffick but thoſe who have the Mark of the great Beaſt upon them. Theſe and theſe only are the Men who ſell and barter, and chop, and that at all times and ſeaſons; whereas other people of Trade ſhut up their Shops upon Holy-days, eſpecially upon thoſe which are moſt remarkable. Beſides, moſt of them deal only in one ſort of Merchandize, either for example in Wool or Silk, or Corn or Wine, *&c.* But theſe Gentlemen lie idle at no time of the year, and trade in all manner of Commodities; neither Men nor Women, Infants born, or in *Kelder*, can eſcape them. Indeed there is nothing in nature but what they make their Markets out of; Their avarice gets ſomething by Heaven and Hell, they make Time it ſelf, and all Creatures not only living but inanimate, as it were, Tributary to them; and ſet an Exciſe upon Bread and Wine, upon Oil, Flax, Milk, Butter and Cheeſe, upon Water and Salt, Fire and Fumigations. Out of all theſe Things they have Chymiſtry enough to extract Gold and Silver, to the great Impoveriſhing of the People in their Fortunes; but eſpecially in their Minds; for the true Notions of God and Religion are corrupted and almoſt quite loſt by this means. I deſire to know if it be not a cunning ſort of a way to ſell a Commodity, and at a great rate too, and yet let the Buyer have nothing but the ſight of it? 'Tis a Proverb among other Tradeſmen, when they ſhew their Goods, to ſay, *Look and welcome, and it ſhall not coſt you a Farthing:* But thoſe we are now deſcribing are nothing ſo Frank. For ſuppoſing a Man dieth, they preſently come to their Cuſtomers, and ask you, whether you will beſtow a fine Pall upon your Friend, or a courſe one? whether you will have a rich or an ordinary Crucifix carry'd before him? For accordingly as you chooſe, you muſt pay. Now pray what have you for your mony? what do you carry off, excepting the bare ſight? for after they have ſhewn their Wares a little, they fold them up, and the next day ſell them to another for as much. It's much the ſame ſort of Trick to make a Man pay for the Tradeſman's fine Clothes: Now this is done, for a Maſs ſhall coſt you a great deal more, when an Abbot or a Biſhop Officiates, than when it's ſaid by a plain Monk, or a Vicar. In which practiſe they are juſt like Strumpets; for theſe Mortals when they are well dreſs'd, always ſell their Lewdneſs the dearer. To this we may add their ſelling the ſame entire Thing to ſeveral Perſons at the ſame time, which they do without letting the Buyers be ever the wiſer, eſpecially in thoſe places which are populous. For example, a Gentleman comes to a Church of the *Dominicans* and deſires a Maſs, the Monk agrees with him at ſuch a price, ſoon after there comes another, a third, and ſo on, deſiring the ſame thing: At laſt the Religious comes out in his *Pontificalibus*, and performing the Service, takes the whole Sum of every Man, though they had but a ſingle Maſs among them all. This is ingenious *you'll ſay:* Beſides, commonly they do not need any great Stock to ſet up with; for they ſhall get you almoſt an Eſtate out of a piece of Wax: If any ordinary Woman happens to come into a Church, and preſents a Saint with a light Taper, my Merchant is preſently upon the Spot, whips up the Candle, and claps his Extinguiſher over it, and by repeating this method, ſells it over and over again to others. For you muſt note that moſt of them deal in Wax, the little people manage it on the way, I juſt mention'd; but thoſe who make any Figure, ſuch as thoſe they call Officials, Publick Notaries, Clerks of the Signet, and Datary-Men, uſe it for *Diploma's* and other Writings. 'Tis true, the principal Perſon of all, who calls himſelf *Moſt holy*, does not make uſe of any Wax, but then he hath a ſingular Art of turning Lead into Gold. Moreover, he makes abundance of mony of Hats, eſpecially of Purple ones, which convey a wonderful ſhare of Quality into *thoſe* who wear them, and makes them ambitious of ſhewing their conſiderableneſs in all publick Appearances; upon ſuch a Promotion they fly as brisk as Bees about the Country, and uſually dance after Princes Courts, and enjoy the greateſt Priviledges: For they hold as many Benefices as they pleaſe without any Charge or Incumbrance; And then their Order is ſuch, that they are but one Remove from

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the higheſt Dignity. This example has taught the *Sorboniſts* of *Paris* to ſell their Caps too, to thoſe who ſtand for Degrees in Divinity, and to feaſt at the expence of the *Candidates* at a great rate. And here I would gladly know, Whether *John* the Eighth, who they ſay was a Woman, and brought to bed in the third year of her Popedom; firſt I ſay I would know whether ſhe was choſen by the direction of the Holy Ghoſt? then whether the Titles to thoſe Cardinalſhips, Biſhopricks, and Abbeys, which ſhe ſold, are good in Law? Laſtly, what is to be thought of her indelible Character? But I ſhall purſue my deſign, which is to ſhew, that there is not a ſubtiler, more enſnaring ſort of people in the World, than theſe Merchant-Adventurers. Don't we ſee how they have hook'd in vaſt Eſtates, and got Towns, Provinces, Kingdoms and Empires into their Juriſdiction? Have they not often brought Kings and Princes under their Girdle, ſtript them of all their Fortunes, and reduced them to the utmoſt ſtreights? And now they are come to that height, as to defend their Encroachments by force, and had rather Heaven and Earth ſhould go together, than that the leaſt thing ſhould be taken from them. Inſatiable Wolves! how exactly have the Prophets and Apoſtles deſcrib'd you many Ages ago, eſpecially St. *Paul* and St. *Peter*?

1534.

Other Tradeſmen do not force their Goods upon any Man, but theſe Monſieurs will make you buy in ſpight of your teeth; and if any refuſeth, they cry out upon him for a *Heretick*. Suppoſe a Man dies very poor, and leaves Wife and Children behind him, which makes the circumſtances of the Family very ſad, and the Widow ought in all humanity to have ſome charitable aſſiſtance afforded her. What do you think theſe Men do in this caſe? why they are ſo far from pitying her, that they preſently fly upon the Spoil, and after they have mutter'd over a few *Oriſons*, they demand a Treat, and mony for their pains: Now what can be more unrighteous than for a Man to ſell that which does not belong to him, nay to ſell it to thoſe who have a right to it already, and the ſame thing to ſeveral perſons? Pray at whoſe Charge were the Bells caſt? who does the conſecrated Ground belong to, I beſeech them? Is it their Patrimony? no ſuch matter. Why then cannot we have a toll of a Bell nor a hole to bury us in for nothing? why do they ſo often ſell theſe things which do not belong to them at ſuch exceſſive Rates? I ſuppoſe they will ſay, they are Rights of the Church: I grant it, but not of that Church which was founded, and waſhed, and ſanctified by our Saviour; but of that in which they are concern'd, where Thievery, Rapine, and all manner of wickedneſs is ſo frequent: For our Saviour hath commanded all theſe things to be given *gratis*. To proceed, 'tis a very pleaſant Comical ſight to ſee theſe Vultures fight over a Carcaſe. For when any perſon of Eſtate dies, they preſently flock to him, and every one ſtrives might and main to carry off the Prey, eſpecially thoſe they call *Mendicant Friars*: For it's common to ſee the *Franciſcans* charge the *Dominicans*, and the *Carmelites* at Daggers drawing with the *Auguſtinians*, ſtriving who ſhall bury the Corps: A lazy ſluggiſh ſort of people they are, and not only Inſignificant, but very troubleſome, and deſerve if they were right ſerved to be baniſh'd the Commonwealth. Theſe are notorious Truths, and cannot be denied; and yet people are ſo wretchedly infatuated, that they will not underſtand what Spirit theſe Men are of. When any Benefice or Dignity is void, bleſs us! what making of Intereſt is there, what poſting up and down, how narrowly do they enquire into the value of it, how much a Reſident, or non-Reſident may raiſe out of it? How much the Chriſtenings and Marriages, the Relicks of the Saints, Obits, Burials, Legacies and Wills, may be worth to them? But their greateſt gain is by thoſe Saints who have the reputation of being very powerful; as if like their Heathen Vejovis's, they were ready to do a Man a Miſchief, if they were not ſweetned up with Vows and Preſents. That Princes ſhould connive at ſuch wicked, ſuch ſcandalous Practiſes! Why are their Majeſties ſo tame and ſo ſlow in their reſentments of ſo great an affront? 'Tis true, they refuſe to be tried in their Courts; but notwithſtanding their Exceptions, you have a Juriſdiction over them whether they will or no: For God hath deliver'd the Sword into your hands, and given you Authority to reſtrain Diſorder; why do you not make uſe of it then, and puniſh theſe mercileſs Sharks? God expects this Service from you, and will not ſuffer the neglect of it to go unpuniſh'd. I heartily wiſh you were as vigilant, and as much concern'd in the promoting his Glory, as they are in the management of their own buſineſs; for they never let ſlip any opportunity, but are always upon duty, always waking, and in a poſture of Intelligence, and look out as ſharpe as Father *Janus* or *Argus*. If a Bell does but ſtir any where, away they

run. If a Perſon that is worth any thing happens to fall ſick, they are preſently with him, and there's no getting rid of them, till they have rifled the houſe of ſomething or other. If any Body is to be married you have them there too, where their Chaſtities will needs be ſaying their Prayers upon the Bride-Bed: Indeed ſuch mortify'd Saints as they are may do any thing, who live Batchelors only to abuſe married Men, and to debauch with the greater freedom. Now the Character which I have given of theſe Gentlemen belongs to the ſhe-Traders too, of which there are ſeveral ſorts, their common name is Nuns. Now it's not to be expreſs'd what a horrible deal of rank Idolatry theſe Recluſes have been the occaſion of. O Lord be pleas'd after ſo long forbearance, to appear in the Vindication of thy Honour, which ought not to be ſhar'd by any created Beings.

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This Butchering of Men which I have mention'd being begun in *November*, in *January* following the King came to *Paris*, and to avert the wrath of God, went in Proceſſion to the Saints Churches, and was attended with a prodigious crowd of people, who were very devout in their way. At *Paris Genevefe*, who was a Virgin, hath a greater Worſhip paid her than almoſt any other Saint. Now her Image was carry'd in the Streets with the reſt at this Solemnity; which is never done but in great Extremities, either when they endeavour to remove ſome ſignal Judgment by their Humiliation; or when they are about to fight an Enemy with the Forces of the whole Kingdom; or when they are afraid of Scarcity and Famine: In ſuch caſes they addreſs themſelves to this Lady as their only Refuge and Support; and it's generally believ'd She is never invok'd to no purpoſe. Her Image is carry'd by the *Butchers*, according to ancient Cuſtom, who for ſeveral days before the Proceſſion, prepare themſelves by Prayer and Faſting for their Employment. They have likewiſe Officers upon this occaſion to clear the way, which is done with a great deal of difficulty: For the people preſs upon the Image with all the Devotion imaginable, and happy are they who can but touch it with their Finger, or their Hat, or any part of their Linnen. When Maſs was over, the King was entertain'd at the Biſhop's Palace which was hard by; and after Dinner, his Children, all his Nobility, and ſome foreign Embaſſadors being preſent; he made a very pathetical Harangue, in which he declar'd how much he was troubled at the Inſolence of ſome wicked Men: And after he had told them at large how obſervant he had been of the Church, he charged them all to have a care of this peſtilent Sect, for whoever was convicted ſhould moſt certainly be puniſhed. Nay he added, that if he knew any of his own Limbs were infected, he would tear them from his Body, to ſtop ſo fatal a Contagion. Now to purge the Town from the guilt of Hereſie, there were ſix brought to Execution that day; who were faſtn'd to Pulleys in the manner above mention'd, and burnt in ſeveral places which the King was to paſs in his return to the *Louvre*, and it ſo happen'd that the Fires were kindled the ſame minute his Majeſty came by; and the poor Creatures begg'd of him to have pity on them. The cuſtom in *France* is to put Malefactors to death in the Afternoon; where firſt Silence is cried, and then the Crimes for which they ſuffer are repeated aloud. But when any one is executed for *Lutheraniſm*, as they call it; that is, if any Perſon hath diſputed for Juſtification by Faith, not by Works, that the Saints are not to be invocated, that Chriſt is the only Prieſt and Mediator for Mankind; or if a Man has happen'd to eat Fleſh upon forbidden Days; Not a ſyllable of all this is publiſh'd, but in general they Cry, That he hath in effect renounced God Almighty, behaved himſelf contemptuouſly towards the bleſſed Virgin, and the reſt of the Saints, and violated the Decrees of our common Mother Holy Church. This aggravating way makes the Vulgar believe ſuch Perſons the moſt profligate Wretches under the Cope of Heaven: inſomuch that when they are broiling in the Flame it's uſual for the people to ſtorm at them; curſing them in the height of their Torments, as if they were not worthy to tread upon the Earth.

St. *Genevefe* the Protectreſs of *Paris*.

The *French* King writes to the *Germans*.

Now in regard the *Turkiſh* Embaſſadors were in *France* at this time, and the King underſtood that he was both ſuſpected and hated in *Germany* upon this account; Beſides a great many were diſpleas'd at thoſe Executions which I juſt ſpoke of: Therefore upon the firſt of *February* he wrote to the Princes of the Empire and all the States: And firſt he excuſeth his Correſpondence with the *Turk*, and then falls a Reflecting, that of late years ſome Perſons (not naming who) us'd to exchange Embaſſadors with the Grand Seigneur, without acquainting thoſe with it who were concern'd to know what they did. Nay to gain their ambitious Deſigns, they have not ſtuck to pay a yearly Contribution to the Port; whereas

whereas if he would but come up to a bare Neutrality, he might have very advantageous Conditions of the Sultan, but he hath refus'd them always hitherto, and will do for the future, that other Kings and Princes may be comprehended in that Peace; which good effect is hindred from taking place by the ambition of theſe Men, of whoſe deſigns the *Turk* is very ſenſible; and cannot endure they ſhould grow ſo faſt upon the World, for fear their Power ſhould prove troubleſome to himſelf afterwards: whereas was he once aſſur'd that every one would be contented with his own Juriſdiction, and not encroach upon his Neighbours; there is no queſtion but that he would recall his Arms out of Chriſtendom, and employ all his Forces againſt other remoter Nations. It lies in our Power therefore to take off ſo formidable an Enemy, without any expence of blood and ſlaughter, and in his opinion it's the moſt prudential way to treat with him about a Truce or a Peace, eſpecially at this time when the Church and State are ſo unfortunately embroil'd with ſo many different and perverſe Perſwaſions in Religion. Now if it had pleas'd God *Clement* the Seventh had liv'd longer, all this Controverſie had been ended: For he had a great deal of Diſcourſe with him upon this Point, and nothing then hindred the intimating of a Council, but that his Holineſs had promis'd the Emperor to convene it in *Italy*. Whereas he was of a contrary opinion; For ſeeing things were not perfectly ſetled in *Italy*, the Emperor and the Pope having an Army on foot there, neither was the reaſon of its continuance ceaſed as yet, he inſiſted that a Council might be called in *Germany*; for while theſe Forces were kept up in *Italy*, it was neither ſafe for him to go thither, for fear an actual War ſhould break out, nor yet for all the *Germans*, upon the account of their different Religion: But that which could not be effected when *Clement* was Pope, he heartily wiſhes might have a happy Iſſue under the Government of *Paul* the Third. And here taking an occaſion to commend this Pope, he ſaid, That there was no Simony, no exceptionable circumſtance in his Election, and therefore he needs not be afraid (as ſome have been) of appearing before a proper and lawful Tribunal: And though it was not difficult for him to have promoted one of his own Subjects to this Dignity, yet he choſe rather to perſwade thoſe Cardinals in which he had an Intereſt, to Elect this Perſon. And afterwards when he was created, he deſired him both in his Letters, and by his Embaſſadors, to call a Council as ſoon as was poſſible in a ſafe and convenient place: Therefore he would have them be of good chear, and not deſpair of an Accommodation in Religion, for he was reſolv'd not to ſpare any pains, and deſired only to know what they would have him do for them with the Pope. Afterwards he proceeds to take off the other Objection, where he owneth that, contrary to his cuſtom and temper, he had been forc'd upon rigorous Methods by ſome bold and flagitious Perſons, who, under a colour of Religion, endeavour'd the ruine of the Kindom: Therefore to ſtop this Plague of diſloyalty from ſpreading, he had puniſh'd them ſeverely, as his Anceſtors had alſo had done in the like caſes. And if any *Germans* had been taken among them, they ſhould have been ſerved all alike. For if any of his own Subjects had committed the like Crimes in their Dominions, he ſhould not have been againſt their puniſhing of them with the utmoſt ſeverity; But to his great ſatisfaction there was never a *German* engaged with this wicked Cabal, and therefore that Nation ſhould be as welcome to his Kingdom, and to his Court too, as the French-men themſelves. But he is ſenſible what the Authors of theſe Calumnies drive at, they miſrepreſent him on purpoſe that they may break off the Correſpondence there is between *France* and *Germany*; which is a very politick deſign, without queſtion; for by creating ſuch Miſunderſtandings they have a better opportunity to compaſs their own Ends, and make themſelves Maſters of both. 1535.

The *Lantgrave* goes to *Ferdinand* in order to a Reconciliation.

In the beginning of the Spring the *Lantgrave* went to King *Ferdinand* to compleat the Reconciliation, according to agreement the laſt year. *Peter Paul Vergerius* was then lately return'd from the Pope to *Ferdinand*, and took this occaſion to acquaint the *Lantgrave* with his Inſtructions concerning the Council in the manner above mention'd. To which he received no other anſwer, than that his Propoſals ſhould be conſider'd within ſuch a time. After this *Vergerius* went, as he was order'd, to the reſt of the Princes, and negotiated with them. Now ſome few months after the *Lantgrave* had been with King *Ferdinand*, Duke *Ulrick* made his appearance before him too: And becauſe they were not both of them there at the ſame time, *Ferdinand* excuſed them the condition by which they were oblig'd to ask his Pardon in a petitioning way. But *Ulrick* ſtomach'd that Article extremely, which made him a Homager to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and was very angry with the

1535. *Lantgrave*, and with the Elector of *Saxony* (who interceded) for complying with it; inſomuch that he was in ſuſpence a great while, whether he ſhould ratifie the Peace or not: At laſt being perſwaded by his Friends, he took a Journey to King *Ferdinand*, as the Treaty oblig'd him. In *April* the Emperor ſet Sail from *Barcelona*, and landed an Army in *Africk*, where after he had taken *Tunis*, and the Fort of *Gouletta*, he reſtor'd *Muley Hazem* a *Mahumetan*, who was King of that Country, and had been diſpoſſeſs'd by *Barbaroſſa* the *Turkiſh* Admiral: And having put this Prince under Contribution, and fortify'd *Gouletta* with a ſtrong Garriſon, he ſailed back into *Sicily*. Pope *Paul* fitted out ſeveral Gallies for the Emperor towards this War, under the Command of *Virginius Urſinus*; and likewiſe gave him the liberty to demand the Tenths of all the Clergy in *Spain*. *Barbaroſſa* by the negligence and ill Conduct of the Chriſtians, ſtole away to *Bone*, and from thence to *Argiers*, where he rigg'd out his Fleet, and ſailed for *Conſtantinople*. There was at this time in *England* two very eminent and learned Men, *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More*; The Biſhop has ſeveral Books now Extant againſt *Luther*: And *More* when he was Lord Chancellor, which is the higheſt Office in that Kindom, was very ſevere upon thoſe whom he ſuſpected to be *Lutherans*.

The Emperor ſails into *Africk*.

Biſhop *Fiſher* and Sir *Thomas More* are beheaded.

Theſe Perſons did not approve the King's Divorce, and much leſs that Act of Parliament in which he threw off the Pope's Supremacy, and declared himſelf Head of the Church of *England*: Being committed therefore, and perſiſting in their opinion, they were beheaded this year in *July*. The Pope made *Rocheſter* a Cardinal when he was in the *Tower*, which it's thought did but provoke the King the more againſt him. About the end of *October Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan* died, leaving no Iſſue behind him. This accident was the occaſion of a new War, as will appear afterwards.

The death of *Francis Sforza*.

In the mean time the Emperor left *Sicily*, and arriv'd at *Naples*, and from thence wrote to the Proteſtants upon the laſt of *November*, acquainting them, that he was reſolv'd to ſtand to the Pacification at *Nuremburg*; but he was inform'd, that they had ſeiz'd upon the Fortunes of the *Roman Catholicks*, and when they were ſued upon this account, they pleaded the *Nuremburg* Treaty in their excuſe, and refus'd to return the right Owners their Eſtates again. Now this he thought was unreaſonable, and could not chooſe but take it ill at their hands. Much about this time the Elector of *Saxony* went into *Auſtria* to King *Ferdinand*, and after he had diſpatch'd his buſineſs, he came to *Prague* the Capital of *Bohemia* in his return home, where he was accoſted by *Peter Paul Vergerius*, whom the Pope ſent Nuncio into *Germany* to ſettle the Affairs about the Council, as hath been mention'd already. *Vergerius* relates his Commiſſion to the Duke, and tells him; That now the time was come for the celebrating a Council which had ſo often been wiſhed for, in regard his preſent Holineſs, the Emperor, and King *Ferdinand* made it their principal Concern to conſider, how the Glory of our Saviour, and the Salvation of Men might be moſt effectually promoted; and the ſame pious diſpoſition was apparent in other Princes: The Pope likewiſe had ſent his Embaſſadors into all parts, not for a colour, but in good earneſt: For it was not his way to make large Promiſes, as ſome had done, and then act quite contrary to what was pretended; but he was ſolicitous about nothing ſo much as that they might come to the Point as ſoon as was poſſible, that a religious Council might be held, and free for all People to come to. As to the place the Pope, for very good reaſons, thinks none proper but *Mantua*: concerning the Form and Method of proceeding that may be better adjudg'd when they are conven'd, than now. The Proteſtant Princes have always hitherto deſir'd a lawful Council, and had lately publiſh'd ſome Papers about it, which he was glad to ſee. And now the Pope comes up to their Propoſals, and offers them what they would have, and the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* will omit nothing which may expedite the Affair.

Vergerius meets the *Lantgrave* at *Prague*.

Now if his Electoral Highneſs ſhould be the only Perſon who refuſes to comply, moſt people would conclude, that no ſort of Method could pleaſe him. *Clement* the Seventh charg'd his Offer with ſome Conditions, which his preſent Holineſs hath not done, and therefore there is the leſs reaſon for non-compliance. What the reſt of the Princes Inclinations are in this caſe he is well ſatisfy'd of, for he hath been importuning them all: And the Pope hath ſet his heart ſo much upon it, that if it ſhould not go on, his life would be uncomfortable to him. Nay he does believe his Holineſs's Nuncios are now upon their Journey to intimate the Council. Now therefore at this juncture his Holineſs is oblig'd to ſhew his Zeal for God's Glory and the good of Chriſtendom. For if he pleaſeth to concur,

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concur, the buſineſs will be manag'd with more advantage; but if he diſſents, the Council will begin notwithſtanding: Therefore the preſent opportunity is by no means to be neglected, it being ſcarce ever to be retreived again. But though his Highneſs ſhould chooſe to ſtand by, and not aſſiſt the Council; yet our Saviour himſelf will not deny them his Aid and Protection. If his Highneſs would have any Point farther explain'd, he is ready to give him ſatisfaction. The Elector told him, that he would conſult his Allies, and then return him an anſwer; and after ſome other diſcourſe he deſir'd him to give him a Copy of his Speech. *Vergerius* therefore upon the firſt of *December* gave in a Paper in which he was larger, and ſomewhat different from what he had deliver'd by word of mouth. He ſaid the Pope had diſpatch'd away Nuncio's to all the Courts in Chriſtendom about the Council, and that he was ſent to King *Ferdinand* and the Princes of *Germany* for that purpoſe. That the Emperor and *Ferdinand* approv'd *Mantua* for the place: Neither ought this to ſeem at all ſtrange, for his Imperial Majeſty declar'd himſelf to be of the ſame opinion two years ſince, by his Embaſſador in *Germany*. Neither could his Majeſty be ſuppos'd to have any motive to alter his Judgment, but on the contrary, this very good reaſon among others to perſiſt in it; namely, becauſe *Germany* was full of *Sacramentarians*, *Anabaptiſts*, and ſuch ſort of Sects; ſo that it was not ſafe for other Nations to come thither. For a great part of thoſe people are diſtracted, and will not hear any manner of reaſon; therefore it's eaſie to imagine what a dangerous undertaking it muſt needs be to come among ſuch a Rabble, and condemn their Frenſie and Extravagance without a Guard. And as for thoſe who think either that the Pope will yield up his Priviledges which he hath enjoy'd for ſo many Ages; or that the Emperor will call a National Council in *Germany* without his Holineſſe's conſent; they are mightily miſtaken. For there is no better Expedient to eſtabliſh a laſting Union in the Church, than a free and general Council: And though this remedy happens to be ſlighted by ſome people; yet the Pope is reſolv'd to proceed, putting his whole truſt in our Saviour, whoſe Service he is there employ'd in: Neither will he want the Concurrence of Kings and Princes, of whoſe Inclinations towards ſo pious a Work he is well aſſur'd. And becauſe his Electoral Highneſs told him, he would return an anſwer as ſoon as he had conſulted his Confederates, he deſires he would pleaſe to do it as ſoon as may be. He was now going to King *Ferdinand*, and there he would expect their anſwer. Now in reference to what his Highneſs mention'd concerning a ſafe Conduct, that if they were oblig'd to go into *Italy*, they muſt beſide Paper-Security, have Hoſtages given them; he muſt needs ſay he did not underſtand the reaſon of ſuch extraordinary Caution: For *Mantua* was a City of the Empire, in the Neighbourhood of *Germany*, and bordering upon the Dominions of the Emperor and the *Venetians*; therefore no danger could be apprehended there. Yet ſince it was their requeſt, the Emperor would gratifie them in it, and ſo would the Pope too, as far as it was in his Power, and conſiſtent with former Precedents. I have lately mention'd *Vergerius* his being ſent back by the Pope into *Germany*; Now after he had been with *Luther* at *Wittemburg*, and was travelling out of *Saxony* to *Ferdinand*, he happen'd to meet with the Elector as he was returning from the King's Court. The Proteſtants had already determin'd to meet at *Smalcalde* upon other buſineſs upon the *6th* of *December*; But the Nuncio's Embaſſy intervening, they conſulted upon it, and wrote him an Anſwer upon the *21ſt*, That the Elector of *Saxony* had inform'd them what had been tranſacted at *Prague*: And though all of them were not authoriz'd to concern themſelves in this Affair, it being impoſſible to acquaint all their Principals with it in ſo ſhort a time; yet becauſe he deſir'd to hear ſpeedily from them, they had ſent him an Anſwer to his Propoſals; which though it was not ſo exact as the Subject deſerv'd, yet it was clear, and intelligible. And firſt, They have already declar'd in ſeveral Diets, how they ſtand affected towards a Council; particularly above two yeats ſince they gave in their ſenſe of this Point to the Emperor's and Pope's Ambaſſadors. For the deſire they have to promote the Welfare of the State, and the Salvation of all Men in general, makes them heartily wiſh for a lawful Council, and to this purpoſe they have addreſs'd, with the reſt of the Princes, to the Emperor, who alſo thought it neceſſary himſelf: Neither did they queſtion but that all good Men earneſtly deſir'd ſuch a Council as may tend to the Reformation and advantage of Chriſtendom. For a great many pious Men are very much griev'd to ſee the Orthodox Faith ſuppreſſed every where by unjuſt Cruelty, the Church torn in pieces, and apparent Corruptions more and more confirm'd. But

Vergerius gives the *Lantgrave* a Copy of his Speech.

LIBRARY OF THE ROMAN BRANCH ASIATIC

The Proteſtants Anſwer to *Vergerius*.

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1535. ſuch Rigour as this does not become the Governors of the Church; beſides, if care be not taken, this is the way to bring Ruine and Deſolation upon Chriſtendom. Therefore now, there is as much need of a Council as ever, that old overgrown Errors may be removed, that unreaſonable and cruel Violence may be reſtrain'd, and that the Churches may be ſetled upon a good Bottom for the future. Therefore they were reſolv'd not to deſert the common Intereſt, but would come to ſuch a Council with all their Hearts, as it had been already decreed in ſeveral Diets of the Empire. And they beſeech God Almighty that all the proceedings there, may tend to his Glory, and the Salvation of Men. But ſince the Pope hath made choiſe of *Mantua*, they have great hopes that the Emperor will not depart from the Decrees of the Diets in that Point; nor yet from his own word which was given, when they had a legal Security paſſed for the fixing the Seat of the Council in *Germany*. And whereas he objected, that it was dangerous to come into *Germany*, and that no freedom of Debate could be expected there; for this very reaſon they ought more eſpecially to be conven'd there; that the Controverſie may be fairly and regularly manag'd, that good Men may not be overawed in their Votes, nor frighted from ſpeaking their Minds by Violence and Faction. For what danger can there be in *Germany*, where all the Princes and Cities acknowledge the Emperor's Authority? where the Towns are ſo well Govern'd, that Strangers are ſecur'd from all Affronts, and us'd with all the Civility imaginable? As for his ſaying, that thoſe who came to the Council ſhould have as much ſatisfaction of the Pope in their ſafe Conduct, as was cuſtomary to receive, and in his Power to give: They ſaid, they did not well underſtand the meaning of this Period, eſpecially when they reflected upon the Practiſes of the laſt Age: Chriſtendom they were ſure had need of a free and religious Council, and to ſuch an one they had formerly appeal'd. But now ſince he declares the Form and Method is not to be ſtated before-hand; and gives broad hints, as if the ſetling of this Point belonged to the Pope; they cannot imagine that there is likely to be any liberty there. Two years ſince *Clement* the Seventh made them a Promiſe of a Council, but clog'd it with enſnaring Conditions; And now the main Point, that is, the ſetling the Freedom of the Council, and the Form and Method of Voting, is partly omitted out of deſign, and partly given up to the Pope, wherein he affirms to have a Right to intimate Councils, and preſide in them. Now the Pope who hath condemn'd their Religion ſo often, is no leſs than a down-right Adverſary; but if he who is an Adverſary, is allow'd to be a Judge too, then the Council can never be free: To put it into a right Form, there ought to be certain unexceptionable Perſons choſen out of the whole Company, with the conſent of the Emperor, and other Kings and Princes, and the Controverſie refer'd to this Committee, to be examin'd and determin'd by them according to the Rule of God's Word. For Councils are not the Pope's Court only, but others alſo in publick and elevated ſtations, in a Chriſtian-Commonwealth, have an Intereſt in them. For it's eaſie to demonſtrate both from the Scriptures, and the practiſe of the Primitive Church, that formerly Princes, and other Perſons of Quality, were concern'd in the Debates of Councils. But to prefer the Pope's Power to the Authority of the Univerſal Church, is an unreaſonable and tyrannical Aſſertion. The Emperor therefore and the reſt of the States are oblig'd to inſiſt upon their Priviledge in Councils, and make choice of proper Perſons, eſpecially in the preſent caſe, where the Corruptions of the Biſhops of *Rome*, their falſe Doctrin and unlawful Worſhip, is oppos'd; for this is no more than what the Canon-Law it ſelf alloweth. And ſince all Chriſtendom, both Church and State, are concern'd in this Affair, it behoveth the Emperor, and other Princes, to take care that the Controverſie may be fairly determined. Formerly ſeveral Biſhops have been condemn'd by their own Dioceſs, and ſo have Popes by the Emperor and the Church, for perſiſting in their Errors. But at this time of day there was a warm Conteſt about a great many weighty Points which the Pope does not maintain only by force of Argument, but by ungodly and ſanguinary Bulls, and puniſhes thoſe with the utmoſt ſeverity who refuſe to obey him. Therefore ſince He is an Adverſary and a Party, in the Cauſe depending, the univerſal Church, the Emperor and other Princes, ought in all Juſtice to interpoſe their Authority, and preſcribe the Laws of Diſputation and Voting. They now therefore repeat the ſame requeſt they have always made, that the Controverſie may be managed without deſign, and a juſt liberty reſerv'd for defence; for this is both equitable in its ſelf, and likewiſe agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, and the proceedings of the ancient Church. If

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the Differences between them are examined with this Order and Integrity, they will aſſiſt the Council as far as lies in their Power, and have great hopes that Truth will be diſcover'd this way, the Glory of our Saviour promoted, and the Church re-eſtabliſh'd in her former Tranquility. But if things are otherwiſe carry'd, there is no queſtion but much greater Diſturbances will follow. 1535.

In ſhort, they would never omit any opportunity to ſerve the common Intereſt of Chriſtendom; and as they could not depart from the true Religion, ſo in all other caſes they would make it their buſineſs to promote an Accommodation. The *French* King who was now reſolv'd to march an Army into *Italy*, ſent *William Bellay* Seigneur of *Langey* Embaſſador to this Convention at *Smalcalde*. This Gentleman had his Audience upon the 19*th* of *December*. And firſt he excuſes the King in reference to the late Severities. 'Tis true he had puniſh'd ſome of his own Subjects, but this was no manner of reflection upon them, though ſome ill diſpos'd Perſons did not ſtick to ſay, that by executing thoſe Criminals he had as it were condemn'd their Perſwaſion before-hand; But he deſires that they would not take any notice of ſuch extravagant Calumnies, but examine the whole matter impartially: For there was a great many in *Germany* who were utterly averſe to their Opinion, and ſome others, did not altogether approve it; nay themſelves who are now agreed, were not always of the ſame mind. His Majeſty is very glad that they are come to an uniformity in Doctrin at the laſt: Neither does he queſtion but that their Modeſty and Candour is ſuch, that they will not offer to preſcribe to any Body, nor force people into their Religion againſt their wills. His Majeſty uſes to ſpeak very kindly and obligingly of them, and owns that they have determin'd ſome things moſt primitively, but wiſhes there had been more temper ſhewn in other caſes: For though he is ſenſible that Negligence, Superſtition, and a long ſucceſſion of Ages, have given occaſion to the bringing of ſeveral inſignificant and needleſs Ceremonies into the Church; yet he does not underſtand why they ſhould all be aboliſh'd upon this account, without diſtinction, or publick Authority: For Ceremonies add both ſtrength and grandeur to Religion, and the Contemners of them have always been puniſh'd with great ſeverity. And ſince they have joyn'd ſo unanimouſly in the ſuppreſſion of the Boars Inſurrection, ſince they reſtrain and chaſtiſe the *Anabaptiſts*, ſince they are unwilling to be thought to do any thing without a cauſe; why are they not ſo kind as to entertain the ſame opinion of a Prince who is their Friend? why do they not ſuppoſe that He had very preſſing Reaſons, and abſolute neceſſity to puniſh thoſe Subjects of his, though poſſibly ſome of them were none of the greateſt Malefactors? what their Crimes were, is not proper to relate in this place: For oftentimes it is not convenient to aſſign the reaſon publickly, why things are done; and Puniſhments are ſometimes abated, ſometimes more rigorouſly executed, according to the nature of the Times. Now his Majeſty who hath ſo large a Dominion to Govern, is oblig'd to have a regard to the future as well as the preſent, and was to take care that his Clemency did not encourage a great many others to grow wicked. For though he was bred and born to nothing but Gentleneſs and good Nature, yet he was conſtrain'd, for ſome time, to put a force upon his Temper, and act diſagreeably to his Inclinations: And as he was willing to hear Men diſcourſe upon any Subject, ſo he could not chooſe but be diſpleas'd with thoſe who attempt any raſh Alterations without conſulting their Superiors, whoſe right it is to Determine. Beſides, thoſe whom he had done Juſtice upon, were of a quite different Perſwaſion from them. Now as to their Religion, the King is of opinion, that whatever they have done in that, was agreed by common conſent; but how juſtifiable their Tenents were he ſhould not examine: For in caſes of that difficulty he was not willing to pretend to be a better Judge than others, but believed there were ſome things to be approved and diſapproved, in both Communions: For the nature of Man is ſuch, that if he is once allow'd to pronounce upon his own Sentiments, he is in danger of falling into Error and Miſtake. Afterwards he endeavours to gain their good opinion more directly, and confutes thoſe Perſons who ſay, that the *Germans* ought to take care how they hold any Correſpondence with foreign Embaſſadors; maintaining that there was great diſadvantage and ſlavery at the bottom of this advice. For no State is ſo well fortify'd in it ſelf, as to be able to ſubſiſt and flouriſh for any conſiderable time, without the Friendſhip and Alliance of its Neighbours: Now there hath been a very ancient and intimate Correſpondence between the Kings of *France* and the Princes of the Empire, for both Nations are deſcended from the ſame Original, and by reaſon of their ſituation and nearneſs, they may be both a

The *French* Embaſſador's Speech at *Smalcalde*.

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1535. Guard and an Ornament to each other: Therefore his Majeſty is very much troubled when he hears of any Miſunderſtandings among the *Germans*, and endeavours to his Power to make up the Breach: And has often been afraid leſt this diſagreement in Religion ſhould have ſome unfortunate conſequence: And ſince he now underſtands they have form'd an Aſſociation to defend their Priviledges and Honour, not excluding thoſe of a different Perſwaſion, he hath great hopes that this Expedient will open a way for the reconciling of Opinions. Being therefore acquainted with theſe Occurrences, he was willing to ſend his Embaſſador to let them know his ſenſe in the Caſe; Now in regard the preſent State of Affairs is ſuch, that a free and general Council cannot be conven'd as yet; The King thinks it moſt proper that all the *Germans* ſhould meet in the mean time, and by joynt conſent pitch upon ſome Method for an Accommodation, which may eaſily be effected, provided things are not manag'd with obſtinacy, and Men do not account it a diſcredit to change their opinions upon Conviction, and to yield to better Information: If they proceed in this manner, his *Majeſty will* joyn with them and aſſiſt them in this Undertaking: For the preſent *Pope himſelf* confeſs'd, when the Caſe was moved to him by the King, that Humane Traditions are not to be ſo rigidly inſiſted on, but that they may be ſet aſide when the exigency of the Times, and the Peace of Chriſtendom require it; and declar'd, that if the Controverſie was regularly and fairly debated, he would yield a great many things in compliance with the preſent Conjuncture, and to promote a general Agreement.

Now if they are deſirous that ſome learned *French* Divines ſhould be preſent at this Conference, or if they pleaſe to ſend any of their own Clergy into *France* upon this account, his Majeſty will be extreamly ſatisfy'd with it, and leaves it wholly to themſelves to do as they think convenient. In fine, he deſires them that they would live amicably together, and fortifie their Intereſt by keeping up a good Correſpondence among themſelves, for this, beſides other advantages, would contribute to the peace of their Country: And as for his Majeſty he would not aſſiſt their Enemies either with Supplies or Advice, as long as they continued the ſame affection to him which they had hitherto ſhew'd. In the beginning of this Book I obſerv'd that the Judges of the Chamber of *Spire* proſecuted the Proteſtants contrary to the Emperor's Edict. The caſe was this, Theſe Judges were moſt of them *Roman Catholicks*, and being addreſs'd to for Juſtice by the Eccleſiaſticks (after the Emperor was return'd into *Italy* from the War in *Auſtria*) who complain'd of the Proteſtants; They order'd a Suit to be commenc'd *againſt them*: And though the Proteſtants put in their Exceptions, and alledg'd, that the Cauſe was of an Eccleſiaſtical nature, and conſequently included in the Emperor's Edict, who has barr'd all Proceſs relating to Religion; yet they over-rul'd theſe Allegations, and went on in their way. The Proteſtants therefore wrote into *Italy* to the Emperor, complaining how they were diſturb'd, and procure another Mandate from him. Upon this the Judges ſend the Emperor word, that they were at a loſs how to act, and how to obey his Majeſties Commands: For the Parties often conteſted the nature of the Cauſes, whether they belonged to Religion or not, therefore they deſire to know his Majeſties Pleaſure in this Caſe: The Emperor anſwers their Requeſt, and gives them Authority to determine, whether the Cauſes which come before them relate to Religion or not. Being thus fortify'd, they proceed briskly, not only interpoſing in mixt Cauſes, but in thoſe which were purely Spiritual; for beſides Reſtitution to the Eccleſiaſticks, they command the Maſs and all the Ceremonies and Worſhip of the *Roman Church* to be ſet up again. Now while theſe things were doing, it happen'd that the Elector of *Saxony* had occaſion to go to *Cadan* to King *Ferdinand* about ſome other buſineſs; where he complain'd how himſelf, and his Confederates were us'd; and after they had agreed thoſe other Points which I have mention'd, *Ferdinand* confirm'd the Imperial Edict, and commanded the Pacification to be obſerv'd, and order'd the Chamber to forbear all Proſecutions. But they took no notice of *this* Order; The Proteſtants therefore ſolemnly proteſted againſt the Juriſdiction of their Court, aſſigning the Reaſons they had to look upon them as Adverſaries; and refer the Diſpute to *Henry* of *Megelburg*, *Robert* Duke of *Bavaria*, *Chriſtiern* Duke of *Holſtein*, *George* Duke of *Wirtemburg* to the Senate of *Auſpurg* and *Wormes*, or to any other indifferent Arbitrators, to determine whether the grounds of their Recuſation were reaſonable or not. For things were come to that paſs, that their Council durſt not ſpeak out, nor plead their Cauſe home, for fear of diſobliging the Court, and coming into trouble. But the Judges ſet aſide this Recuſation, and declar'd it null and void, as being

The Judges of the Chamber are troubleſome to the Proteſtants.

The Proteſtants diſown the Juriſdiction of the Chamber.

being contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Empire. Afterwards the Elector of *Saxony* came to *Vienna* to King *Ferdinand* (as hath been already related) where he got a new Order againſt the Chamber, but all to no purpoſe, as ſhall be ſhewn in its place. And becauſe the Pacification granted by the Emperor was to continue no longer than either till a general Council was conven'd, or till the next Imperial Diet; the Elector mov'd King *Ferdinand*, that this laſt Clauſe might be omitted. He alſo deſir'd, that thoſe who profeſs'd the ſame Religion with other Proteſtants might enjoy the ſame Priviledges, though they were not comprehended in the Treaty at *Nuremburg*, and that no Proſecutions might be iſſu'd out againſt them. To this *Ferdinand* reply'd, that he could make no new Proviſion in this caſe without the Emperor's conſent. The Elector of *Saxony* reply'd, that it was very hard, ſince their Adverſaries might recede from the Pacification when they pleas'd, that himſelf and his Allies ſhould be barr'd this Liberty: The Security which was given them in the Treaty did not deſign without doubt to keep them in ſuſpence, and in the dark, without being able ſo much as to know what they were to hope for, or expect. Beſides, as ſoon as ever a Proclamation for a Diet came out, it would be look'd upon as a Signal to break the Peace, and be like beating a Charge for new Diſturbances; from whence great Inconveniences would follow. And he muſt add, that if thoſe of the ſame Religion with himſelf could not enjoy the benefit of the Pacification, and happen'd to be proſcrib'd, or otherways aggreived, it would be very uneaſie to him, and the reſt of his Allies, to connive at theſe things, and deſert their Friends in their Diſtreſs. But the Elector gain'd nothing more of his Point by this Remonſtrance; only one of *Ferdinand*'s chief Miniſters reply'd, that it was a long time yet before the Empire was to meet, unleſs ſome great and unexpected occaſion ſhould happen; and when there ſhall be a neceſſity for the holding of a Diet, the preſent affair ſhall be ſetled by his Electoral Highneſs's, and the *Lantgrave*'s advice. Upon this, the Elector preſs'd this Requeſt no farther. But when he deſir'd the Treaty might be ratify'd, *Ferdinand* anſwer'd, that he had not omitted to Command the Chamber to deſiſt the laſt year, purſuant to the Articles at *Cadan*; But they told him, that there were ſeveral Cauſes purely Secular and Civil intermixt with thoſe that were Sacred; now theſe were perfectly under their Juriſdiction, for they did not relate to Faith and Religion, but to Eſtates and yearly Revenues. To this the Elector of *Saxony* reply'd, that theſe mix'd Cauſes were the only reaſon which made them ſo earneſt for a Pacification; for though they did concern Mens Goods and Eſtates, yet they were grounded upon Religion: His Majeſty may likewiſe be inform'd by the Princes of the Mediation, the Elector of *Mentz* and the *Palſgrave*, that theſe ſort of Diſputes were mention'd at the Treaty. As for other Cauſes in which their *Creed*, and their Conſciences are only concern'd, the Chamber never had any thing to do with thoſe; neither was there any neceſſity that himſelf and his Confederates ſhould deſire the Emperor to check the Judges upon ſuch an account as this. Beſides, long before the Pacification at *Cadan*, the Chamber pretended that the fore-mention'd Cauſes were only Secular, and therefore, among other things, there was a particular Proviſion made at *Cadan*, that his Majeſty ſhould interpoſe his Authority to reſtrain that Court. After the Matter was thus diſcours'd, at laſt the King yielded, and promis'd to undertake, that none of thoſe Cauſes which his Highneſs, and his Confederates at the Treaty at *Nuremburg*, counted Religious, ſhould be try'd before the Chamber.

1535.

The Elector of *Saxony* treats with King *Ferdinand*.

The *French* Embaſſadors Speech, which I mention'd, was anſwer'd by the Proteſtants, as followeth: Notwithſtanding there goes various Reports concerning thoſe Executions in *France*, yet becauſe his Excellency ſays, thoſe who ſuffer'd were contriving an Inſurrection, they could not blame the King's Proceedings, ſince they did not tolerate ſuch ſort of Perſons in their own Dominions. But in regard all people have not every where the ſame Opinions of the eſtabliſh'd Doctrins and Rites, they entreat his Majeſty that this Severity may not fall upon all Perſons without diſtinction; but that thoſe may be ſpar'd who having laid open the Errors and Corruptions of the Times, had reform'd their *Creed* into the ſame purity the Scriptures taught it, and held to that Confeſſion which themſelves had made at *Ausburg*. For it cannot be deny'd that many falſe and wicked Opinions have broke in upon the Church, which are now very confidently maintain'd by ignorant and malitious Men, upon Principles of Covetouſneſs and Ambition. Now it's their way, and they are Maſters of it, to forge Accuſations againſt innocent and religious Perſons, that ſo they may exaſperate Princes into rigour. And ſince Kings and Princes are more peculiarly oblig'd to promote the Honour of

The Proteſtants Anſwer to the *French* Embaſſador.

1535. God, to purge the Church from Error, and to check unreaſonable Cruelty; they earneſtly beſeech his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he would lay out his principal Endeavours upon ſo good a Work. If he pleaſes to do this, they ſhall be aſſur'd that he hath a real regard for them, which they hope may prove auſpicious both to themſelves and the Church. What his Majeſty diſcours'd concerning the ancient and conſtant Friendſhip between the *French* Kings and the Princes of *Germany*, was wonderfully entertaining to them: And they would make it their buſineſs that this Intimacy and good Correſpondence might be continu'd for the future. And whereas his Excellency offers to excuſe the King from ſome Imputations, they are very inclinable to gratifie him in this Point, and acquieſce in his Apology, deſiring above all things, that God would vouchſafe a general Peace to Chriſtendom, and Protect the *Germans* in their Liberties, which were formerly gain'd at the expence of ſo much Blood. Now though that which his Excellency mention'd concerning an Accommodation in Religion, belongs to an argument too large to be diſpatch'd in a few words; yet ſo prudent a Perſon as the King, may eaſily perceive that the ſeparation is wholly owing to the obſtinacy of their Adverſaries, who have condemn'd all the reform'd Doctrin in a moſt violent manner. They have deſir'd nothing more for theſe many years, than that the whole Cauſe might be argued before a lawful Council; but the Pope and his Dependents have oppos'd this Overture with all the rigour imaginable. 'Tis true, *Clement* the Seventh propos'd a Council under certain Conditions; but then they were ſuch as made it ſufficiently apparent, that he could not endure that Matters ſhould be freely debated: And this Pope though he promiſes a Council, yet he will not ſuffer the Form and Method of it be diſputed before-hand; and beſides he will have it conven'd out of the Territories of the Empire: From whence it's eaſie to conclude, that there is foul play, and deceit at the bottom; and that nothing elſe is intended but to get the true Religion ſuppreſs'd by the Authority of a Council: And ſince the calling of the Church together does not belong only to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but Kings and Princes are equally concern'd in it; They beſeech his Majeſty to interpoſe ſo far, that they may not have a ſervile and obnoxious Council conven'd in a dangerous place; but that things of that weight and importance, in which the peace and welfare of the Church in general, and every Perſon in particular is ſo much concern'd, may be examin'd with Freedom and Security. By appearing in this manner not only the preſent Age, but all future Poſterity will be mightily oblig'd to his Majeſty, and return him immortal Thanks for ſo great a Favour. As to what his Excellency mov'd concerning a Conference of learned Men, it deſerves to be conſider'd throughly and at leiſure: Beſides, being not aware of ſuch a Propoſal, moſt of their Convention had no Commiſſion to treat about it: But as ſoon as they come to a determination in the Caſe, they would write his Majeſty an account of it; for they deſir'd nothing more than that Truth might be propagated as far as was poſſible. Laſtly, they were very glad to hear his Majeſty promiſe not to furniſh out any Supplies againſt them; and therefore neither would they aſſiſt his Enemies in any caſe where the Emperor and the Empire were unconcern'd.

The *French* King's opinion concerning the Points in Controverſie.

This Embaſſador had private Conferences with *Fontanus*, *Melanchton*, with the *Lantgraves* Divines, and *James Sturmius*, concerning ſeveral Controverſal Points, where he told them what the King, and the *French* Clergy, eſpecially thoſe of *Paris*, thought of each of them. Particularly what their ſenſe was concerning the Pope's Primacy, the Euchariſt, the Maſs, and Invocation of departed Saints, and Images; what Notions they had about Purgatory, Juſtification, Monaſtick Vows, and the Celibacy of the Clergy. In moſt of theſe Controverſies he ſaid, the King was inclinable to *Melanchton*'s opinion, in his Book *Of Common Places*. Concerning the Pope he told them, that the King and *Philip* were agreed, for his Majeſty did not believe his Holineſs's Primacy was founded on Divine Right, but Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions; but the King of *England* would allow him neither one Right nor the other: And truly the Pope hath pretended to more than his ſhare in depoſing Kings and Emperors at his Pleaſure. And they ſay, he is about that Buſineſs now, with the King of *England*, notwithſtanding the King his Maſter, and ſeveral Cardinals, had interceded with him to forbear. Indeed the Divines ſay, He is Head of the Church *jure Divino*, but they fail'd in their proof when the King put them upon it. They likewiſe defend the common Opinion concerning a fire in Purgatory; For this Doctrin keeps up their Maſſes, their Obits and Legacies, and all the Trade they have upon thoſe accounts. But if the Maſs was once put down, their

their Authority would be ſapp'd, and the Vitals of their Grandeur wounded. Now when the King had given theſe Gentlemen ſeveral months time to prove their Opinion about Purgatory by Scripture, at laſt they gave him this Anſwer, That it was not prudential to furniſh their Adverſaries with Arguments, leſt they ſhould turn them upon themſelves. As to Monaſtery-Vows, his Majeſty believes he can prevail ſo far with this preſent Pope, that young people ſhall not be engaged to that ſort of life, till they have reach'd their full age; and that they may go off when they pleaſe, and Marry. But his Majeſty does by no means think it convenient that thoſe Societies ſhould be diſſolv'd, but continu'd as Nurſeries of Piety and Learning. The Divines likewiſe preſs the Celibacy of the Clergy; and here the King hath found out a middle Expedient; That thoſe who have Wives ſhall keep them, but that others ſhall not have the liberty to Marry under pain of Suſpenſion. For to that which is uſually urg'd concerning *Paphnutius* his perſwading the *Nicene* Fathers, that Prieſts might be married; The Divines anſwer, That it could not be prov'd, that Matrimony was ever allow'd to Prieſts: 'Tis true, before their Ordination they did not deny but that they were ſometimes married. Concerning the receiving the *Lords Supper* in both kinds, the King had ſome diſcourſe with *Clement* the Seventh about it; and he hoped this Pope might be perſwaded to make a Decree, that every one might have the liberty to do as they thought fit. Moreover his Majeſty obſerv'd, that within the memory of our Fathers, the whole *Communion* was given in *France* to all perſons without diſtinction; indeed this was not done in the Bodies of the Church, but in Chappels and Oratories. This relation the King had from ſome very old Perſons, who affirm'd, that this was the cuſtom in *France* about 120 years ago. Beſides, the *French* Kings receive in both kinds; which practice when his Majeſty objected to the Divines in Diſputation, they told him, that Kings were anointed as well as Prieſts, and that the Scripture mention'd *A Royal Prieſthood*; and that others who had none of theſe peculiar Reaſons to plead, could not have this liberty. The King likewiſe owned that many paſſages in the publick Service of the Church ought to be corrected, and ſome quite ſtruck out: That *Clement* the Seventh committed this affair to the care of Cardinal *de la Cruz*, a *Spaniard*, who printed a Book about it, which the *Pariſian* Divines condemn'd as Heretical. For there is a ſort of people among them who are not contented to cry out upon the *Germans* as Heterodox and wicked; but let the ſame Cenſurers fly at the Cardinals and Popes themſelves upon occaſion. And ſince the preſent Affair is ſo momentous and difficult in all the parts of it, his Majeſty is wholly intent upon it, that the Peace of the Church may be recover'd. He had likewiſe conferr'd with the Dukes of *Bavaria* to the ſame purpoſe, who ſeem'd to him to be more rigid than the Divines of *Paris*; though afterwards one of their Counſellors of State ſaid, that they were grown more moderate; and the ſame thing was told him by *Julius Phlugius* concerning *George* Duke of *Saxony* and the Elector of *Mentz*. The King therefore was of opinion, that a publick Conſultation was altogether neceſſary; before the beginning of which, if they pleas'd to ſend ſome few of their eminent Divines into *France* to confer with the *Sorboniſts*, his Majeſty would take it very kindly; and ſo order the Conference that ſome violent high-flying Men ſhould be mixt with others of more temper and moderation, that by this means the Truth might be wrought out, and come to light. When he had ſaid this, he deſir'd that the Proteſtants would not accept of any place for a Council without his Majeſties advice and the King of *England*'s, who would both of them return them the ſame Civility. 'Tis not many years ago ſince *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France* inſiſted, that the Pope could not call a Council without the conſent of the Emperor and other Princes; This was alſo the Opinion of the King of *Navarre*; and when they were both Excommunicated by *Julius*, *Ferdinand* of *Spain* ſeiz'd upon *Navarre* as Executioner of the Pope's Sentence. Now the King his Maſter was of theſe Princes mind; neither could he approve any Council, unleſs it was held in a ſafe unſuſpected place, where every one might freely ſpeak his Conſcience without danger. Beſides, what I have mention'd, he preſs'd them very earneſtly to enter into a League with his Maſter; indeed this was the principal reaſon of his Embaſſy: But they inſiſting, that they muſt except the Emperor, whom they declar'd it was not lawful for them to Article againſt, he concluded nothing with them; and before he went away, he told ſome Perſons privately, that he wondred they ſhould refuſe the Offer of ſo great a Prince, and that there would come a time when they would heartily wiſh, that they had gone in to his Intereſt.

1535.

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The Engliſh Embaſſador his Speech to the Proteſtants.

Henry the Eighth of *England* alſo ſent an Embaſſy to this Convention, of which *Edward Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford* was chief. He began his Speech with telling them what a near Relation there was between the Kings of *England* and the Dukes of *Saxony*; and that the King his Maſter had a great reſpect for his Electoral Highneſs and his Confederates; eſpecially ſince he ſaw their principal Deſign was to propagate the true Religion among their Neighbours. And though they had a great many hard words given them upon this account, yet theſe Reflections made no impreſſion upon him; neither did he believe them to be any other than good Men, who would do nothing but what reaſon and their ſtation oblig'd them to; aiming only that the Goſpel might be preach'd in its purity, and God glorified by it. This (he ſaid) was alſo the King's Intention, as appears ſufficiently from the alteration which was lately made in *England*. For now the greateſt part of the Corruptions in the Church were removed by his Royal Command, and the Pope's Supremacy, and all his Legerdemain was baniſh'd the Kingdom by a general Conſent, no leſs than it was in *Saxony*. And ſince there are the ſame Inclinations and Endeavours moving on both ſides, his Majeſty hath a ſingular Eſteem for them, and deſires them that they would go on as they have begun, and unite in a general profeſſion of the ſame Doctrin; for this will lay a laſting foundation for Peace: But how much diverſity of Opinions are apt to embroil the State, his Majeſty is very ſenſible, and the *Anabaptiſts* are a remarkable inſtance. At this time the Pope pretends as if he was in earneſt for a Council. Now if there be any remaining Differences, and they do not come up to an uniform Perſwaſion among themſelves, this will diſorder their Meaſures when they are conven'd upon the place. But here he would not be thought to reflect in the leaſt upon their Divines; for the Church was never ſo happy as to be perfectly free from Diſputes (no not in the Apoſtles times) as appears from the claſh there was between St. *Peter*, St. *Barnabas*, and St. *Paul*. We ought therefore to endeavour an Accommodation no farther than it's warrantable by Scripture: Now the Pope makes it his whole buſineſs to hinder the Church from agreeing upon ſuch a Principle, inſomuch that as long as his cruel and tyrannical Government continues, his Majeſty deſpairs of ſeeing a Reconciliation. For now this Idol, this Antichriſt rageth like a mad Man, only becauſe the *Engliſh* have lately thrown off the moſt ſcandalous Slavery, and recover'd their Liberty by the King's aſſiſtance: And being not able to attempt any thing by force, he betakes himſelf to Artifice and Fraud, and by forging falſe Accuſations againſt his Majeſty, endeavours to provoke other Princes to make War upon him. For though he will ſtick at nothing to keep up his pretended Authority, yet now his particular Deſign is to exaſperate both ſides, and ſet all in a Flame. This his Majeſty was willing to acquaint them with; not that he feared the Pope, for he was ſo well prepar'd, that he neither valu'd him, nor his whole Party; but only that they might ſee what Antichriſt was doing, eſpecially at this time when he ſeems ſo earneſt for a Council, though he meaneth nothing leſs. 'Tis true, his Majeſty grants that a regular Debate is ſingularly uſeful, and very much for the advantage of Chriſtendom; but then all imaginable Care muſt be taken, that ſuch a Council be not conven'd, as will manage the whole Controverſie only for the eſtabliſhment of the Pope's Greatneſs. Therefore he entreats them they would take his advice, and not allow of any Council, till all Chriſtian Princes were at Peace with each other; withall deſiring that the true Worſhip of God might be reſtored; and that he was willing to engage with them for the compleating and ſupport of ſo pious an undertaking. Theſe things, he told them, his Inſtructions obliged him to deliver publickly. But beſides, he deſired that he might diſcourſe this affair farther in private with ſome perſons deputed for that purpoſe: For his Highneſs the King had that regard for Religion, and themſelves, that he was ready to venture his Perſon, and all his Fortunes in the Cauſe. To this, after ſome Ceremony paſſed upon the King for ſhewing himſelf ſo obliging and well diſpoſed, they anſwer, That they deſire nothing ſo much, as that the Doctrin of the Goſpel might be ſpread far and near; that whatever they did in this caſe, was done out of a principle of Duty. And notwithſtanding they have been affronted and injured in the groſſeſt manner, though they have highly diſobliged Perſons of the moſt conſiderable Intereſt, though they have been often ſwagger'd at and menaced upon this account, yet they have not ſlackned their induſtry, and purſuit of the Holy Deſign. Now the reaſon of all this violent and intemperate rage againſt them, is only becauſe they have taken the liberty to reject ſome falſe and wicked Opinions. Now his Majeſties promiſing ſo frankly to concur with them in this Work, and his expelling

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the

the Popes Tyranny, his Dominions, which is the Spring-Head of all his wicked and erroneous Worſhip, is very acceptable News to them, and their Prayers to God are that he may ſtill proceed. They alſo return his Majeſty many Thanks for his advice to them to take care of the ill Conſequences of different Opinions; but really there was no diſagreement among them, and they were reſolved by Gods grace to continue in the ſame Religion they had profeſs'd at *Ausburgh*. As to the *Anabaptiſts* they puniſh'd them ſeverely, when they could not be prevailed with to give over their Extravagance. Beſides this Sect domineer'd moſt in thoſe places where the reformed Religion was prohibited: What his Excellency diſcourſed concerning the Pope's Politick Deſigns, gave them great ſatisfaction; And now he had a Nuncio in *Germany* who promiſed a Council ſhould be called at *Mantua*, and had treated with the Elector of *Saxony* about it. Now the Anſwer which they returned by common Advice to his Propoſals, was ſet down in a Paper, a Copy of which ſhould be delivered to his Excellency for the King, that his Majeſty might underſtand what their Thoughts were in this Caſe. This Nuncio pretends as if it belonged only to the Pope to intimate and convene Councils; But they conceive other Princes and States will not yield him this Point without asking them leave, eſpecially at this juncture, when ſo many Articles of Faith are concern'd, and the cauſe of Religion lies at Stake; ſo that now, if ever, a regular Examination of the matter ought to be ſecured. And whereas his Excellency mentioned the Kings deſire of an Alliance with them, they are abundantly thankful to his Majeſty for it; And are reſolved that neither pains, nor danger ſhall diſcourage them from endeavouring to carry on the Progreſs of the Reformation, not doubting but God Almighty will preſide over the whole Action, and make it ſucceſsful, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of their Adverſaries. And becauſe he deſires to treat more at large in private, about this affair, they had commiſſionated certain Perſons to confer with his Excellency, to whom he might impart what he had farther in Charge. And laſtly, They requeſt him to report their Anſwer to his Majeſty, and let him know how ready they are to ſerve him. 1535.

Upon the 12*th* of *December* the Elector of *Saxony* came to *Smalcalde* from King *Ferdinand*; and upon *Chriſtmaſs*-Eve they renewed the League which was within a twelve-month of expiring, for ten years more: Here alſo they ſetled thoſe things which were neceſſary for its defence, and agreed to receive all thoſe into their Aſſociation who had a mind to it, provided they would conſent to the *Ausburgh* Confeſſion, and ſubmit to the common charge and circumſtances of the reſt of the Confederates: Thoſe who were for engaging, were the two Princes of *Pomeren*, *Robert* of the Houſe of *Bavaria* and Duke of *Zweibrucken*, the Cities of *Frankfurt*, *Ausburgh*, *Kempton*, *Hamburgh* and *Hannover*; ſome of theſe deſired to be admitted at preſent, and the others gave them hopes of coming in afterwards. Concerning the Chamber of *Spire* they came to this Reſolution; That in regard King *Ferdinand* had promiſed to ratifie the Pacification agreed by the Emperor, they ſhould all of them make uſe of this defence, if they ſhould happen to be cited by the Judges. But if they would go on notwithſtanding, and fall a proſcribing, and preſs the Execution of their Sentence; Then the Proteſtants were to publiſh a remonſtrance in the name of the whole Confederacy, in which the States of the Empire were to be deſired and adviſed, not to take any notice of the unreaſonable Proceedings of the Chamber, but to ſtand to what the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* have determined in the Caſe; and to look upon ſuch Sentences as theſe, as null and illegal, without offering violence to any Perſon upon this account: For otherwiſe they muſt be forced to take ſatisfaction for the injury, and to reſolve upon a way to ſecure themſelves and their Allies. It was likewiſe agreed that the Article of the Pacification at *Nuremburgh*, which provided that no Man ſhould be forcibly diſſeized of his Eſtate, ſhould be punctually obſerved, but with this conſtruction, That it ſhould be lawful for them to reform what was amiſs in the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in the Ceremonies and in other things of the like Nature. At the ſame time *William Count Naſſau* was admitted into the League, where though the Lantgrave would not give his conſent, becauſe both of them laid claim to *Catzenellobogen*; yet he declared that if the Earl was invaded upon the account of his being a Proteſtant, he would aſſiſt him upon his requeſt. This year alſo the Senate of *Ausburgh* after a long conteſt came to a unanimous reſolution for the reformed Religion; and wrote to *Luther* deſiring him to ſend *Urbanus Regius*, and ſome other faithful Paſtors of the Church to them.

The League of *Smalcalde* renewed.

Ausburgh receives the reformed Religion.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK X.

The CONTENTS.

Bernard Rotman *by his Preaching and private Perſwaſions prevails upon* Munſter *to receive the reformed Religion: Which made the Roman Catholicks and their Biſhops leave the Town in a Diſguſt. Notwithſtanding by the mediation of the Lantgrave, both parties are reconciled upon Articles.* John *of* Leyden *a violent Anabaptiſt comes thither; brings a great many over to his Opinion, even* Rotman *himſelf, and at laſt infects the Town with his Frenſy to that degree, that his Sect grew uppermoſt, and introduced Polygamy and community of Goods. After the death of their Head Prophet* John Matthews, John *of* Leyden *ſucceeds in the Primacy, and ſoon after they make him their King. The Barbarities of his Government, and his Antick State deſcribed. During the Siege of the Town, a Convention is appointed at* Coblentz *to decree a ſpeedy reinforcement of the Army. The Anabaptiſts write to the Lantgrave, and ſend him a Book, wherein they explain their Doctrin at large; the Confutation of which had already been undertaken by* Luther. *At laſt the Town being ſtraitned in Proviſions, is taken by Storm: A Convention meets at* Wormes *to ſettle affairs there after its reduction. The King and his Companions are taken: A relation of their Execution. The Duke of* Savoy *makes War upon the State of* Geneva, *and is beaten. The* French *King invades part of his Dominions, to facilitate his Conqueſt of the Duchy of* Milan; *upon this occaſion the pretentions of the King to that Duchy are examined. The Emperor underſtanding thoſe things, comes to* Rome, *and chargeth the King with breach of Articles, and preſſeth the intimation of a Council. The Proteſtants make a League with the King of* England. *The Pope intimates a Council at* Mantua. *A War breaketh out between the Emperor and the* French *King. The Siege of* Peronne. *The Arch-Biſhop of* Cologne *reformeth his Church.* Eraſmus *dieth. The* French *King his Daughter married to the King of* Scotland. *The Duke of* Florence *murthered by Treachery. The* Swiſs's *Embaſſy to the* French *King to intercede for thoſe of the Religion who are impriſoned. The Town and Caſtle of* Hesdin *is ſurrendred. Cardinal* Pool *is ſent Embaſſador to the* French *King.*

1535.

Munſter a City in *Weſtphalia.*

I Am now to proceed to the Siege of *Munſter*, and I ſhall give an account of thoſe Occurrences which happen'd from the beginning of the Siege till that time in which the Town was taken, and the Authors of the Sedition puniſh'd. In the firſt Book I gave a relation of *Thomas Muncer*, how he Preached the Mobile into Sedition, what his Tenets were, and what end he came to: From this Mans diſcipling there ſprung a race of Men, who from their Doctrin and Practices are called *Anabaptiſts*: For they will not ſuffer Children to be Baptized, and are rebaptized themſelves; affirming that all People ought to follow their example, and that their former Baptiſm is wholly invalid. Their Actions have an appearance of Holineſs in them. They aſſert that it is not lawful for Chriſtians to go to Law, nor to bear any Office of Magiſtracy, nor to ſwear, nor have any property, but that all things ought to be poſſeſs'd in common.

The Anabaptiſts and their Doctrin.

mon. Theſe were the ſingular Doctrins they maintained at firſt; but afterwards they broached others of a much more pernicious Conſequence, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Now when theſe People had ſpread their Sect over a great part of *Germany*; *Luther* and almoſt all their learned Men crying out upon their Extravagance; The Magiſtrates puniſhing, and watching with that care, that it was almoſt impoſſible for them to meet in any conſiderable numbers; at laſt they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the City before mentioned; and in regard it was very well fortified, made it the place of their Reſidence, which happen'd thus: Not far from the City of *Munſter* there is a Church dedicated to St. *Maurice*, in which in the year 1532, *Bernard Rotman* preached the reformed Religion, and had a conſiderable Audience from the Town; and when the Citizens had thoughts of bringing him in thither, the Papiſts to prevent their deſign, give him a moderate ſum of mony, that he might go and exerciſe his Faculties ſomewhere elſe. Away goes he, and travelling to ſome places where he thought he could better improve and advantage himſelf, returns again after a few months. But they being diſguſted at his coming back, endeavour to keep him from Preaching, but to no purpoſe, for he was followed with the applauſe of the People. 1535.

Rotman a Preacher of the reformed Religion.

Soon after ſome of the principal Citizens receive him into the Town; and becauſe he was barred the Churches, they make him a Pulpit abroad in the Porch; and his Congregation encreaſing daily, they require the Papiſts to open him the Church, otherwiſe they would break it open by force. Not long after by the advice of a Committee of the People, he ſends Letters into the Neighbour-hood of *Haſſia*, which belongs to the Lantgrave, and deſires that they would ſend him ſome religious and learned Men, to aſſiſt him in ſowing the Seed of the Goſpel: Accordingly there are two ſent him from *Marpurg*. When they came thither, ſix of the reform'd enter into conſultation how they may clear the Town of Popery, as ſoon as may be, that the Goſpel may be Preached with the greater ſucceſs: For the effecting of which, they judged this following Expedient the moſt proper, *viz.* To ſet down the Errors of the Church of *Rome* in writing; which when they had digeſted into thirty Heads, they delivered them to the Senate; adding that they were ready to ſubmit to the utmoſt ſeverity, if they did not demonſtrate from the Holy Scriptures, that all theſe propoſitions were repugnant to the Word of God. The Senate orders the Papiſts to attend the Court, and reads over all the objected Errors to them; and becauſe they had always pretended that their Doctrin was unexceptionable, and founded on Divine Revelation; The Preachers on the other ſide denying this, and offering to make good their Aſſertions under the higheſt Penalties: The Court therefore asks them if they would confute the Objections of their Adverſaries by the Scriptures: Being thus called upon, and perceiving that the Senate were earneſt to have the matter brought to an Iſſue; They anſwer in ſhort, That they had nothing to ſay for themſelves, and that it was only Ignorance and Opinion which made them hitherto maintain their Doctrin as Orthodox and Good. Thereupon in regard they were convicted of Error and falſe Doctrin, had nothing to alledge in their defence, and had made an acknowledgement of their Wickedneſs, the Senate commands them to forbear Preaching for the future; and to reſign their Pulpits in all the Churches, to the new Teachers who had diſcovered their Impoſtures. Afterwards by the order of the Senate and People, every Man has a Church aſſigned him to preach in, which was very unkindly taken by the Papiſts, eſpecially by thoſe who belonged to the *Principal Cathedral Church*, being moſt of them Gentlemen. Theſe Perſons when they could do nothing elſe, go angry away, and apply themſelves to the Biſhop of the City; where after conſultation they reſolve to poſſeſs themſelves of all the Avenues and Paſſes, that no Proviſion might be carried into the Town. A little after they had blocked up all the ways, the Biſhop and thoſe before mentioned come to *Telget*, to take further advice, which is a little Town about a Mile diſtant from the City: From thence they diſpatch a Meſſenger to the Senate, with Letters importing that they ſhould deſiſt from what they were about, and put things into their former order; otherwiſe they muſt be treated as Enemies. The Biſhops name was *Francis Count Waldeck*: His immediate Predeceſſor was *Ferdinand*, own Brother to the Arch-Biſhop of *Cologn*. But he not long before, either becauſe he had not his Health there, or becauſe he foreſaw ſome Diſturbance, went off, and reſigned up his Station, contenting himſelf with a private Life in his own Country. The Citizens of *Munſter* upon Deliberation detain the Meſſenger; and upon *Chriſtmas*-

The Papiſts are commanded to prove their Doctrin by the Holy Scriptures.

They confeſs their Ignorance.

Eve

1535. Eve about nine hundred of them marching out in the night, ſurprize the Village and take it, and having ſecured the Gates, that none might eſcape, they ſeize upon all that were in it; The Biſhop by chance went away the day before: They immediately bring the Priſoners into the City; amongſt theſe there were ſome Papiſts of great Quality, with ſome others of the inferior Nobility. The Senate asks them what their intentions were, and whether they ſtill deſigned to hinder the Preaching of the Goſpel; They very frankly anſwer that they would endeavour to make that Doctrin flouriſh. Upon this a Treaty is concluded, a Copy of which was ſent to the Lantgrave by the Senate; withal, deſiring him that for the ſake of Religion, and the Common-wealth he would aſſiſt in this Affair. The Lantgrave ſends ſeveral of his Subjects with a Commiſſion, by whoſe mediation they concluded a farther Treaty to this effect: That forgetting all former Diſguſts, they ſhould be heartily reconciled to one another, and live peaceably on both ſides: That the Goſpel ſhould be Preached in ſix of their Churches: That all impiety and ſuperſtition in Religion ſhould be ſuppreſſed: That nothing ſhould be altered in the principal Church, or Cathedral, nor the Citizens pretend to any Authority there. This Pacification was ſigned by the Lantgrave, by the Biſhop and his Tenants and Dependents, and alſo by the Nobility and Commonalty, upon the 14*th* day of *February* in the year 1533.

John of *Leyden* a Botcher and *Anabaptiſt.*

When things were accommodated in this manner, there comes to *Munſter* a *Dutch* Botcher, one *John* of *Leyden*, a violent *Anabaptiſt*. This Man at firſt privately asks ſome of the Doctors of the reformed Religion, into whoſe familiarity he had inſinuated himſelf, Whether they thought the Baptiſm of Infants warrantable. Upon their affirming it was, *John* who was a great Zealot for the contrary Opinion, began to deride and contemn them. Which thing being underſtood, *Bernard Rotman* whom we mentioned before, exhorts the People at an Aſſembly to betake themſelves to prayer, that they might be enabled to maintain their Doctrin in its Purity, and defend it from the Corruptions of the *Fanaticks*; eſpecially from the *Anabaptiſts*, who had now privately crept in amongſt them, and mixed themſelves in their Congregations, whoſe Opinion if it ſhould prevail, not only the State, but likewiſe Religion would be in a miſerable condition.

Herman Stapred an *Anabaptiſt.*

About the ſame time there comes *Herman Stapred*, who after he was joyned in Commiſſion with *Rotman*, began to declaim publickly againſt Infant Baptiſm. His Inſtructor was *Henricus Rollius*, who a little before had been puniſhed at *Utrecht* for Anabaptiſm. This was as it were another ſtep to that new Doctrin, which had now gotten ſuch footing, that the *Anabaptiſts* were talked on all the Town over; Though as yet they managed their buſineſs privately, admitting none to their Conſults, but thoſe of their own Sect: The Ring-leaders of which did not make an open profeſſion of their Tenets, for they Preached only anights; when other People were aſleep, then they began to celebrate their Myſteries: But their Practices being diſcovered, and moſt of the Citizens being highly diſſatisfied, and crying out that it was inſufferable, that a Novel Doctrin ſhould be ſpread in ſuch a ſecret and clandeſtine way; The Senate iſſues out an Order that the Teachers ſhould depart the Town, which they did, but return thither by another way, pretending they had a command from God to ſtay there, and to carry on the Cauſe with all the ſeriouſneſs and application imaginable. The Senate was ſomewhat alarm'd and ſurprized at this: And therefore to prevent greater danger and diſturbance, both the *Anabaptiſts*, and the Doctors of the reformed Religion, accompanied with ſome learned Men are commanded to come into the Senate-Houſe. Here *Rotman* diſcovers his Sentiments which he had hitherto concealed, and condemns Pedo-Baptiſm as impious and execrable.

The *Anabaptiſts* are expell'd *Munſter.*

But *Herman Buſcheus* eſpecially defended the contrary Opinion before the Senate with ſuch ſucceſs, that there was a publick Decree made to command the *Anabaptiſts* to quit the Town forthwith, who pretending it was not ſafe for them to travel through the Biſhops Territories, the Senate procures them a ſafe Conduct, and likewiſe furniſhes them with Proviſion for their Journy: But they who had reſolved long before not to ſtir, retired privately to their Diſciples, and lie concealed for ſome time. The Senate in the mean time before the other appeared abroad again, ſhut up all the Churches, leaving only one open: For they were afraid leſt the *Anabaptiſts*, whoſe numbers encreaſed daily, ſhould ſally with their Teachers, and throw the Miniſters of the Goſpel out of the Churches. In *November* following, the Lantgrave at the requeſt of the Senate, ſends them two Perſons to inſtruct the People,

the

the one was *Theodorick Frabritius*, the other *John Melſinger*. This laſt underſtanding the Publick Diſturbances, and being ſomewhat apprehenſive of danger, returns home: But *Fabritius* very courageouſly adviſed the Burgers to be very careful to avoid the *Anabaptiſts* Doctrin; which Poſt he maintained till the *Anabaptiſts* got the upperhand, and baniſh'd all the other Perſwaſions from the Town, as will appear afterwards: and that nothing might be wanting, he draws up a Form of Doctrin and Church-Government, which was approved by the Senate and People. Afterwards, by the leave of the Senate, *Petrus Wirtemius* began to Inſtruct the People, but he had not preach'd many Sermons before he was ejected by the *Anabaptiſts* at the Inſtigation of *Rottman*; who now being grown more Inſolent, challenge *Fabritius* and the reſt to diſpute. The Senate approving this Method, it was propos'd as moſt convenient, that the cauſe might be tried only by the Holy Scriptures, or by Writings of a reſembling Nature; that ſome unexceptionable and learned Perſons might be choſen as Arbitrators; who after a full hearing, and conſideration of the Arguments of both Sides, might pronounce Sentence: That their Determination ſhould oblige both Parties, this being the way to remove Diſſention, and to reſtore the Peace of the Church: But to this condition *Rottman* and his Aſſociates would not agree. Now their declining to ſtand a Trial, made them begin to be generally ſlighted; therefore to recover their Reputation, they pitch upon another more compendious Method. One of them pretending to be Inſpir'd, runs about the Town, and cries out, *Repent and be rebaptized, otherwiſe the Wrath of God will Overwhelm you.* Upon this the Rabble began to grow troubleſome and tumultuous, and all that were rebaptiz'd bawled out the ſame things, and in the ſame manner which he did. 1535.

A great many ignorant well-meaning People were circumvented and impoſed on by thoſe Enthuſiaſts, and obeyed them in every thing for fear of the Wrath of God, which they ſo ſolemnly denounced: Others joyned with them for the ſecurity of their Fortunes; for the *Anabaptiſts* handled their Adverſaries very ſeverely, and outed them of their Poſſeſſions: This happen'd about the end of *December*. And now thoſe before-mention'd came out of the places where they abſconded, and running in a Body to the Market-Place, they make a great Out-cry there, and order all unrebaptiz'd Perſons to be killed for Heathens and Wretches. Afterwards they ſeize upon the Town-Ordnance, and the Senate-houſe, and offer Violence to a great many of the Citizens. Some of which to Protect themſelves and their Friends from Out-rage, poſſeſs themſelves of part of the Town which was naturally fortifi'd, and take a great many of the other Party Priſoners: This Skirmiſh with the *Anabaptiſts*, who kept the Market-Place, which they had fortifi'd on all ſides, continu'd, till both Parties gave Hoſtages, and came to a Treaty; in which it was agreed, That every one ſhould Profeſs what Religion they pleas'd, return to their reſpective Dwellings, and be quiet. But *Rottman* in the mean time, and *Knipperdoling* who was the chief Incendiary, though they had approv'd the Accommodation, yet they write privately to the Neighbouring Towns, and invite thoſe of their own Gang, to leave what they had behind, and to repair to them as ſoon as was poſſible, that they ſhould receive ten times as much as they left behind. Being encouraged with ſuch large Promiſes, both Men and Women flock in ſhoals to *Munſter*, not queſtioning the advantage of their Expedition, eſpecially thoſe of the poorer ſort, who did not know how to live at home. The Townſmen, thoſe eſpecially who were Rich, when they ſaw the City fill'd with Strangers, withdraw as conveniently as they can, and leave the *Anabaptiſts* and the reſt of the common People together. This was done in *February*, about the time that *Bacchus* his Solemnity us'd to be kept, in the Year 1534. Thus the Forces of the other Party being weaken'd, the *Anabaptiſts* chooſe a new Senate, all of their own Faction; then they fall to making of Conſuls, to which Dignity *Knipperdoling* is preferr'd; a little after they break into the Church of St. *Maurice* in the Suburbs, and burn it with all the Houſes adjoyning; then they riſle all the other Churches, deface and ſpoil the inſide of the Cathedral. By and by they ſcamper all about the Streets in Cluſters, and firſt they cry out, *Repent*; but ſoon after, Away ye wicked Wretches, unleſs you have a mind to be knock'd on the head, and immediately they appear in a Body all armed, and whoever was not of their Sect, they drive them forthwith out of the Town, without any regard to Age or Sex, inſomuch that by reaſon of the Crowd, and the great haſt they were oblig'd to make their flight, ſeveral Women who were with Child, miſcarry'd. A Civil War in *Munſter*.

1535. As ſoon as they had done this, they ſeize upon the Goods of thoſe they had driven out; and though this happen'd the day before the Biſhop beſieged the Town; yet when ſome part of the Company, which was chaſed away by the *Anabaptiſts*, fell into the Biſhop's hands, they were treated as Enemies, and ſome of them were in danger of loſing their Lives, and among the reſt, one or two of the Preachers of the reformed Religion. *Petrus Wirtemius* whom we men-

Petrus Wirtemius.

tion'd before, being himſelf in danger, was ſaved by the mediation of the *Lantgrave*. The hearing of this uſage ſurpriz'd the Townſmen who ſtay'd behind, inſomuch that a great many honeſt Men, when they perceiv'd that though they did quit the Town, yet they ran themſelves upon apparent danger, were forc'd as it were to continue there againſt their Will. About this time one of their Principal Prophets, for they challenge that Name for themſelves, *John Mathew*, commanded that every Man ſhould bring forth all his Gold and Silver, and Moveables, under pain of death; and for this uſe there was a houſe ſet apart for a Publick Treaſury. The People were amaz'd at the rigour of this Edict, yet they obey'd it. Neither was it ſafe for any Perſon to deceive theſe Saints, or to keep part of his own Goods to himſelf; for there were two Prophecying Virgins who diſcover'd all foul play in this caſe. Nor did they only make a Common Bank out of their own Stock, but likewiſe made bold with the Fortunes of thoſe they had baniſh'd. Afterwards the ſame Prophet Commands, that none from thence forward ſhould keep any Book by him, except the Bible; all the reſt he chargeth them to bring out, that they might be aboliſh'd: This Command he pretended to receive from Heaven. Upon this a great number of Books were thrown together, and all burnt. About this time one *Hubert Truteling* a *Smith* happen'd to break a jeſt upon thoſe who call'd themſelves *Prophets*; this being known, they Summon in the Multitude, and command them to appear all armed; ſoon after they Indict the Man, and condemn him to ſuffer death. The People were wonderfully ſurpriz'd at theſe Proceedings: But their Head-Prophet, whom I ſpoke of before, ſeizes upon the poor Wretch; and having thrown him upon the ground, runs his Pike into him; yet he did not wound him Mortally, though he had tilted at him with a very great force. Afterwards he orders him to be taken away, and carried ſome whither elſe: Then taking a Muſket from a Youth who ſtood by, he ſhoots him through with a Bullet as he lay along; but not being diſpatch'd this way neither, the Prophet ſaid, *It was reveal'd to him from Heaven, that his Time was not come yet, and that God had beſtowed his Grace upon him*; but for all that the Man died within a few days after; which being divulg'd, the Prophet ſnatches up a long Pike and runs full ſpeed through the Streets, crying, *That God the Father had commanded him to beat the Enemy farther off the City.* When he came near to the Camp, he was encountred by one of the Souldiers, and run through. And though he was very much out in his Prediction once again, yet his Fellow-Prophet had ſo bewitch'd the People, and manag'd the Farce ſo artificially with the Rabble, that his death was much lamented, and they ſaid, *That the loſs of ſo excellent a Perſon did portend ſome ſpeedy Calamity to the Town.* But their ſecond-rate Prophet, *John* of *Leyden*, bids them be of good chear, it being reveal'd to him long before, *That* Mathew *was to die in that manner, and that he was to marry his Widow.* Upon *Good-Friday* they run into the Churches and ring all the Bells. Some few days after *Knipperdoling* Propheſies, That thoſe who were in the higheſt Station ſhould be degraded, and others of the meaneſt Condition advanced. Upon this he orders all the Churches to be demoliſh'd, ſolemnly affirming, *That God had commanded it ſhould be ſo.* His Orders are accordingly obſerv'd, and that Edict which he told them came from Heaven, was executed with great ſigns of alacrity and inclination. Much about this time *John* of *Leyden* delivers a Sword to *Knipperdoling*, and makes him his Executioner, telling him, *That the Divine Pleaſure was ſuch, that he who had born the higheſt Office before, and was Conſul, muſt now act in the loweſt place, and be contented to be Hangman.* The other was ſo far from refuſing, that he thanked him for the Employment. Now after the Biſhop had carried on the War for ſome months at his own Charge, *Herman* Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, and *John* Duke of *Cleve*, ſent him a ſupply of Money and Ordnance, with ſome Companies of Foot and Horſe. The Archbiſhop alſo went to the Camp to adviſe in the affair, and ſoon after the Town was beſieged in ſeveral places. But when there was no hopes of taking it by Storm, they built ſeven Forts about it, to cut off Proviſion, and order'd ſome Companies of Foot and Troops of Horſe to take

John Mathew an Anabaptiſt orders that all Mens Goods ſhould be common.

The Propheſies of the Anabaptiſts.

take up their Winter-Quarters there. The Biſhop of *Munſter* in the mean time deſiring aſſiſtance for the continuance of the War and the Siege, of thoſe Princes and Cities which border upon the *Rhine*, as being more his Neighbours than the reſt. To ſettle this Affair, there was a Meeting intimated to be held at *Coblentz* upon the 13*th* day of *December*, *Anno* 1534. 1535.

Germany in its whole extent is divided into ſix Provinces, *Franconia*, *Bavaria*, *Swaben*, *Saxony*, the *Palatine*, and *Burgundy*. Within theſe bounds all the Princes and Cities are ſtill included in the Diets of the Empire, according to the old Cuſtom. But now *Saxony* is divided into the Upper and Lower; beſides there is a new addition of lower *Germany*, *Weſtphalia*, and *Auſtria*; ſo that now the Empire contains ten Countries or Diſtricts in it. After they had try'd in vain to carry the Town by Aſſault, *John* of *Leyden* compoſeth himſelf to ſleep, and dreams out three days; when he awaked he ſaid never a word, but makes ſigns for Paper, and writes down the names of twelve Men, ſome of them well deſcended, who were to ſit at the Helm, and as Heads of the Tribes of *Iſrael*, to have the Direction and Government of all Affairs; this he told them was the Will of his heavenly Father. And when he had prepar'd the way for his projected Monarchy, by the Government of theſe twelve Men, he propounds a ſet of Doctrins to the Preachers, deſiring them that they would confute them by Texts of Scripture; but if they could not, he would mention them to the Multitude, that they might be approv'd and eſtabliſh'd into a Law. The ſum of them was this, That a Man was not obliged to confine himſelf to one Wife, but might marry as many as he pleaſed. But the Preachers oppoſing this Doctrin, he Summons them into the Senate-houſe, and brings the twelve Magiſtrates along with him; when they were all met, he pulls off his Cloke, and throws it upon the ground, together with the *New-Teſtament*, and making theſe as it were Symbols of his ſincerity; he proteſts and ſwears, *That the Doctrin he had publiſh'd was reveal'd to him from Heaven*; and therefore threatens them on a terrible manner, that God would never bleſs them if they did not conſent. At laſt they agree upon the Point, and the Doctors do nothing but harangue upon Matrimony in their Pulpits for three days together. Soon after he marrieth no leſs than three Wives, one of which was the Woman I mention'd before, the Relict of the famous Prophet *John Mathews*. His Example was ſo well followed, that they accounted the Repetition of Matrimony, before they were Widowers, a very commendable thing. But ſome of the Citizens who were very much diſſatisfy'd with this way, giving a ſignal about the Town, call'd all thoſe, who adher'd to the Doctrin of the Goſpel, into the Market-Place; when they had done this, they apprehend the Prophet and *Knipperdoling*, and all the Teachers of that Perſwaſion: When the Mobile underſtood this, they immediately betake themſelves to their Arms, Reſcue the Captives by force, and murther about fifty of the other Party with great barbarity: For they tied them to Trees and Stakes, and then ſhot them; the chief Prophet applauding their Cruelty, and telling them, That if they intended to do acceptable Service to God, they ought to be the firſt in diſcharging at them; others were killed after another manner. Upon the 23*d* of *June* another Prophet ſtarts up, who was a *Goldſmith*, who after he had conven'd the Rabble into the Market-Place, tells them, *That it was the Will and Command of the heavenly Father, that* John *of* Leyden *ſhould be Univerſal Monarch of the World*; *Tha he ſhould March out with a moſt powerful Army, and ſlay all Kings and Princes without diſtinction, giving Quarter to none but the Multitude, who were Lovers of Juſtice: That he ſhould poſſeſs the Seat of his Father* David, *till the Father requir'd him to Reſign his Kingdom.* For now the Wicked were to be deſtroy'd, and the Righteous to begin their Reign upon the Earth. Theſe words being ſpoken aloud, preſently *John* of *Leyden* falls upon his Knees, lifting up his hands to Heaven, *Men and Brethren*, ſaies he, *I have been aſſur'd of this Truth a great while ſince, yet I was not willing to divulge it my ſelf, and now you ſee, to make it the more unqueſtionable, the Father has made uſe of the Teſtimony of another.* Upon this being choſen King, he immediately diſſolves the *Duodecimvirate*, and, according to the cuſtom of other Princes, makes choice of ſome Noblemen for his own Service: He likewiſe orders two Crowns, a Scabbard, a Chain, and Scepter, and ſuch other Regal Ornaments to be made for him forthwith, of the beſt Gold. Then he appoints certain days in which he would give a Publick Hearing to all thoſe who had a mind to addreſs themſelves to him. As often as he appear'd abroad he was attended with his Officers and Lords of his Houſhold. Two young Men rid

John of *Leyden* proclaimed King of the *Anabaptiſts*.

1535. immediately behind him; He on the right hand carried a Crown and a Bible, the other a drawn Sword. His principal Wife appear'd in the ſame State; for we are to obſerve, he had ſeveral Wives at the ſame time. In the Market-Place there was a high Throne erected for him, cover'd with Cloth of Gold. The Cauſes and Complaints which were brought before him, uſually related to Matrimony and Divorces, than which nothing was more frequent, inſomuch that ſome who had liv'd together many years, were then ſeparated. Now it happen'd that when the People preſs'd to hear Cauſes, and ſtood very cloſe in the Market-Place; *Knipperdoling* ſprings out of a ſudden, and climbing the Crowd, runs upon their Heads, on his Hands and Knees; and breathing in their Faces, *The Father* (ſaies he to each of them) *has ſanctified thee, receive the Holy Ghoſt.* Another day he leads up a dance before the King, *This is my cuſtom*, ſaies he, *ſometimes with my Concubine, but now the Father has commanded me to do it in the Kings Preſence.* But when he over-acted his part, and would not give over, his Majeſty of *Leyden* took pet and went away: As ſoon as he was gone *Knipperdoling* mounts the Throne, and ſets up for King himſelf, but his Majeſty coming by, tumbles the Fellow down, and lays him in *Limbo* for three days. During the Siege theſe *Anabaptiſts* write a Book and publiſh it, which they call *The Reſtitution*: In this Book, among other things, they affirm, That the Kingdom of Chriſt is to Commence in ſuch a manner before the laſt Judgment; that the Godly and the Elect ſhall Reign, the Wicked being every where deſtroy'd: They affirm likewiſe, That it's lawful for the People to turn the Magiſtrates out of their Office; that though the Apoſtles had no Authority to Challenge ſuch a Juriſdiction, yet thoſe who are the preſent Miniſters of the Church ought to take the Sword into their own hands, and new-mould the Commonwealth by force. To this they added, That no Perſon who was not a true Chriſtian ought to be tolerated in the Church; farther, That no Body could be ſaved, unleſs they reſigned all their Fortune to the Publick Uſe, without reſerving any Property to themſelves: *Luther* and the Pope they ſaid were falſe Prophets, but *Luther* worſe than the other. Laſtly, That the Marriage of thoſe who were not enlightned with true Faith, was polluted and impure, and to be accounted Fornication, or rather Adultery, more than any thing elſe. Theſe Tenents of theirs were principally oppos'd by *Melanthon*, *Juſtus Menius*, and *Urbanus Regius*, who publiſh'd very large and ſatisfactory *Treatiſes* upon this Subject. Some few weeks after, the new Prophet I mention'd before, ſounds a Trumpet through all the Streets, and commands them to meet armed at the Porch of the Cathedral; for the Enemy was to be beaten off the Town: When they came to the place of Randevouz, they found a Supper prepared; They are ordered to ſit down, being about four thouſand of them; afterwards about a thouſand others ſit down, who were upon Duty while the firſt number were at Supper: The King and the Queen, with their Houſhold-Servants wait at the Table: After they had eaten, and Supper was almoſt done, the King himſelf gives every one a piece of Bread, with theſe words, *Take, eat, ſhew forth the Lord's death:* The Queen in like manner giving them a Cup, *Bids them ſhew forth the Lord's death*; when this was over, the Prophet before-mention'd gets into the Pulpit, and asks them, *If they would obey the Word of God?* When they all told him, *Yes*; *It is the Command of the heavenly Father*, ſaies he, *that we ſhould ſend out about eight and twenty Teachers of the Word, who are to go to the four Quarters of the World, and Publiſh the Doctrin which is received in this City.* Then he repeats the Names of his Miſſionaries, and aſſigns them all their reſpective Journeys: Thereupon ſix are ſent to *Oſenburgh*, ſix to *Varendorp*, eight to *Soeſt*, and as many to *Coesfeld*. Afterwards the King and Queen, and the reſt of the Waiters, ſat down to Supper, with thoſe who were deſign'd for this Expedition. At Supper the King riſes up, and pretends, *That the Father had commanded him to diſpatch ſome buſineſs.* By chance one of the Beſiegers was taken Priſoner by them; this Man the King Indicts of High-Treaſon, as if he had been a ſecond *Judas*; when he had done this, he beheads him himſelf, and then returns to his Supper, and relates his Exploit in a rallying way. After Supper thoſe eight and twenty Men we mention'd, were ſent away by night; To every one of which, beſides Proviſion for the way, they gave a Crown in Gold, which they were to leave in thoſe places which refus'd to receive their Doctrin, as a Teſtimony of their Ruine and eternal Deſtruction, for rejecting that Peace and ſaving Doctrin which they had been offer'd. Theſe Men went out accordingly, and when they had reach'd their reſpective Poſts, they cry out in the

The *Anabaptiſts* Book, concerning the Reſtitution.

The *Anabaptiſts* Supper.

The Apoſtles of the *Anabaptiſts*.

the Towns, *That Men muſt Repent, otherwiſe they would ſhortly be deſtroy'd.* They ſpread their Coats upon the Ground before the Magiſtrates, and throw down their Crowns upon them, and proteſt, *They were ſent by the Father to offer them Peace, if they would receive it.* They command them to let all their Fortunes be common; but if they refus'd to accept it, then this Gold ſhould be left as a Token of their Wickedneſs and Ingratitude: They added, *That theſe were the Times foretold by all the Prophets, in which God would make Righteouſneſs flouriſh all the World over; and when their King had fully diſcharg'd his Office, and brought things to that Perfection, ſo as to make Righteouſneſs prevail every where, then the time would be come in which Chriſt was to deliver up the Kingdom to the Father.* As ſoon as they had done their Speech, they were Apprehended, and Examined firſt in a friendly manner, but afterwards upon the Rack, concerning their Faith, and way of Living, and how the Town was fortify'd. Their anſwer was, *That they only taught the true Doctrin, which they were ready to maintain with the hazard of their Lives: For ſince the times of the Apoſtles the Word of God was never rightly delivered, nor Juſtice obſerv'd: That there were but four Prophets, whereof two were Righteous,* David *and* John *of* Leyden, *the other two Wicked,* viz. *the Pope and* Luther, *and this later the worſt.* Being asked why they had baniſh'd a Company of innocent Perſons their City, contrary to their own Promiſe? why after that, they had ſeiz'd upon their Goods, their Wives and Children; and by what place of Scripture they could defend this ſort of Juſtice? To this they reply, *That now the time was come in which Chriſt foretold, That the Meek ſhould Inherit the Earth: Thus in old time God gave the* Iſraelites *the Wealth of the* Egyptians. Speaking afterwards concerning the Forces and Proviſion of the City, they took occaſion to ſay, *That moſt of their Party had more than five Wives a Man; That they expected to be reinforc'd from* Friezland *and* Holland, *and as ſoon as their Auxiliaries were come up, their King would march out with his whole Army to Conquer the World for Himſelf, and that he would ſlay all Princes for their neglect of Juſtice.* After they had been put to the Queſtion, and ſtill perſiſted in their obſtinacy, acknowledging no Magiſtrate beſides their own King, they were all of them executed, except one who made his Eſcape. And now the City was very ſtrictly beſieg'd, ſo that none had the liberty of going out; Therefore the Citizens fearing a Famine, and being apprehenſive of their own danger, deſign'd to apprehend the King, and deliver him in Chains to the Biſhop. But the King, who was privately advertis'd of their Plot, chooſes twelve Men, out of the whole multitude, whom he conceiv'd would be moſt true to him; theſe he calls his Captains and Guards, and aſſigns every one of them a diſtinct Poſt to maintain, for the prevention of all Inſurrection: Then he promiſes all the People that at *Eaſter* they ſhould be deliver'd from the trouble both of the Siege and Scarcity they were preſs'd with: As for the Captains he promiſes them much greater matters, and tells them, *That he would make them all Lords*, particularly naming what Province, what Caſtles and Lands, each of them was to be rewarded with; adding withall, *That they muſt be kind to the* Lantgrave, *becauſe he hoped that in time he would come over to his Party.* I have mention'd already that in *December* there was a Meeting appointed at *Coblentz* of thoſe States of the Empire which belong to that Province which lies upon the *Rhine*: To theſe *John Frederick* Duke and Elector of *Saxony* voluntarily joyn'd himſelf. In this Meeting the Caſe was conſider'd, and there were Supplies order'd to be ſent to the Biſhop forthwith, three hundred Horſe, and three thouſand Foot, to be continu'd for ſix months. *Ulrick* Count *Oborſtein* is made General of thoſe Forces, and has the management of the whole War committed to him: They alſo decreed, That all the States of the Empire ſhould be ſolicited to ſend Supplies; and in regard the Emperor was in *Spain*, they would intreat *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, to give notice that a Diet ſhould be held in *April* following, for the ſetling this Affair. Then they wrote ſharply to the beſieged, and charge them to give over their Enterpize, which was ſo ſcandalous and wicked, as nothing could be imagin'd more; proteſting, That unleſs they obey'd, and ſurrendr'd themſelves to their lawful Magiſtrate, the Biſhop, who now beſieged them, would be aſſiſted with the Forces of the whole Empire. This was done about the end of *December*.

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A meeting of the Princes at *Coblentz*.

Jan. 15*th* in the year 1635, the beſieged return an Anſwer which was large, but nothing to the purpoſe; however they ſpoke ſo far to the Point, as to approve and defend their proceedings in general; as to what was objected to them concerning their making a King they take no notice of it; but in their

private

1535. private Letter to the *Lantgrave* they endeavour to excuſe themſelves, enlarging themſelves very much upon the deſtruction and univerſal Slaughter of the Wicked, upon the Deliverance and Kingdom of the Saints, which was to Commence in this life: They likewiſe ſend him the Book of *Reſtitution*, which I mention'd before, and admoniſh him to Repent, and not like the reſt of the other Princes wickedly make War againſt innocent Perſons, and the People of God. The *Lantgrave* reads their Letter and their Book, and marking what he diſlik'd in it, commands ſome of his own Subjects to anſwer it. And becauſe they had written very briefly, and ſomewhat obſcurely, that their King was not ſo much of their chooſing as of God Almighties: He demands of them why they did not publiſh thoſe Texts of Scriptures which they founded the Action upon? why they had not prov'd the lawfulneſs of their proceedings by Signs and Wonders? For when Chriſt was to come into the World, God foretold it long before by all his Prophets; and that in ſo evident a manner, that not only the Tribe and Family, but the time when, and the place where was certainly known. The *Anabaptiſts* likewiſe deſir'd they might have a Hearing: To which the *Lantgrave* replies, That it was too late to talk of that now, ſince they had uſurp'd the Power of the Sword, and been the Authors of ſo great a Calamity: For all Men ſaw what they drove at, *viz.* To overturn all Laws and Government: And as their Deſign was execrable and wicked, ſo their deſiring their Cauſe might be heard, was nothing but ſham and pretence: He had taken care to ſend them faithful Paſtors of the Church, by whom he did not queſtion but that they were well Inſtructed: But their broaching a Doctrin of their own, by vertue of which they had rebelled againſt the Magiſtrate, poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Fortunes of their Neighbours, introduc'd Polygamy, and choſen a new King; Their denying that Chriſt aſſum'd his Humane Nature of the Virgin *Mary*; their aſſerting the Freedom of Man's Will; forcing People to relinquiſh their Property, and conſent to a Community of Goods, and denying Abſolution to a Sinner that relapſeth; all theſe Tenents were repugnant to the Laws both of God and Man. When they had receiv'd this Anſwer, they reply to it, and ſend a Book with it concerning the Myſteries of the Scriptures, written in the Vulgar-Tongue. In their Letter they flouriſh their Cauſe over again, and defend their Tenents: In their Book they divide the duration of the World into three Periods; The firſt World, which laſted from *Adam* to *Noah*, was deſtroy'd by a Deluge: This in which we now live, will be conſum'd by Fire; And the third will be perfectly new, in which Righteouſneſs is to Reign. But before this laſt World commences, that which is now, muſt be purify'd by Fire; but this will not come to paſs till *Antichriſt* is reveal'd, and his Power utterly deſtroy'd: Then the time will be come in which the Tabernacle of *David*, which is fallen down, will be built again; That Chriſt will be ſeated in his Kingdom on the Earth, and all the Writings of the Prophets will be accompliſh'd. As for the preſent World it may be reſembl'd to the Age of *Eſau*, for now Juſtice is clapp'd under Hatches, and the Godly are afflicted: But as the Captivity of *Babylon* did not laſt always, ſo now the time of Reſtitution and Deliverance from theſe great Calamities is at hand, in which Vengeance ſhall be fully executed upon the Ungodly, according to what is denounc'd againſt them in the *Revelations*: Now this Reſtitution is to precede the future Age, that the Wicked being deſtroy'd the Earth, may be the better prepar'd to be the Seat of Righteouſneſs. When this Book was read over, the *Lantgrave* Orders ſome of his Church-Miniſters to write againſt it. Some few Agents of the Cities, who met at *Coblentz* did not like the Decree which was made there, and ſaid, They would report it to their Principals at home. Afterwards all the reſt of the Cities of the Empire had a Meeting at *Eſling*, where it was finally reſolv'd, That thoſe who met at *Coblentz* before, had no right to lay any Tax upon them: For to do this, it was requiſite to have the Conſent and Authority of the Emperor, and all the States: Therefore they refus'd to ſtand to this Decree, and promiſe to ſend Supplies to each other, if any of them ſhould happen to come into danger upon this account: But whatever Proviſion was legally made for the Commonwealth in the Diets of the Empire, in ſuch caſes they declare they would always be ready to perform their Duty. Now in the month of *February* the price of Proviſions was riſen to that height, that ſome People were ready to periſh with Hunger; whereupon one of the Queens compaſſionating the Condition of the Townſmen, happen'd to ſay to her Partners, *That ſhe did not believe it was the will of God that Men ſhould be ſtarv'd at that rate:*

The Doctrin of the *Anabaptiſts*, and their wickedneſs.

The *Anabaptiſts* Book concerning the Myſteries of the Scripture.

The

The King who had his Store-houſe furniſh'd not only for Convenience but Luxuxry; when he underſtood this thing, brings her out into the Market-Place, together with the reſt of his Wives; then commanding her to kneel down, he beheads her, and ſets a mark of Infamy upon her when ſhe was dead, as if ſhe had been a Strumpet. The remaining Queens applaud this piece of Juſtice, and give thanks to the heavenly Father. After that the King begins a Dance, and exhorts the Multitude who had nothing but Bread and Salt left them, to dance and be merry. When *Eaſter* was come and no Deliverance appear'd, the King, that he might find ſome excuſe for being ſo laviſh in his Promiſes, pretends to be ſick for ſix days together. After that he comes forth into the Market-Place, and ſaies, *That he had rid a blind Aſs, and that the Father had laid the Sins of the whole Multitude upon him; now therefore they were all perfectly cleanſed and diſcharged of the guilt of all heinous Offences; this was the Deliverance which he promis'd them, with which they ought to be contented. Luther,* among other things which he publiſh'd about this time in the Vulgar-Tongue, breaks out thus upon this occaſion, *Alaſs,* ſaies he, *what ſhall I ſay, how ſhall I complain of thoſe miſerable Wretches, and deplore their Condition? that Devils dwell among them in abundance is beyond all queſtion: However we have great reaſon to praiſe God for his infinite mercy towards us; for though* Germany *deſerves to be ſeverely afflicted, for contemning the Goſpel, for diſhonouring the Name of God, and for ſhedding the blood of righteous Perſons: Yet God is pleas'd to check the Career and Violence of Satan; as yet he does not permit him to ravage at his pleaſure; but gives us a merciful warning, and by this ill contriv'd Farce at* Munſter, *calls upon us to reform our Lives: For unleſs God had reſtrain'd him and pull'd him back, I do not queſtion but that ſo ſubtil a Spirit as he is, and who is ſo much his Crafts-maſter, would have gone a quite different way to Work. But now ſince God has diſabled him, he does not tyrannize and embroil the World ſo much as he has a mind to, but only ſo far as his permiſſion reaches: For the evil Spirit, who endeavours to deſtroy the Chriſtian-Religion, does not uſually make choice of Polygamy for the compaſſing his Deſigns; he knows the Infamy and Wickedneſs of ſuch a practice is ſo notorious, that all Men abhor it. 'Tis true, States and Civil Government may be diſorder'd this way, but the Kingdom of Chriſt muſt be batter'd with other ſort of Engins. He that would deceive effectually, and draw Men into his Toyls, muſt not pretend to Empire and Government, and play the Tyrant; for all People diſlike this way, and perceive what he aims at; but he muſt lay his Contrivance deep, and lead by degrees to the main Deſign: Indeed to go in a ſingular and negligent Habit, to put on a grave and mortify'd Face, to look almoſt always upon the ground, to practiſe Faſting, not to touch a Peny; to abſtain from eating Fleſh, to pretend an averſion to Matrimony, to account Magiſtracy a prophane Office, to refuſe the offer of Greatneſs and Government, and to make Profeſſion of extraordinary Humility; This makes way for the Kingdom of Darkneſs by the Arts of Diſſimulation and Secreſie, and is ſo well contriv'd a Method, that it is poſſible for wiſe Men to be circumvented by it. But impudently to Uſurp a Kingdom, and marry as many Wives as his Lewdneſs has a mind to, can be the contrivance of none but ſome raw unpractis'd Devil; or if he does underſtand his buſineſs, God has ſo bound him in Chains, that he has not the liberty to ſhew any more Cunning; which is done without doubt to make us ſtand in awe of his Majeſty, and to excite us to Repentance, before he is provok'd to let looſe a more experienced Enemy, who will ſet upon us in a much more formidable manner. For if this whiffling Grammaticaſter has been able to make ſuch a Diſturbance; what do we think will be Iſſue, when Satan, of greater parts and underſtanding, ſhall pour in upon us? I mean a Devil who underſtands Law and Divinity; indeed we need not much fear that this Clumſie Goblin will do any great harm: I believe all the People in the Town are not pleas'd with his Diverſion, but that moſt of them are heartily ſorry for it, and with ſighs and tears wait for a Deliverance from God; as we know it happen'd ſome years ſince in the Inſurrection of the* Boars. *And I wiſh with all my heart there was never a ſubtiller Devil in the World, than this of* Munſter. *For if God does not withdraw the aſſiſtance of his Word, I am perſwaded there are very few will give any Credit to this dull and ſottiſh Pretender. Though when the Wrath of God is kindled, there is no Error ſo abſurd, and ill put together, but that Satan may make it paſs: As we ſee it has happen'd in the Religion of* Mahomet, *for though it's all made up of Folly, yet when once the light of God's Word was extinguiſh'd, it gather'd ſtrength, and ſpread it ſelf into that Extent and Prevalency which we now now ſee: And the ſame Fate had happened to* Germany, *if God had not defeated the Deſign and Attempts of* Muncer; *for Satan by the Divine Permiſſion can blow up the leaſt Spark into a mighty Conflagration; neither is there any way ſo likely to put it out, as by the Word of*

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The King executes one of the Queens himſelf.

Luther's opinion concerning the people of *Munſter.*

1535. *of God; and ſince the Armour of the Enemy is all of it Incorporeal, it is to no purpoſe to draw up Horſe and Cannon againſt him. But our Princes and Biſhops go another way to work; they obſtruct the preaching of the Goſpel, which alone is able to cure the Minds and Affections of Men, and go on rufling with Puniſhments and Executions, in hopes to get the Body out of the Devil's Clutches, never conſidering that they leave him in poſſeſſion of the Heart and Soul, which is much the better part of the Man. I expect they will have the ſame Succeſs in this Affair which the* Jews *had, who went about to deſtroy Chriſt by Puniſhment and Crucifixion. Now as to thoſe things which are reported and written concerning the people of* Munſter, *I believe there is nothing but truth in them; and that which confirms me in this opinion, is the Book which was lately publiſh'd by them; in which they give a pleaſant Deſcription of their Frenſie. Firſt, they talk very abſurdly about the Doctrin of Faith; as alſo concerning Chriſt, as if he was not the Son of* Mary, *according to their Style, though they grant him deſcended from the Line of* David; *but they do not ſufficiently explain the Point; It being the Devil's method to foſter a monſtrous Production: This indeed he plainly intimates, that it's impoſſible for the Seed of* Mary, *or the Fleſh to redeem us; but his argument is ill founded, for the Scripture ſaith,* That Chriſt is born of the Virgin Mary, *which word in all Languages relates to the* Fœtus, *which being conceiv'd and form'd out of the fleſh and blood of its Mother, is brought forth into the World. Another piece of their folly is ſhewn in condemning the Baptiſm of former Ages as a prophane Practiſe; for they don't account it a Divine Inſtitution, but only a bare Humane Ordinance. Now if every thing which comes from the Wicked, or belongs to them, is to be deſpis'd and rejected, I very much wonder why they do not throw away the Gold and Silver, and the other Goods which they have plunder'd from the Wicked, and make ſome new matter for themſelves? for Baptiſm as well as thoſe is the effect of God's Power and Appointment; when a wicked Man ſwears, he Prophanes the Name of the true God; but if there was no ſuch thing as the Name of the true God for him to ſwear by, then he would not be guilty of any Tranſgreſſion. He that Steals or Robs upon the High-way, breaks the Command of God; but upon the ſuppoſition there was no ſuch real Command, he is then no Sinner; in like manner if the former Baptiſm be nothing at all, then thoſe who are baptiz'd with it are not chargeable with any fault; why therefore do they abominate this Baptiſm as a wicked thing, when according to their own aſſertion it is nothing at all? If, as they ſay, the Marriages of precedent Generations are to be eſteem'd no better than Fornication and Adultery, becauſe, according to their Gaut, they were contracted by perſons who wanted Faith: I deſire to know, Whether they do not confeſs themſelves to be all Sons of Whores? Now if they are all baſe born, and illegitimate, why do they enjoy the Poſſeſſions of their own City, and fore-Fathers? Indeed ſince they are ſuch ſort of People, it may reaſonably be expected, that they ſhould not poſſeſs any thing by right of Inheritance; but if they would have a creditable Title, they ought to raiſe themſelves new Fortunes in their newly invented Matrimony; for it does not become ſuch Saints, ſuch religious Ones, as they are, to live upon theſe whoriſh and ill-gotten Eſtates, much leſs to take them away by force and robbery from other Men: As touching the ridiculous Kingdom which they pretend to, there are ſo many and ſuch apparent Villanies in this one thing, that there needs no further enlargement upon it; poſſibly what I have ſaid already may ſeem ſuperfluous and unneceſſary, eſpecially ſince this argument has already been ſufficiently managed, and explain'd by others.* In the

A Diet held at *Wormes.*

Diet at *Wormes* which King *Ferdinand* conven'd in *April* at the inſtance of the Princes, and in which he aſſiſted by his Agents; The Cities which had contributed no mony, made a proteſtation at firſt, that their coming thither preciſely upon that day was not upon the account of the Decree which was made at *Coblentz*, but in Obedience to the Emperor and *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*; afterwards they had a great Diſpute with the Princes about the Contribution. At laſt there was a Supply decreed for five months, at the rate of twenty thouſand Crowns a month: They likewiſe decreed, That when the Town was taken, the innocent Crowd ſhould be ſpar'd; and that thoſe honeſt Men who were either beſieg'd, or had remov'd ſome whither elſe, ſhould have their Goods reſtor'd to them. When this Decree had paſſed, the Biſhop of *Munſter* gives the Charge of his Army to Count *Obeſtein*; but the Mony being levy'd very negligently, and almoſt quite too late, there was nothing conſiderable done; nay the Officers themſelves were more than once in great danger of their Lives by the Souldiers, who mutiny'd for want of their Pay. Now when the Town was reduc'd to that Extremity, that a great many periſh'd daily with danger,

many

many of them alſo deſerting it, and coming out ſo lamentable lean and meager, that the Enemy could not chooſe but pity them: The Officers of the Camp gave the Townſmen to underſtand, that if they would deliver up their King and ſome few Perſons more, they ſhould have ſecurity for themſelves. The Citizens though they were very deſirous to comply, yet the Severity and Vigilance of their King was ſuch, that they durſt attempt nothing: For the King was obſtinate to that degree, that as long as there was any thing for him, and a few others to live upon, he was reſolv'd not to ſurrender. Therefore the Commanders write to them, and charge them not to let any Perſons come out of their City for the future, no not ſo much as Women or Children: This was the firſt day of *June*. The day after they return an anſwer, In which they complain, that they were not allow'd a fair Hearing; That they were us'd with extream Rigour, without any juſt Provocation on their part; but if any one could ſhew they were miſtaken, they would not fail to do their duty: Then they fall of explaining the Viſion of *Daniel* concerning the fourth Beaſt, which was to be the cruelleſt of all: The concluſion of their Letter was, That, by the Grace of God, they would perſevere in this Confeſſion of Truth; but all this ſtuff was dictated by their King. Now when the Town was brought to the laſt Extremity, two Perſons made their Eſcape, one of them was taken by the Soldiers, the other, after he had receiv'd Security, comes to the Biſhop, both of them enform him how he may make himſelf Maſter of the Town. *Oberſtein* and the Biſhop after they had heard this Report of the Deſerters, and conſulted upon the Point, upon the 22*d* of *June* they adviſe the Townſmen in a Parley to ſurrender themſelves, and preſerve the Multitude from ſtarving: They return an anſwer by *Rotman* in their King's Preſence, the Purport of which was, That they would not depart from their Reſolution. Two days after, about Eleven of the Clock at Night, the Army marcheth up to the City without any noiſe, and by the help of the Deſerters, ſome Souldiers, who were drawn out for this purpoſe, paſs through the Ditch up to the Rampire, and kill the Sentinels; thoſe were followed by others, who finding a little Gate open, about five hundred of them, with ſome Officers and Colours, enter the Town. Upon this the Townſmen joyning in a Body, diſpute the Entrance of the reſt, and at laſt, with great difficulty, beat them back; and ſhutting the Gate, charge thoſe who had broken in already, and kill a great many of them; and when they had fought very ſmartly for an hour or two, the Enemy who were ſhut in, break open the Gate which was next to them, being defended by a very ſlender Guard, and make way for their own Party, who came up immediately in a great Body. To whom the Citizens made ſome reſiſtance at firſt, and fortify'd themſelves in the Market-Place; but afterwards finding they had loſt a great many Men at the firſt Charge, and deſparing of Succeſs, they beg Pardon, and obtain it: The King and *Knipperdoling* were taken at the ſame inſtant, and *Rotman* having no hopes of coming off, to prevent falling alive into the Enemies hand, chargeth into the Body of them, and is run through. The Town being taken, the Biſhop reſerves half the Booty and the Ordnance for himſelf; afterwards he disbands the Army, and keeps only two Companies for his Garriſon. After this there was another Diet of the Empire held at *Wormes* upon the 17*th* day of *July*, in which *Ferdinand*, by his Ambaſſadors, propoſeth by way of queſtion, Whether ſince the Town was reduc'd, there was any thing farther to be done towards the total Suppreſſion of the *Anabaptiſts*: He alſo puts them in mind, that the Princes ſhould ſolicite the Pope about the calling of a Council. They anſwer, That it was order'd by ſeveral Edicts already, what was proper to be done to the *Anabaptiſts*: That the Pope had more than once been importun'd by the Emperor about a Council; and they ſaid, That they could do nothing farther. In this Diet the Biſhop of *Munſter* deſir'd that his Expences, and the loſs he had been at, might be made good to him; and complains that the mony he was to receive by agreement, was not paid. When they could make no farther Eſtabliſhment, and but few of the States were preſent, they appoint another Diet to be held upon the firſt of *November*, in which the Accounts and Charge of the War was to be ſtated, and the Form of Government which *Munſter* was to be under, ſetled. When the time appointed was come, the Embaſſador of King *Ferdinand* relates briefly the occaſion of aſſembling the Diet; namely, that, among other things, it might be debated how the City, which was lately recover'd, might continue in the ancient Reli-

1535.

Another Diet at *wormes*.

gion. Afterwards the Biſhops Ambaſſador mentioneth how expenſive the War had been to him all along, what great Debts he had contracted; how after the Town was taken, to prevent Danger and Inſurrections, he was oblig'd to build two Forts there, and place Garriſons in them; all which things he deſir'd might be conſider'd. To this it was anſwer'd, That the Biſhop had taken the greateſt part of the Booty, all the Ordnance and the Goods of the Citizens, all which belong'd to the State of the Empire: That it was reaſonable theſe things ſhould be valu'd, and compar'd with the Charges he had been at: That what was due to him after ſuch a Computation, ſhould be accounted for. Afterward it was decreed, That the Biſhoprick of *Munſter* ſhould be ſubject to the the Empire, according to ancient cuſtom: That the Nobility ſhould be reſtor'd, and alſo the Citizens who had remov'd, provided they were not *Anabaptiſts*: Touching Religion, the Biſhop was to proceed according to the Laws of the Empire: At the beginning of the next Spring the Princes Commiſſioners ſhould go to *Munſter*, and enquire into the behaviour and condition of the Citizens, protect the Innocent, and ſlight the Fortifications which the *Anabaptiſts* had rais'd: The Biſhop alſo was to demoliſh thoſe Forts he had built in the Town, and to puniſh the Captives, the King, *Knipperdoling* and *Crecking*, according to their deſerts, with the firſt opportunity, and not to keep them any longer. Concerning that which was decreed about Religion, the Elector of *Saxony*, the *Lantgrave*, the Duke of *Wirtemburgh*, and Earl of *Anhalt*, openly remonſtrated againſt it; the ſame Proteſtation was made by the Cities; beſides they were not willing the old Fortifications of the Town ſhould be raz'd; as concerning the new ones they had nothing to object. The King and his two fellow Priſoners were carry'd up and down the Country to the Princes to ſhew and expoſe them: this gave ſome of the *Lantgraves* Preachers an opportunity of converſing with the King, with whom they diſpute chiefly theſe following Points, *viz.* concerning the Kingdom of Chriſt, concerning Magiſtracy, Juſtification, Baptiſm, the Lord's Supper, the Incarnation of Chriſt, and Matrimony; and here though he defended himſelf with obſtinacy enough, yet they preſs'd him ſo hard with Teſtimonies of Scripture, that though he did not yield in every thing, yet they made him bend and let go his hold, inſomuch that at laſt he gave up the greateſt part of the Cauſe, which ſome think he did only to ſave his life. For when they came to him again, he promis'd, upon condition of being pardon'd, that he would engage to oblige the *Anabaptiſts*, who were very numerous in *Holland*, *Brabant*, *England*, and *Friezland*, to give over Preaching, and to obey the Magiſtrates in every thing. Afterwards theſe Divines argued with his Companions both by word of mouth and writing, concerning Mortification, the Baptiſm of Infants, Community of Goods, and the Kingdom of Chriſt. When they were brought to *Telget*, the Biſhop demands of the King, by what Authority he could juſtifie the liberty he had taken in his Town, and with his Subjects? To whom he replies in a queſtion, Who gave him the Juriſdiction over the City? When the Biſhop made anſwer, That he was choſen into this Government by the conſent of the Chapter and the People: The other replies, That he was call'd to this Office by God. Upon the 19*th* of *Jan.* they are brought back to *Munſter*, and committed to diſtinct Priſons; upon the ſame day likewiſe the Biſhop came to Town, with the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, and the Embaſſadors of the Duke of *Cleve*. The two following days were ſpent in pious Exhortations, to bring them off from their Error: Now the King did own his fault, and prayed to our Saviour, but the other two would not acknowledge that they had done any thing amiſs, but obſtinately defended their Opinions. The next day the King was brought out into a place whoſe ſituation was higher than ordinary, and tied to a Stake, there were two Executioners by him with red-hot Pincers: He was ſilent for the three firſt ſnatches, but afterwards he did nothing but cry out to God for Mercy; when he had been torn in this manner above the ſpace of an hour, he was run through the Body with a Sword, and ſo died: His Companions had the ſame puniſhment. When they were dead, they were each of them faſten'd to an Iron-Cage, and hung at the top of the Tower in the City; the King hangs in the middle, and about a Man's height higher than the other two. In *January* this year *Catherine* of *Spain* died, whom *Henry* King of *England* had divorc'd above three years ſince, as I obſerv'd before. In the Fourth Book I gave an account how *Frederick* Duke of *Holſtein* was made King of *Denmark* by the aſſiſtance of the *Lubeckers*: When he was dead, there happen'd to be a very

The King of *Munſter* is carried about for a ſight.

1536.

The King of the *Anabaptiſts* is executed.

War between *Denmark* and *Lubeck*.

troublesome War between his Son and Successor *Christian* and the *Lubeckers*; but by the mediation of the Elector of *Saxony*, of the *Lantgrave*, and *Ernest* Duke of *Luenburgh*, of the Towns of *Bremen*, *Hamburgh*, *Magdeburgh*, *Brunswick*, *Lunenburgh*, and *Hildesheim*; the Quarrel was at last taken up this year in *February*. At that time the Duke of *Savoy* was engag'd in a War with *Geneva*, being assisted in it, or rather provoked to it, by the Bishop of that City, partly because the Reformed Religion was introduced there, partly for other reasons. Now the Citizens of *Geneva* were Allies of the *Canton* of *Bern*, who assisting them at last with their whole Forces, the Enemy was beaten off, and oblig'd to retreat, and the *Canton-men* of *Bern* pursuing them as far as the Lake *Leman*, seiz'd upon as much of the Dukes Country as lay convenient for their Frontiers; the same thing was done by the rest of the *Switzers* which joyn upon *Savoy*. During this Action the *French* King who long before intended to make War in *Italy*, especially after the death of *Francis Sforza*, whom we mention'd before, levies an Army in the beginning of the Spring, and falls upon the Duke of *Savoy*, who was his Uncle: He grounded his Quarrel upon his Claim to an Inheritance which he said belong'd to him, but was seiz'd on by the other. The Duke of *Savoy* being weaken'd before, and unable to Match so powerful an Enemy, was outed of most of his Dominions in a short time. For the King passing over the *Alpes*, invades *Piedmont*; and, besides other Conquests, takes *Turin* the Capital City of that Country, and fortifies it with new Works, and a Garison; the Command of the Army, in this Action, being given to *Philip Chabot* Admiral of *Franee*. The Duke of *Savoy* was married to *Beatrix*, Daughter to *Emanuel* late King of *Portugal*, and the Emperor to *Isabella* Sister to *John* who now Reigns; and whereas formerly he had kept himself Neuter, now by seeming to incline to the Emperor's side, he provok'd the *French* King to break with him, who was his Nephew by his own Sister *Louise*. Some say Pope *Clement* when he was at *Marseilles*, of which I gave account in the last Book, gave the King this Council, That if ever he intended to recover *Millain*, his way was first to possess himself of *Savoy* and *Turen*: However this was, the next year the King sets a new Custom on foot, and raiseth a standing Army of Foot, to the number of about forty thousand, which being quarter'd in several Provinces, were to be kept in Discipline, and always to be ready for Service upon occasion. And as the *French* Kings had formerly been very considerable for their Cavalry, which they always kept in pay; He was resolv'd to add a well-disciplined Infantry to them, that he might not always be oblig'd to hire foreign Soldiers. The King's design was to March his Army into the Neighbouring State of *Millain*, to recover that Dutchy which he had formerly been possess'd of for six years together, and claim'd it as the Inheritance of him and his Children, in the right of *Valentina* his great Grandmother, who was Daughter to *Philip Visconti* the last Duke of *Millain* of that Family. The Pedigree runs thus, The Family of the *Visconties* is remarkably Noble in the Dutchy, *Otho* is reckon'd the first of this Line, who was Archbishop of *Millain*, and in the Reign of *Rodolph* the Emperor expell'd the *Turiani*, who were a Noble and Illustrious Family. After his death the Command of the Town fell to *Mathew* his Nephew by his Brother *Theobald*; The next in Succession were *Galeaze*, *Actio*, *Luchino*, *John*, *Mathew* the Second, *Galeaze* the Second, *Barnabas*, *John Galeaze* who was made first Duke of *Millain* by *Wenceslaus* the Emperor: This *Galeaze* had two Sons, *John* and *Philip* (who died without lawful Issue) and a Daughter *Valentina*: *Francis Sforza* who was a Man of a Military Profession, and base Son of *James*, marries the natural Daughter of *Philip*, and under that colour seizeth upon the Dutchy of *Millain*, and bars *Valentina* the Sister of *Philip*, who was married to *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, Brother to *Charles* the Sixth of *France*. *Sforza* had Issue *Galeaze*, *Lodowick* and *Ascanio*. *Lodowick* made himself Master of the Government by Violence, and had Issue *Maximilian* and *Francis*: The Duke of *Orleance* had *Charles*, *Philip* and *John*, by *Valentina*. *Charles* was the Father of *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, who was afterwards King of *France*, and the Twelfth of that Name. *Philip* left no Children, *John* Duke of *Angoulesme* begot *Charles* who was Father to King *Francis*, who took *Maximilian Sforza* Prisoner, and possess'd himself of the Dutchy of *Millain*: But *Leo* the Tenth and the Emperor beat him out, and restor'd *Francis Sforza* who was banish'd; after whose death King *Francis*, to recover and vindicate his Right, begins a new War, because as soon as *Sforza* was dead, the Emperor possess'd himself of the Dutchy of *Millain* by the Conduct of *Antonio Leva*, whom he made his Lieutenant, and left him there for the Security of the Country, when he set sail for

1536.

A War between the Duke of *Savoy* and *Geneva*.

The *French* King makes War upon the Duke of *Savoy*.

The Family of the *Visconti* of *Millain*.

1536. *Africk*, which we mention'd before. Therefore as ſoon as he underſtood the King's deſign, he rais'd as conſiderable an Army in *Germany*, and other places as he could, and orders it to March into *Italy*: And coming from *Naples*. to *Rome* a few days after, he deſires he might have a Conſiſtory call'd, where in a full Aſſembly of Cardinals, the Pope being preſent, and the Embaſſadors of Foreign Princes, he makes a ſmart and violent Speech againſt the *French* King, by whoſe inveterate Malice and treacherous breaking of his League, he was hindred and oppos'd in his moſt excellent and religious Deſigns: The concluſion of his Harangue was, that he was ready to fight him in a Duel, being deſirous that the War might rather be ended with the private inconvenience of that King or himſelf, than continued to Plague the whole World. Before he left *Naples* the *Venetians* made a League with him againſt the *Turk*, which they were the more inclinable to do, becauſe they hoped he would reſign the Dutchy of *Millain* to ſome Perſon or other: For the reſt of the Princes of *Italy*, and eſpecially themſelves were unwilling, that the *French* or the Emperor ſhould be enrich'd with ſo large a Principality. For this reaſon of late years they had often combin'd together ſometimes againſt the *French* King, and ſometimes againſt the Emperor, that *Francis Sforza* might be reſtor'd, becauſe they apprehended leſs danger from him. For the motive, why Pope *Clement* and the *Venetians* ten years before entred into a League againſt the Emperor, was, becauſe upon the Expulſion of *Sforza* they ſuſpected he would challenge the whole State of *Millain* for himſelf; which they conceiv'd would be very prejudicial to their Intereſt, and about ſeven years before when he reſtor'd *Sforza* at *Bologna*, at the Interceſſion of *Clement*, he gained wonderfully upon the Affections of *Italy*. The Emperor alſo at *Naples* married his natural Daughter to *Alexander de Medice*, whom he had made Duke of *Florence*, as was related in the Seventh Book. This *Alexander* was the natural Son of *Laurence de Medices*, whoſe Father was *Peter*, whom in the former Book was mention'd to have been drown'd at the mouth of the River *Garigliano*. In the former Book I gave an account why *Vergerius* was ſent into *Germany*. Now when the Emperor was come to *Naples*, the Pope recalls him, upon which he returns to *Rome* with all ſpeed, and makes a Report of his Embaſſy, *viz.* That the Proteſtants demanded a free and Chriſtian Council, and that in a convenient place within the Territories of the Empire, which the Emperor had promis'd they ſhould have. Concerning *Luther* and his Party, there was no hopes of doing any good upon them, but by ſuppreſſing them: To that motion relating to the King of *England*, the Proteſtants would by no means agree; and the reſt of the Princes were very cold: Indeed *George* Duke of *Saxony* did ſay, That their greateſt danger was from the Proteſtants, which was no ways to be avoided, unleſs the Emperor and Pope joyn'd in a War againſt them as ſoon as was poſſible. When the Pope underſtood this, he diſpatcheth away *Vergerius* for *Naples* with all ſpeed, that he might relate theſe things to the Emperor, eſpecially that about making War upon the *Lutherans*. When the Emperor came to *Rome*, which was in the Month of *April*, as was obſerv'd before, he very much inſiſted upon the intimation of the Council, and deſir'd he might carry away a Bull with him to that purpoſe: The Pope told him, That he was not againſt a Council, but then he would have the choice of ſome Town in *Italy*, and preſcribe thoſe Conditions which were neceſſary for the *Roman*-Church. The Emperor reply'd, That provided he would hold a Council, he ſhould not value any other Diſpute, for he would oblige the greateſt part of *Germany* to comply with him in the reſt. The Pope therefore chooſes nine out of the Conſiſtory to draw up the Bull. Who were *Campegio*, *Ceſio*, *Simoneta*, *Ginuccio*, *Contareni*, and *Pool*, Cardinals. The Archbiſhop of *Brundiſi*, the Biſhop of *Rheggio*, and *Vergerius*, juſt then made Biſhop of *Modruſch*, and not long after of *Capo d'Iſtria*. All theſe Perſons draw up a Form for the intimating the Council, firſt in the Popes preſence, afterwards by themſelves, as will be obſerv'd afterwards.

The Emperor makes a Speech againſt the *French* King.

The *Venetians* make a League with the Emperor.

Vergerius ſent away to the Emperor.

The Articles of the League between the King of *England* and the Proteſtants.

I have already made mention of the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors, with whom there was a Treaty on foot at *Smalcalde* upon theſe following Conditions, That the King ſhould propagate the Doctrin of the Goſpel in its Purity, as it was propos'd at *Ausburgh*, and afterwards explain'd, and joyn with them in the defence of it, in a lawful Council, if any ſuch was call'd: That neither Party ſhould allow of the Intimation, or place of the Council, but by common conſent. However if it appear'd by good and unqueſtionable Reaſons, that there would be ſuch a Council held, as *Paul Peter Vergerius* had offer'd to demonſtrate, then it ſhould not be refus'd:

refus'd: But if the Pope notwithſtanding would go on in his old way, then his deſign ſhould be oppos'd and remonſtrated againſt by a publick Proteſtation. As his Majeſty had united himſelf to them in Doctrin, ſo he ſhould be deſirous to come into their League, and be ſtiled the Patron and Defender of it: That the common opinion of the Pope's Supremacy ſhould be for ever diſown'd. If there was War made upon either of them upon the ſcore of Religion, or for any other reaſon, then the Aggreſſor was to have no aſſiſtance; The King ſhould pay an hundred thouſand Crowns towards the defence of the League; the moyety of which Sum the Confederates may lay out whenever their occaſions ſhall require it, but ſhall be oblig'd to defray the reſt of the Charge out of their own Contributions. And if the War happens to be of any long continuance, and the Forces of the Enemy make it neceſſary, the King ſhall aſſiſt them with two hundred thouſand Crowns; ſince when things come to that extremity, they have oblig'd themſelves, not only to ſpend their Fortunes, but their Lives too. This latter ſum ſhould be manag'd the ſame way with the former, and not be turn'd to any other uſe than their own Defence; and when the War was ended the remainder ſhould be return'd: The Embaſſadors ſhould write the King their Maſter an account of theſe Articles, and when they underſtood his Reſolution, they ſhould acquaint the Elector of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave* with it; to the end, that afterwards an Embaſſy, in the Name of all the Confederates, might be ſent to him: As ſoon as the Embaſſadors had ſent away theſe Propoſals to the King, they remove to *Wittemburgh*, where they ſpent the reſt of the Winter, during which time they argu'd with the Town-Divines concerning the Doctrins then controverted: The main of their Diſputation was about the Celibacy of the Clergy, the Lord's Supper, the Popiſh-Maſs, and the Vows of the Religious; particularly they deſir'd the Divines would give their Approbation of the King's Divorce; but they anſwer'd, That the Scripture would not allow them to do this, when the other offer'd ſeveral Arguments to perſwade them; particularly that Pope *Clement* had been of different Opinions in this matter, and had declar'd his Sentiments in a private Conference with the *French* King: The Divines reply'd, That if the caſe ſtood thus, the King had great cauſe to do what he did; but when they were urg'd to ſay he had moſt juſt cauſe, they refus'd it. As ſoon as the Embaſſadors had receiv'd the King's Letters out of *England*, in which he explain'd his mind upon the Point; they acquaint the Elector with it. And upon the 12*th* day of *March* at *Wittemburgh*, whither the Duke was then come, they enlarge themſelves very much upon the King's good Inclinations to the Cauſe, and that he was ſatisfi'd with moſt of the Articles, if ſome few things were amended in them; and notwithſtanding all things were quiet in *England*, and the King had no reaſon to fear any Perſon, for if there were formerly any grounds for ſuch apprehenſions, they were now remov'd by the death of his Wife which was divorc'd; yet to recover, and ſettle the true Doctrin, if the Alliance went on, he was not unwilling to furniſh them with that Sum of Mony which they deſir'd, and intended to diſcourſe this Point farther by word of mouth with their Embaſſadors: As for the Honour which they offer'd him, of being Defender and Patron of their League; he acknowledg'd their kindneſs, and return'd them many thanks for it; and though he was ſenſible what an invidious and diſobliging Title this was, yet for the ſake of the Common Good he would not decline it, provided the firſt and the ſecond Article were accommodated. For unleſs there was an agreement in Doctrin between them, he was of opinion, that this Undertaking would not be conſiſtent with his Honour: That he was extreamly deſirous that the Learned of his own, and their Dominions, might be brought to a Uniformity of Opinion: And ſince he ſaw this could not be done unleſs ſome Points of Doctrin in their Confeſſion and Apology were firſt qualifi'd in a private Conference, therefore he earneſtly deſir'd they would ſend their Embaſſadors to him, and, among the reſt, ſome one eminently Learned, with power to debate and determine the whole Doctrin and Ceremonies. And in regard he has been ſo liberal in his conceſſions, he deſires by way of return; Firſt, If any one makes War upon him, that they would ſupply him for four Months, either with five hundred Horſe, or ten Ships well equipped. Secondly, That they would procure him at his own charge two thouſand Horſe, and five thouſand Foot. Laſtly, That they themſelves would publickly approve the Opinion of the Divines of *Wittemburgh* concerning the Divorce, and defend it in the Council which was to be call'd. The Elector of *Saxony* anſwer'd, That this Affair concern'd all the Allies, and

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The *Engliſh* Embaſſadors Winter at *Wittemburgh*.

The King of *England's* Letter to the Proteſtants.

1536. and therefore he muſt conſult them; ſoon after they all agree to meet at *Frankford* upon the twenty fourth of *April*, both about this and other buſineſs. When they came thither they anſwer'd the Embaſſadors, that notwithſtanding ſome were juſt then receiv'd into the League, and others upon the account of their diſtance from home, had no power to determine, becauſe they could not report the matter to their Principals; yet they would take care that the Embaſſy to the King ſhould be ſetled and regulated in this Meeting; and that thoſe who were not empowred to conclude any thing now, ſhould declare their mind to the Elector of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave* within a Month; which ſhould be immediately communicated to their Excellencies, at what place they ſhould pleaſe to appoint; neither did they queſtion but that this part of their Allies would approve the Embaſſy, and be willing to be concluded by the Majority. Afterwards they drew up the Commiſſion of their Embaſſadors who were to go for *England*; in which, among other things, it was provided, that when they were arriv'd, and came to Treat about the League, they ſhould in every point they agreed to, expreſly except the Empire and Emperor, to whom they were bound to be ſubject both by their Oaths and Allegiance. *James Sturmius* was deſign'd to repreſent the Cities in this Embaſſy: The Divines were *Melanchthon*, *Bucer*, and *George Draco*. At this Meeting there were admitted into the League *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemburgh*, *Bernin* and *Philip* his Brother, Dukes of *Pomeren*, *George* and *Joachim* his Brother, Earls of *Anhalt*; as alſo *Ausburgh*, *Frankfurt*, *Campodune*, *Hamburgh*, and *Hannover*. Other things were likewiſe debated relating to the League, the method of their defence, and the proceedings of the Imperial Chamber. They alſo decreed to ſend ſome Perſons to wait upon the Emperor, with an Anſwer in writing to his Letter, which was dated at *Naples*, which I mention'd in the former Book. I have frequently related already how violently averſe *George* Duke of *Saxony* was to *Luther*'s Doctrin. Now this being the occaſion of a great many Diſputes between him and his Uncle the Elector of *Saxony*, the Father of this preſent Elector; at laſt the matter was thus compromis'd, That there ſhould be no miſunderſtanding between them upon the account of Religion, but that they ſhould proceed in that Affait in ſuch a manner as they thought was accountable before God Almighty; and that their Vaſſals, who held of either or both Princes, ſhould enjoy their Property as formerly, notwithſtanding any difference of Religion. For we are to obſerve, that both theſe Princes have their Territories intermix'd; which was ſo contriv'd on purpoſe by their Anceſtors, that they might be the better diſpos'd to live peaceably together; in regard neither of them could make War upon the other without prejudice to his own Country and Subjects. But the Duke not minding this Agreement, depriv'd ſome Eccleſiaſticks, belonging to the Elector's Juriſdiction, of the Revenue of their Lands which they were poſſeſs'd of in his Country, becauſe they had turn'd *Lutherans*. And for the ſame reaſon diſſeiz'd thoſe who held both of his Coſin and himſelf of their Eſtates, contrary to all former Uſage and Cuſtom. After the Electors death, *John Frederick* his Son wrote to him, and put him in mind of his Agreement; but he return'd him a diſobliging Anſwer, and beſides other Objections, reflected ſeverely upon him for his falling off from the Church, the Pope, and the Emperor. Now after the Treaty which was ſet on Foot this year to take up the Quarrel, prov'd ineffectual, as ſeveral had done before. The Elector lays the whole matter before his Allies in the Aſſembly, and in caſe the Duke and his Adherents ſhould offer him any Violence, he deſires they would aſſiſt him with their Advice and Fortunes; afterwards upon the Tenth of *May* the Convention was diſmiſs'd.

The Proteſtants meet at *Frankford*.

Anne of *Bullein* Queen of *England* is beheaded.

In the beginning of *June*, *Anne* of *Bullein* by whom the King of *England* had one Daughter *Elizabeth*, was beheaded, being condemn'd of Adultery and Inceſt: This accident broke off the Embaſſy which was deſign'd for *England*. After the War was grown hot between the Emperor and the *French* King, Pope *Paul* the Third publiſh'd a Bull of the following Contents; From the time that God had pleas'd to promote him to the Honour of his preſent Station; he deſir'd nothing more earneſtly than that by his own Vigilance, and the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, the Church which was committed to his Care, might be purg'd from thoſe Hereſies and Errors which ſome while ſince have ſprung up and ſpread themſelves in it; and alſo by a Reformation in Manners and Diſcipline, it might recover its former Condition: For now to his great grief it was miſerably rent in pieces by Civil Wars, and the Artifices of wicked Men; and being very ſolicitous how to find out a Remedy for this great Evil, he could think of no other way more commodious

A Bull of *Paul* the Third for the Convocation of a Council.

modious than that which had been always us'd by the Church in ſuch caſes, that is, a general Council; this was the method which he always formerly approv'd, and ſince he was rais'd to his preſent Dignity, he ſtill continued of the ſame mind, with which he had by Letters acquainted the Emperor and other Princes ſeveral times; and now at laſt had fully reſolv'd upon this Expedient, hoping it would prove effectual not only to clear the Lord's Field of Hereſies, but alſo to remove the Miſunderſtandings of Princes, and ſettle a laſting Peace among them, that ſo being at leiſure to fight the common Enemy of our Faith, Chriſtendom might recover its own; thoſe who were taken Captives might be releas'd from a miſerable Slavery, Infidels converted to our Religion, and all People brought within the Pale of the Church: For theſe Conſiderations, by vertue of the Power he was entruſted with, and by the conſent of his Brethren the Cardinals, he does intimate a general Council of all Chriſtendom to be held upon 23*d* day of *May* next enſuing, at *Mantua*, a rich and commodious place, that all Perſons repairing thither againſt that time, the Council may be open'd. Therefore he commands all Biſhops and Prelates of what place ſoever, under the Penalties decreed by the Canon, to be preſent there at the time appointed. As for the Emperor and other Kings and Princes, who either by right or cuſtom have the Priviledge of being preſent at Councils; he does both advertize and conjure them by Chriſt, that for the ſake of the common Intereſt they would be there themſelves; or if their affairs would not give them leave, to ſend an honourable Embaſſy thither with large Commiſſions; and in as much as all Orders and Degrees are concern'd in their being preſent, he hopes that the Emperor and the *French* King eſpecially will not abſent themſelves: As touching the Emperor he had ſufficiently expreſs'd his religious forwardneſs already, and ſeveral times ſolicited *Clement* the Seventh about a Council, both in his own name, and in the name of his Brother *Ferdinand*, and of the Princes of the Empire. But this Deſign being interrupted by Wars, and other accidents intervening, eſpecially by the death of *Clement* himſelf, he at the very beginning of his Popedom, had acquainted the Emperor with his Intentions, to whom they were very acceptable: He had alſo written to the *French* King, who return'd him a friendly and obliging Anſwer, having before ſent a very religious Letter to *Clement* and the Conclave of Cardinals, in which he declar'd what his Inclinations and Opinion was in this matter: However if they could not come themſelves, he deſires that they would command thoſe of their own Subjects who might be preſent, to repair thither; or if for good reaſons they were oblig'd to abſent themſelves (the ſufficiency of which excuſes ought to be made apparent) then they were to depute Proxies, who were to ſtay at *Mantua* till the whole Debate was ended; to the end that by the Decrees made in that Aſſembly, the Church might be reform'd, and recover her ancient Splendor, Hereſies wholly extirpated, and a War made upon the Enemies of our Religion. And becauſe ſome Perſons are concern'd in this writing, to whom it cannot be publiſh'd without danger, therefore that none may pretend ignorance, he hath thought fit to have it openly recited in the Church of St. *Peter* and the *Lateran*, and afterwards to be affixed to ſuch places in the Town as are proper and uſual upon ſuch occaſions. This Bull was ſubſcrib'd by ſix and twenty Cardinals. 1536.

Ferdinand ſends an Embaſſador to the *Switzers*.

Upon the 7*th* of *June*, *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* ſends *James Sturcell* a Laywer from *Inſpruck* upon an Embaſſy to the *Switzers*. I underſtand, ſays he, the *French* King has ſolicited you for Supplies, but obtain'd nothing; which I was extreamly glad to hear, and have acquainted the Emperor with it; indeed it was very reaſonable he ſhould be ſo ſerv'd, for the Emperor gave no manner of occaſion to this War; and was fully reſolv'd to fight the *Barbarians* and Enemies of our Religion this Summer: But the *French* King immediately upon the death of *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milldin* (though he has no right to that Principality, though he had agreed the whole matter ſome few years ſince,) begun to project a War, and broke his Articles, demanding the Reſtitution of the Dutchy, and threatning if he had not ſatisfaction; and at the ſame time hiring Forces from ſeveral places, paſſeth over the *Alpes*, and invades the Duke of *Savoy*, a Prince of the Empire; that ſo by conquering that Province, he might make his way for farther Victory; which proceedings forc'd the Emperor to raiſe an Army for the defence of that Country. And though he was very deſirous of Peace, not only at firſt, but after he had been at great Charges in fortifying and defending his own Dominions, not refuſing to deliver up the Dutchy to the other, upon certain Conditions, as appears by his late Declaration made at *Rome* before the

Pope

1536. Pope and Conclave of Cardinals, and ſeveral Ambaſſadors of Princes; yet the *French* King rejecting all theſe Propoſals, perſiſted in his former Reſolution. And now I underſtand he is perpetually ſoliciting you for Supplies, pretending you ought to aſſiſt him, by vertue of a League made between you, in regard the Emperor ſets upon him in his own Country, and purſues him in his retreat: But the caſe is clearly miſrepreſented, for it is He, not the Emperor, who began this War, and forc'd his Imperial Majeſty to take up Arms againſt his Will. And though now he chooſes rather to fall back than ſtand the Charge of the Emperors Army, though the Emperor preſſeth upon him as he retreats; yet the Emperor cannot be ſaid to begin the War upon this account, for by purſuing the Enemy he does nothing but what is juſtifiable and prudent, that he may receive ſatisfaction for the damage he hath ſuſtain'd, and reſtore a general Peace to Chriſtendom: And therefore the reaſon drawn from the Alliance with which the *French* King flouriſhes ſo much, ought not to be inſiſted on. Now this being the true ſtate of the matter, and ſince he has broken his Faith, and begun the War again himſelf, I deſire you would not ſuffer any Forces to be ſent to him, which will be very acceptable to the Emperor and my ſelf, and will very much import the Peace and Security of your State. In the mean time the Proteſtants ſent Embaſſadors into *Italy* to the Emperor, who complain'd of the Mal-adminiſtration of Juſtice in the Chamber of *Spire*, and excus'd their ſeiſing upon the Goods of the Eccleſiaſticks, which the Emperor had before expoſtulated with them in a Letter. But before the Embaſſadors came thither, the Emperor had diſpatch'd Letters to the Proteſtants from *Savigliano* upon the ſeventh of *July*, *viz.* Notwithſtanding he had often told them both by Writing, and by his Embaſſadors, that his Inclinations were wholly bent to ſettle the Peace of *Germany*, that all Differences, eſpecially thoſe of Religion, might be amicably accommodated, and that no Man might have any diſturbance upon that account; notwithſtanding he had hitherto actually perform'd what he had written; yet becauſe the *French* King whoſe unjuſt Deſigns he was forc'd to oppoſe with an Army, had falſely ſuggeſted to them as if he would break the Peace at the firſt convenient opportunity. Therefore he was willing to write to them, and to caution them again not to give any credit to ſuch a Report; but to aſſure themſelves, that he would always ſtand to his Articles, and not make War upon any Perſon upon the ſcore of Religion, nor raiſe any Commotions in *Germany*. As for this preſent preparation for War, it is only deſign'd for the maintaining his juſt Right and Authority; therefore he deſires them that they would reſt ſatisfi'd, and not grow apprehenſive and ſuſpicious upon any Diſturbance that may happen: Such management as this will both be very acceptable to him, and beneficial to themſelves. And now the Emperor having gather'd his Forces, paſſeth through the midſt of *Italy*, and Invades *Provence* with a powerful Army. The King encamped at *Avignion*, between the Rivers *Rhone* and *la Durance*, and by waſting that part of the Country which he ſaw the Emperor would make his deſcent into, and afterwards declining a battle, he reduc'd him to great ſtreights: For a ſcarcity of all ſorts of Proviſions happening in the Emperor's Camp, after he had loſt *Antonio Leva*, and a great many thouſands of his Souldiers were deſtroy'd by Famine and contagious Diſeaſes, he was oblig'd to diſmiſs the remainder of his Forces, and return to *Genoa*. Another Army of his was employ'd the ſame Summer in the Country of *Vermandois*, and beſieg'd *Perone*, *Henry Naſſaw* being the General; but he was forc'd to retire without Succeſs, much about the ſame time that the Emperor left *Provence*; the News of both which accidents being brought to *Paris* the ſame day, occaſion'd great rejoycing in that City. For they were in a great Conſternation, and the People were harangued with bitter Invectives againſt the Emperor. The King's Lieutenants in the mean time giving order to fortifie the Town with Ramparts and Ditches, and to Garriſon all the Gates. *William* of *Furſtenburgh* a *German* ſerved the *French* King in this War, about the beginning of which *Francis* the *French* King's eldeſt Son died, being eighteen years of Age: The report was that he was poiſon'd, and one *Sebaſtian Montecuculi* an *Italian* being ſuſpected, and put to the queſtion, was quarter'd with Horſes at *Lyons*. And the King writing afterwards to the Princes of *Germany*, among other things, complain'd ſeverely of this matter, laying all the Scandal and Infamy of the Fact upon *Antonio Leva* and *Ferrand Gonzaga* the Emperor's Servants.

The Proteſtants Embaſſy to the Emperor.

The Emperor writes to the Proteſtants.

Perone is beſieged.

Francis the *Dolphin* dies.

At

At this time *Herman* Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, who had long ſince projected a Reformation of the Church, held a Provincial Council at the deſire of his People; and, according to cuſtom, ſummon'd all the Biſhops belonging to his Juriſdiction thither, *viz.* The Biſhops of *Leige*, *Utretch*, *Munſter*, *Oſnaburgh*, and *Minden*. This Council made ſeveral Canons concerning Doctrin and Ceremonies, which were afterwards compil'd into a Book by *John Gropper*, Profeſſor of the Canon-Law; in which almoſt all the Popiſh Tenents are palliated and coloured with new Interpretations: But this Book, when it was publiſh'd, did not give ſatisfaction, and ſome few years after the Archbiſhop himſelf was not pleas'd with it, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter. This year in *July* *Eraſmus* of *Rotterdam* died, being about ſeventy years of age; he was buried at *Baſil*, whither he return'd from *Friburgh*. How great a Perſon he was, what a Maſter of Stile, and how much all learned Men are oblig'd to him, his Works ſufficiently teſtifie. About this time there was a great Inſurrection in *England*; occaſion'd by the rejecting the Popes Supremacy, declaring the Lady *Mary*, who was generally belov'd, illegitimate, and puniſhing ſome Perſons for not obeying the King's Injunctions. Now this Rebellion encreas'd ſo faſt in a ſhort time, that the King thought it proper to draw his Forces together and March againſt them. And when they were encamp'd near each other, they came to a Parley, where after ſome of the Rebels were mollified, and had ſatisfaction given them, the reſt of the Rabble laid down their Arms and went off. Moſt of the Authors of this Diſturbance were executed after the heat of it was once over. That Letter which I mention'd the Emperor to have wrote in *July*, was anſwer'd by the Proteſtants upon the *9th* of *September*. In which they acquaint him, that his writing ſo courteouſly and frankly was matter of great pleaſure and ſatisfaction to them: For notwithſtanding they did believe he would make good his Promiſes, yet both becauſe they had heard ſeveral Reports of his being diſpleas'd, and becauſe the Imperial-Chamber, and other Courts of Juſtice, had practis'd many ways againſt them, without any regard to the Peace, they had ſome reaſon to be a little doubtful and ſolicitous; but now ſince he had declar'd his Mind in ſuch an open obliging manner, they did not in the leaſt queſtion but that he would perform every thing to the full, and take away all occaſions of Calumny from ill diſpos'd minds, which they for their parts ſhould likewiſe endeavour to do; and not give any farther credit to thoſe who went about to poſſeſs them with other thoughts of his Majeſty; and in all other things they would take care to do that which became their Duty. And notwithſtanding the News of the Council which the Pope has ſummon'd to *Mantua* upon the *23th* of *May* following, is publickly known, and call'd at his Majeſties Solicitation, as the Bull intimates, which is ſo obcurely drawn, that they cannot collect what the Conditions or Form of the Council will be; yet ſince they have always earneſtly deſir'd there might be a free and religious Council conven'd in *Germany*; ſince this Requeſt of theirs was made a Decree, both in the Imperial Diets, and at the Pacification at *Nuremburgh*; and ſince they had expreſly and largely inſiſted upon this Point before his Majeſty's and Pope *Clement*'s Embaſſadors about three years agon, they were entirely confident, that he would manage this Affair in a legal unexceptionable way. This month the Pope publiſh'd another Bull, in which he profeſſeth, that in the mean time while the Council was convening, it was his intention to reform the holy City of *Rome*, the Head of all the Chriſtian World, and the Miſtreſs of Doctrin, Manners and Diſcipline; that he would make a clear riddance of all her Vices and Uncleanlineſs; that his own Houſe being firſt put into order, he might the more eaſily cleanſe the reſt. Now the weakneſs of Humane Nature being ſuch, that it was impoſſible for him to diſpatch this Affair wholly by himſelf, and at the ſame time to manage other Concerns relating to the Commonwealth of Chriſtendom; therefore he had choſen a certain number of Cardinals whom God Almighty had made his Aſſiſtants and Coparteners in the Offices and Care of his Station, to perform this neceſſary and profitable Work, *viz.* the Cardinals of *Oſtia*, St. *Severino*, *Ginuccio*, *Simoneta*, together with the Biſhop of *Caſſano*, *Nuſco* and *Aix*: To theſe Commiſſioners all Perſons are commanded to be Obedient under ſevere Penalties. In *October* the Emperor ſet Sail from *Genoa*, and return'd into *Spain*. And ſoon after the *French* King came to *Paris*, and upon the firſt of *January* married his eldeſt Daughter *Magdalene* to *James* the Firſt King of *Scotland*, who came into *France* the laſt Autumn: Much about the ſame time *Laurence de Medices* treacherouſly murther'd *Alexander de Medices* Duke of *Florence*, his Kinſman and near Relation, after he had

A Provincial Council at *Cologne*.

Eraſmus dies.

A riſing in *England*.

The Proteſtants anſwer the Emperors Letter.

The Bull for Reformation of the City of *Rome*.

The King of *Scotland* is married.

1537.

The Duke of *Florence* is murther'd.

1537. had drawn him into his Houſe in the night, under pretence that he would help him to the enjoyment of a Noble Matron, and Neighbour of his, who was the moſt remarkable Lady of the whole Town for the reputation of her Beauty and Chaſtity. After he was taken off, the Government fell into the hands of *Coſmus de Medices*, who afterwards, with the Emperor's leave, married *Eleonora* Daughter of *Peter* of *Toledo*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*.

The *French* King complains of the Emperor.

Upon the ſixth of *January*, the *French* King came into the Court where the Parliament of *Paris* was held, which he us'd to do but ſeldom, and in a very full Aſſembly made a very ſharp Complaint of the Emperor, and gave his Reaſons, why the Provinces of *Flanders* and *Artois*, which the Emperor and his Anceſtors held as Homagers under the *French* Kings, ought to be recover'd to the Crown of *France*. The Speech was made by *Capet* the King's Advocate, who called him *Charles of Auſtria* inſtead of Emperor.

In the mean time the *Cantons* of *Zurick*, *Bern*, *Baſil*, and the *Strasburgers* Intercede with the *French* King for thoſe who were Impriſon'd for their Religion, and deſir'd him, that he would recall thoſe whom he had baniſh'd. Now the King had given thoſe who were in Exile leave to return, and thoſe in Priſon their Liberty, with this Proviſo, That they would abjure the Crimes charged upon them before the Biſhops or their Vicars; and give Security for their Behaviour for the future. But this Condition the *Switzers* Ambaſſadors deſired might be wholly remitted; ſomething of the rigour of which was relax'd at their inſtance, however the King did not give them ſatisfaction in the anſwer which he ſent them *Feb.* 24. by *Anne Momorency* Lord High Steward of his Houſhold; whom they ſuſpected to have perſwaded the King to be leſs kind in this Point than otherwiſe he would have been: The Embaſſadors made their Intereſt by the Queen of *Navar*, who was the King's Siſter, a moſt incomparable Lady, and very well affected to the true Religion. In the mean time the King was making his Levies, and in the beginning of *March* leads his Army into *Artois*, and beſiegeth the Town and Caſtle of *Heſdin* which was very well fortifi'd; and within a month it was ſurrendred to him.

Cardinal *Poole* ſent Nuncio to the *French* King.

About this time *Reginald Poole* an *Engliſhman*, lately made a Cardinal, and of a very Noble Family, was ſent from the Pope to the King in Quality of Nuncio. The occaſion of his coming was ſuppos'd to be the forming of ſome new Deſign againſt the King of *England*. When the King of *Scotland* married the *French* King's Daughter, the Pope ſent him a fine Sword of great value, and tried to whet him up againſt the King of *England*. Now the Popes have a cuſtom upon *Chriſtmas-Eve*, to Conſecrate (as they call it) a great many things, with a certain Form of Ceremonies, and amongſt the reſt a Sword, which as a mark of Friendſhip and Reſpect, they either deliver themſelves, or ſend to any Perſon they have a mind to. *Sixtus quartus* is ſaid to be the beginner of this Cuſtom, as their Book of Ceremonies hath it.

Afterwards *Poole* wrote a Book, which he call'd *A Defence of Eccleſiaſtical Unity*. He addreſſeth himſelf in it to King *Henry*, and reprimands him very ſharply for making himſelf Head of the Church: For that Office (he told him) belonged to none but the Pope of *Rome*, who is the Vicar of Chriſt, and the Succeſſor of *Peter*; whom Chriſt conſtituted Prince of the Apoſtles. For it was he alone who anſwered, That Chriſt was the Son of God. Upon this Apoſtle, as upon a Rock, Chriſt builded his Church: It was for his Faith that Chriſt prayed, That when he was converted, he would alſo convert his Brethren: He ſaid that St. *John* was always obedient to St. *Peter* after the death of Chriſt; and when they both ran to the Sepulcher he would not go in firſt, but gave the precedency to the other: To him Chriſt gave the Charge of feeding his Sheep in a more eſpecial manner; beſides, when the Net was full of Fiſhes, and a great many of them could not ſtir it, *Peter* alone drew it a ſhore. Then he proceeds to the buſineſs of the Divorce, where he tells the King, That it was not the terrors of Conſcience and the dread of the Divine Diſpleaſure, as he pretended; but Luſt and an ungovernable Appetite, which made him part with his Wife *Catherine*, whom his Brother *Arthur*, an infirm Youth of fourteen years of age, had left a Virgin: That it was not lawful for him to marry *Anne Bullein*, whoſe Siſter he had kept as his Miſs before: That *Catherine* was a Maid, himſelf had confeſs'd to ſeveral Perſons, particularly to the Emperor. But he falls violently upon him for writing to ſo many Univerſities for their Opinion concerning his firſt Marriage, and for being pleas'd with the ſenſe of his former uncleanneſs, when ſome told him, That Match was Inceſtuous: That it was a moſt ſcandalous thing for him

to

to prefer the Daughter of a Strumpet before a moſt excellent young Lady lawfully begotten. Then he goes on to the Execution of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and Sir *Thomas Moore*, where he enlargeth himſelf, and declaims very tragically againſt the cruelty of it. From whence he proceeds to tell the King how he had oppreſs'd and impoveriſh'd all degrees of Men, and made a moſt flouriſhing Kingdom miſerable, and what danger he was in from the Emperor for divorcing his Aunt, and ſubverting Religion; and what little reaſon he had to expect any Foreign or Domeſtick Aſſiſtance, who had behav'd himſelf ſo ill towards the Commonwealth: Then he applies himſelf to the Emperor, and makes uſe of a great many words to provoke him to revenge ſuch a notorious Affront put upon his Family, and ſaith, That the Seeds of *Turciſm* are ſcatter'd about *England* and *Germany*, meaning the Antipapal Doctrin. At laſt after he had charg'd his Prince with a great many Crimes, and almoſt call'd him all to naught, he exhorts him to repent; and tells him, There was no other remedy to be had, but by returning to the boſom of the Church, which he had formerly defended in print, and therein given a moſt admirable example. This Book was publiſh'd without any date at *Rome*, and lay conceal'd a long time; at laſt a great many years after, one or two in *Germany* got it. The occaſion of his writing he ſaith was, becauſe the King formerly deſir'd it. And though a great many learned Men in *England* who had done the ſame thing, had loſt ther Lives; yet he was ſo much oblig'd by his Highneſs, that he could not perſwade himſelf to diſſemble his thoughts; for both his temper and way of living had made him very averſe to that Vice, and therefore what he had ſaid ought not to be attributed to paſſion or ill will; on the contrary, ſince he endeavour'd to bring him into his way again, and to reſcue him from thoſe Flatterers who had run him upon ſuch groſs Miſtakes, he thought he did him very great ſervice. Now King *Henry* had taken care to breed this Gentleman to Learning, and had been kind to him in many reſpects: But when that alteration, which I mention'd, happen'd in *England*, and was diſapprov'd by *Pool*, *Paul* the Third, by the advice and recommendation of *Contareni*, makes him a Cardinal, and invited him to *Rome*. Thoſe who were intimately acquainted with him ſay, That he underſtood the reformed Religion very well; and imagine that the reaſon of his writing againſt King *Henry* was, to avoid the ſuſpicion of *Lutheraniſm*. They ſay he printed his Book at *Rome* at his own Charge, and ordering all the Copies to be brought to him, gave them out only to the Pope and Cardinals, and to his ſpecial Friends; for he was willing to ſtand fair in their Opinion, and was likewiſe afraid, it's probable, of falling under the Cenſure of thoſe who had ſeveral times heard him diſcourſe very differently upon that Subject. 1537.

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK XI.

The CONTENTS.

The Proteſtants ſend their Embaſſadors to the Emperor, with whom they were principally to inſiſt upon three things: Eldo *the Emperor's Embaſſador gives them a large Anſwer at* Smalcalde; *To which all the Confederates reply, and particularly they reflect ſmartly upon the Council they were invited to:* Eldo *rejoyns upon them ex tempore. In the mean time the Pope diſpatcheth away the Biſhop of* Aix *into* Germany. *The Proteſtants give their Reaſons why they refuſe the Council, and write to the* French *King about it. The Queen of* Scotland *dies. The King of* England *and his Nobility publiſh a* Manifeſto *againſt the Council which the Pope had call'd. The Town and Caſtle of St.* Paul *in* Artois *is taken.* Terouenna *is beſieg'd by the Imperialiſts, but without Succeſs.*

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The *Ausburghers* publiſh a Book againſt the Eccleſiaſticks.

IN the Ninth Book I had occaſion to mention the *Ausburghers*: Now when theſe Men had made an Alteration in Religion, and the Eccleſiaſticks, moſt of which were deſcended of good Families, leaving the Town in a diſguſt upon this account; The Senate addreſs'd themſelves to the Emperor, to King *Ferdinand*, and to all the States of the Empire, and acquaint them with the Reaſons of their proceedings in writing, in which they let them underſtand, how kindly they had us'd theſe Gentlemen, how many things they had born from them; and on the contrary, how provokingly they had behav'd themſelves, attempting ſeveral times to raiſe an Inſurrection in the Town. Not long after *Chriſtopher* their Biſhop publiſheth an Anſwer to this Book, in the name of himſelf and his Party; and after a great many Complaints, he deſires the Emperor and the Princes, in regard the danger toucheth them no leſs than himſelf, to make ſome Proviſion for the common Safety. In the laſt Book I mention'd the Proteſtants Embaſſy to the Emperor in *Italy*; The Perſons ſent were *Joachim*, *Papenheim*, *Lewis*, *Bambach*, and *Claudius Peutinger* a Lawyer; They had three things in their Commiſſion, in which they were more eſpecially to concern themſelves. To confute the Report which was ſpread, as if they were entring into an Alliance with the Kings of *England* and *France*: That the Emperor would Check the Proceedings of the Chamber of *Spire*: And that thoſe who were admitted into the League after the Pacification at *Nuremburgh*, might enjoy the benefit of that Treaty. The Emperor admitted them to Audience, but being buſied in Military affairs, he told them he would ſend an Embaſſador into *Germany* with his Anſwer. Therefore when he was about to return into *Spain* by the way of *Genoa*, he ſent *Mathias Eldo* his Vice-Chancellor into *Germany*. When the Proteſtants underſtood this by their Embaſſadors at their return, they appoint the Seventh of *February* for a general Meeting at *Smalcalde*; and becauſe the time for the Council drew near, and being well aſſur'd that the Emperor's Embaſſador would ſpeak to that Point, they thought it convenient to take ſome of the moſt conſiderable Divines along with them. Therefore at the day prefix'd

A Convention of the Proteſtants at *Smalcalde*.

prefix'd *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Oſiander*, *Bucer*, and ſeveral others, came thither, beſides the Princes of the Empire and Ambaſſadors of the Cities. In *January* *Eldo* parts from *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* at *Vienna*, and being acquainted upon his Journey by the Elector of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave* that they were conven'd, he comes on to *Smalcalde*, and upon the 15*th* of *February* makes a Speech when the Convention was full: In which he tells them, That the Emperor enjoyn'd him to open his Commiſſion only to the Elector of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave*; but ſince it was their opinion, that their Confederates ſhould be acquainted with it alſo, he would comply with them in this Point. For his part he did not know all the Agents of the Confederates, therefore if any of them who were preſent, were unconcern'd in this Anſwer of the Emperors, he would not have them imagine that any thing was already concluded with their Principals, eſpecially thoſe of *Ausburgh*, who both in *Spain* and *Italy* have often privately made their Application to the Emperor about Religion, which they alſo did lately at *Genoa* by an Agent, who was told by the Emperor that he would ſend them an Anſwer into *Germany* by one of his Miniſters; but they would not ſtay for his coming, but have made an alteration in Religion without him, which can be conſtrued no leſs than mockery and contempt of the Emperor. Therefore when he came to *Ausburgh* he was oblig'd to alter his meaſures, and not to treat with them upon any Point, but to write an impartial account of the whole affair to the the Emperor. When he had ſaid this, he produceth his Credentials, and greeting them in the name of the Emperor, continues his Harangue. And tells them, That it was matter of great ſatisfaction to the Emperor, to hear that they had taken ſo much care to purge themſelves from all ſuſpicions of making an Alliance with *England* or *France*; That he did not queſtion the ſincerity of their Apology, and applauded them for their Vertue and Loyalty, in being ſo wiſely cautious as not to be impos'd upon by the inſinuations and inſidious pretences of the *French*. Then he goes on to ſpeak concerning the War of *Savoy* and the *French* King, where he is very copious, ſaying, That this Prince did not only hinder the Emperor from fighting the *Turk* with his whole Forces, but likewiſe held Correſpondence with him, and inſtigated this common Enemy to invade Chriſtendom: That it was his conſtant buſineſs to create Miſunderſtandings among the *Germans*, and to heighten their diſcontents into a Civil War, and at this time he is doing his beſt to perſwade them that the Emperor will not perform his Engagements, but he deſires they would give no credit to ſuch deſigning Reports; for his Imperial Majeſty was a Perſon of that Honour and Integrity, that they need not fear he would recede from his Articles in any point, eſpecially ſince he had given them ſeveral Inſtances already of his punctual Performance: As touching the Proceedings of the Chamber of *Spire*, the Emperor had ordered, That no Cauſes relating to Religion ſhould be tried there; when the Judges had receiv'd this Order, they wrote back to the Emperor, that there were frequent Diſputes concerning the nature of the Cauſes, whether they belong'd to Religion or not; upon which the Emperor commanded them to try all thoſe Cauſes which they believ'd foreign to Religion without any regard to the Perſwaſion of the Parties; for he was very ſorry the courſe of Juſtice ſhould be ſtopp'd, and how difficult a matter it was to ſettle this Point, appears ſufficiently at the Pacification at *Nuremburgh*. Now ſince that time a great many Cauſes have been brought before the Chamber, and when the Judges would have proceeded to a determination, they (the Proteſtants) demurr'd to their Juriſdiction, and gave them unbecoming Language, of which Complaints have been made to the Emperor by the reſpective Plaintiffs, who alledge, That they are barr'd from recovering their Right by Law; which Carriage the Emperor was very much troubl'd to hear, eſpecially ſince moſt of the Judges were choſen out of the Provinces of the Empire, and can very rarely be ſuſpected of Partiality; beſides the Emperor himſelf, after a full Examination of the Caſe, does believe that ſeveral Cauſes which they tell him belong to Religion, ought not to be referr'd to that Head; but his Opinion is, when any Controverſie ariſeth concerning the nature and ranging of the Cauſe, that this Point ought not be decided by the Parties, but by the Judges: For their parts they ought to be ſatisfi'd if the Chamber does not intermeddle in the Cauſes of Religion. And if the Judges do any thing contrary to the Emperor's Edicts, they ſhall certainly hear of it, and be puniſh'd according to the Law made at *Ratisbone* for that purpoſe. But then on the other ſide, the Emperor thought fit to give them warning againſt being influ-

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Eldo his Speech.

1537. influenced by any private Male-contents, and not to do any thing raſhly, nor preſcribe to the Chamber; ſuch Practices as theſe would be unlawful and turbulent, throw a particular Contempt upon the Emperor's Authority, and would tend likewiſe to the diſhonour of the Judges, ſome of which are deſcended of Noble Families, and others are conſiderable for their Probity and Learning; therefore he deſires they would not obſtruct the Proceedings of Juſtice. As concerning their third Requeſt, That thoſe who were not comprehended in the Treaty at *Nuremburgh* might enjoy the benefit of that Pacification; the Emperor was ſo much employ'd about giving Directions for the War, when their Embaſſadors came to his Camp, that he had no leizure to examine that matter; who though he underſtood that there was a change of Religion introduc'd in ſome places, yet he heard nothing of any new Admiſſions into the League: But if the meaning of their Requeſt be this, That it may be lawful for all other People of the Empire, who are under quite different promiſes already, who have approv'd the Decrees of the Diets, and oblig'd themſelves to ſtand by the old Religion; to recede from their Solemn Promiſes and Engagements, revolt from the ancient Religion, and ſet up a new one at their Pleaſure, and to this purpoſe make an Alliance with the Confederates; ſuch a Liberty as this was both out of the Emperors Power, and very much againſt his Conſcience to grant, as his Majeſty had commanded him to acquaint them; and if the Emperor ſhould grant this thing, or if the States of the Empire ſhould do it of their own accord, and his Majeſty afterwards confirm it, how ill this would agree with the Pacification at *Nuremburgh*, it's obvious for them to underſtand. For if every one may go back from his promiſe, and follow whatever Religion he hath a mind to; what can be expected leſs than that the Peace muſt be broken, the ſecuring of which was the principal Aim of the Treaty at *Nuremburgh?* Therefore the Emperor as ſoon as he was better acquainted with the Intentions of the reſt of the States, would do that which he conceiv'd reaſonable: In the mean time he deſires, that they would keep the Truce themſelves, and take care that it might not be broken by others; which he was confident they would not fail to perform, eſpecially now the Council drew near, in which it was to be hoped all ſorts of Controverſies would be ended. Now they themſelves had written to the Emperor concerning a Council, which was the fourth Head of his Inſtructions he was to acquaint them with; that after they underſtood the Emperors mind in this point, they might the more eaſily come to a Reſolution. Firſt, They very well knew what pains the Emperor and his Embaſſadors had taken in ſeveral Diets of the Empire, to find out an Expedient to compoſe the Differences in Religion, and at laſt there was a Decree paſſed for the holding of a Council: After which the Emperor never gave over his purſuit, till he had procured the Intimation of it; indeed he came out of *Africk*, on purpoſe that he might reſide in ſome part of the Empire, till all Differences were decided by the Council; and therefore he was very much troubled that he was oblig'd to ſail into *Spain* the laſt Winter. Notwithſtanding he was reſolv'd to be in *Italy* at the beginning of the Spring, neither ſhould any buſineſs hinder him from being preſent at the Council, unleſs a more formidable War ſhould break out upon him, and require the conjunction of all his Forces; and ſuppoſing the War ſhould prevent his being preſent, yet he would take care that nothing ſhould be wanting on his part in this Affair: And though the *French* King had broke his Faith from point to point, and brought him under the neceſſity of War, yet he would omit nothing which was reaſonable to be done, in order to the making a Peace with him: And ſince they have always appear'd very deſirous of an Agreement, for the procuring of which a Council ſeems to be the moſt proper method, and to which themſelves have appeal'd; the Emperor is willing to believe that they will not deſert the Commonwealth, nor change their reſolution at the ſuggeſtion of any Perſons, nor give any occaſion to greater Diſtractions, eſpecially in regard other Nations bend their Inclinations and Endeavours to promote this Expedient; there being great hopes not only that all Diſputes and Miſunderſtanding will be taken up and remov'd; but alſo that the Churches will be reformed into a well regulated Conſtitution: Therefore the Emperor deſires they would plainly declare what their Intentions are in this matter; for if they refuſe to be govern'd by theſe Meaſures, and throw in Exceptions and delays, the Emperor is of opinion, that it muſt cauſe a diſappointment of a moſt excellent Deſign, after ſo fair an advance; and which is more, Foreigners would grow ſuſpicious of them, as if they rather

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lov'd to embroil, than to promote the Peace and Tranquility of Chriſtendom. And ſince the Emperor had no other Aim, but to promote the Glory of God, and provide for the Salvation of Mens Souls; he does earneſtly exhort and entreat them, that they would comply with that which himſelf and the Commonwealth requeſted of them: Beſides he told them, he had Inſtructions to accommodate all Differences that ſhould happen to ariſe about this matter; That he was very ready to perform his Duty in ſo good an Office; and likewiſe if they were deſirous he ſhould explain himſelf upon any part of his Speech, he was willing to do it. The next day after he had a private Conference with the Elector of *Saxony*, whom he acquaints, That the Emperor had a very great reſpect for him, and that he had been hindred hitherto from ſhewing it by reaſon of the difference in Religion which is between them: And now ſince the Intimation of the Council gave him great hopes that this whole Affair might be adjuſted; His earneſt requeſt to him was, That he would either be preſent at the Council himſelf, or ſend his Ambaſſadors thither, that ſo all Differences being reconciled, it might be in his Power to give him unexceptionable Teſtimonies of his good Affection; but if he demurr'd, and made Objections, he might eaſily fore-ſee what inconvenience would follow: Farther, in regard the *Turk* was now making great Preparations for War, to invade *Germany*; he deſires that he would ſend him in thoſe Supplies againſt the *Turk*, which were decreed for him at *Ratisbone*; and if it ſhall ſo happen that the *Turk* does not make an Impreſſion upon *Germany*, that then the ſame Forces may be employed under him againſt the *French* King, who hath ſeiz'd upon *Savoy*, which is a Province of the Empire. Laſtly, becauſe the Emperor had for ſome time defray'd the whole Charge of the Chamber of *Spire*, and had ſpent a vaſt Sum of Mony upon the War, he deſires, that according to the ancient cuſtom of the Empire, he would ſupply him with ſome Mony for this Occaſion, which was no more than the reſt of the Princes had promis'd. The Elector told him, Theſe Propoſitions related to his Allies as well as himſelf, and therefore he muſt have time to deliver in his opinion. Now upon the the 24*th* of *February* all the Confederates return'd their anſwer together, where after ſome Preliminaries of reſpect, and wiſhing the Emperor all happineſs, they acquaint his Excellency, that as to what relateth to the *Ausburghers*, they had receiv'd a full account of that Affair from their Agents, which was ſo far ſatisfactory, that they could not diſengage themſelves from the intereſt of that Town: They were very ſorry to hear that the War between the Emperor and the *French* King continued, becauſe they ſaw the *Turk*, their common Enemy, would make a great advantage of it. But the Emperor receiving their Apology, and ſhewing himſelf inclinable to maintain the Pacification at *Nuremburgh*, was matter of great Satisfaction to them, and they return'd his Majeſty thanks for it. As to what he mention'd concerning the Juriſdiction of the Chamber of *Spire*, and how much the Emperor was diſſatisfied that the courſe of Juſtice ſhould be ſtopp'd; the difficulty of adjuſting this Affair, they told him, was perceiv'd, when the Elector of *Mentz* and the *Palſgrave* interceded for a Reconciliation; and when the matter was debated, at length it was concluded that the moſt likely way to ſettle the Commonwealth, was to give no Perſon any diſturbance about Religion, or for any thing relating to it, till a general Council of *Europe*, or a Provincial one of *Germany* was call'd; and unleſs ſuch a Liberty be allow'd, and all Cauſes depending upon Religion comprehended in it, it was then fore-ſeen, and may be eaſily underſtood at preſent, what a little matter will unhinge the State, and how much it will be expos'd to Miſunderſtandings and Tumults; of the truth of this Allegation the Emperor's Edict, which was then publiſh'd, is a ſufficient proof: It was never their intention to plead in bar to the Juriſdiction of the Chamber in any Cauſes, but thoſe of Religion, and they believ'd that Court could not prove the contrary upon them: But they were very much troubl'd to hear from his Excellency, that the Emperor had given the Chamber Authority to determine the quality of the Cauſe; for they did believe all thoſe Cauſes to be of a religious Nature, and they were really ſuch, which could not be decided till the Extent of the word *Religion* was defin'd in a lawful Council; which thing both by Letter, and their Embaſſadors, they had ſeveral times acquainted the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* with. For this Diſpute concerning the meaning and latitude of Religion, is a preliminary Queſtion, and ought to be ſetled by the Council before other matters, which relate to it, are determin'd: And in regard Benefices ought to be beſtowed in conſideration of Merit

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The Confederates Anſwer to the Emperor's Embaſſador.

1537. Merit and Function, They ſaid, they could not allow that thoſe in their Dominions who were of a different Religion from themſelves, ſhould enjoy the Revenues of the Church, to which they had no manner of right, becauſe they were either unwilling to diſcharge their Office, or wanted abilities to do it; and ſince Conſcience is more than ordinarily concern'd in the preſent caſe, the uſual Pleas of Law founded upon the right of Poſſeſſion or Reſtitution, ought not to be urg'd. Moreover, when the Treaty of *Nuremburgh* was on foot they particularly mention'd all thoſe Suits and Differences which were then depending in the Chamber, and in other Courts; and repreſented them under the notion of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, to the Princes of the Mediation, who promis'd that they would endeavour to perſwade the Emperor, that they ſhould be all exempted from the Juriſdiction of the Courts, which was alſo promis'd by King *Ferdinand* at the Convention at *Cadan*; beſides it's plain from that Clauſe in the Emperor's Edict, which ſtops all Proſecutions of this nature, that the Chamber of *Spire* has no Authority to determine the Quality of Cauſes. And to ſay nothing more ſevere, they could not chooſe but obſerve that the apparent Inclination of that Court, to give Judgment againſt them, had made a great many Perſons much bolder and more contentious than they had formerly been, which they were able to prove more than one way: For when thoſe of their Party moved that Court in any Cauſe, their Suit was not only rejected, but they were ſent away with reproachful Language: And lately the *Hamburghers* were commanded by them not only to reſtore the Clergy of their City their Goods and Eſtates, but alſo to return them their old Religion and Juriſdiction back again; and becauſe they could not do this with a good Conſcience, they were amerced in a great Sum of Mony; and therefore there needs no more Inſtances to let the Emperor underſtand what the Deſign of that Court is; for if any Cauſe relates to Religion, this certainly does. But if the Judges are allowed to proceed in this manner, the Truce ſerves to no purpoſe: If the Rites and Ceremonies which were aboliſh'd, may be lawfully reſtor'd by ſuch Methods as theſe, there will be no need of a Council; and yet the Emperor is pleas'd to grant, that all Differences of this nature ought to be determin'd there; and ſince their Exceptions againſt the Proceedings of the Court were not conſider'd, they were forc'd to decline the Juriſdiction of it: As concerning the Perſons of the Chamber, there was not above one or two of the whole Bench of their Religion; what Proviſion was made at *Ratisbone* for this Affair, was well known; it being apparent, that thoſe who were moſt violent againſt the Reformed, were moſt acceptable to the Chamber; nay a man may plainly diſcover how they ſtand affected, by obſerving the air of their Countenances when they are trying of Cauſes; and therefore they hope his Imperial Majeſty will ſend them a poſitive Order to deſiſt: As for the Penalty which his Excellency mention'd was decreed at *Ratisbone* againſt Mal-adminiſtration, that was no advantage to them. Indeed if the Cauſe had related to Property and ſecular Affairs, they might have had a compenſation this way; but matters of Religion were too weighty to be ſatisfied with Coſts and Damages: However, if the Emperor is of opinion that they have intermix'd any civil Cauſes in their requeſt, they are willing this matter ſhould be tried, provided there may be a ſtop put to the Proceedings of the Chamber in the mean time. Now as concerning thoſe who came over to their Religion ſince the Pacification of *Nuremburgh*, they confeſs'd that ſome few years ſince the Princes of the Mediation did inſiſt at *Schweenfurt*, that no more might be admitted into their Aſſociation, which Propoſition they then rejected, and afterwards at the Convention at *Nuremburgh* they perſiſted in the ſame Opinion: As to what his Excellency objects in reference to the Promiſes and Articles, by which ſeveral of the States had engag'd themſelves not to make any alteration in Religion; To this the parties anſwer, That ſome of them promis'd nothing, others in private Treaties reſerv'd this Liberty for themſelves; a third ſort, it's true, did engage themſelves, but it was upon the aſſurance which the Emperor gave them, that a Council ſhould be intimated within ſix Months, and opened the year after: But ſince this Aſſembly was delayed beyond their expectation, and God had been pleas'd to give them a fuller apprehenſion of the true Religion; they could not defer ſo good a Work any longer, but thought it their Duty to make an open profeſſion of that Doctrin which they were aſſur'd had both Truth and Piety to recommend it. This the Canon-Law it ſelf would juſtifie them in, for from thence they had learn'd, that if any Perſon had ſworn to do a wicked Action, this Oath did not oblige. Beſides, as their Adverſaries would not refuſe any one who offer'd himſelf for

for a Convert, ſo neither did they think it lawful to bar any perſon from coming over to themſelves. Therefore their earneſt requeſt to the Emperor was, That the Judges might be check'd, and that not only themſelves, but thoſe who joyn'd them afterwards might be comprehended in the Peace: For if matters ſhould be otherwiſe carried, and any violence ſhould be offer'd, they could not deſert thoſe they were allied to both by Vertue of their League and Religion: This had been already declar'd to King *Ferdinand* at *Vienna*, and that with a great deal of reaſon, for the Cauſe of theſe later Confederates, no leſs than their own, belongs to the Cognizance of the Council. But if the Judges of the Chamber will fore-ſtall the Hearing, and hale in the buſineſs of the Council to their Court; this is no leſs than down-right Force and Injuſtice, againſt which, by the Laws of Nature they are bound to defend themſelves; now how unfortunate ſuch Methods will be, and what will be the end of them, ſo wiſe a Perſon as the Emperor muſt needs fore-ſee: As for them they deſir'd nothing more than Peace, and were willing to gratifie the Emperor in every thing which lay in their power, but with this condition, That every one might have the liberty to profeſs the true Religion; which requeſt being granted, they ſhould be more ready to comply with the Emperor's and King *Ferdinand*'s Demands, in reference to the *Turks* and the Imperial-Chamber. As touching the Council, to which they were invited by the Emperor, they had ſeen a Copy of the Bull which was publiſh'd by *Paul* the Third upon this occaſion, by which they perceiv'd, that the Pope's Deſigns and the Emperor's were not the ſame: For notwithſtanding *Adrian* the Sixth had frankly confeſs'd by his Nuncio at the Diet at *Nurembergh*, that almoſt all things were very much out of order at *Rome*, and promis'd to uſe his endeavours that theſe Irregularities ſhould be rectify'd in the firſt place; yet his Succeſſor *Clement* the Seventh, who ſent this Nuncio to another Diet in *Germany* two years after, went a quite different way to work, inſomuch that the Embaſſadors of the Emperor, and the reſt of the Princes, made a Decree there, for the calling of a free Council in *Germany*, that the Church might be clear'd of all Errors and Corruptions in practice, which had inſenſibly crept into it: This Decree was afterwards approv'd by the Emperor at the Mediation of the Elector of *Mentz* and the *Palſgrave*. But a year after Pope *Clement* propos'd a Council of a very different Form from that which was agreed on in the Diet, and appointed *Italy* for the place, which they then refus'd to conſent to; which Propoſition was afterwards renew'd by *Paul* the Third his Nuncio, to whom they return'd the ſame anſwer as before; that the Pope is now carrying on the ſame Deſign, appears by his Bull, though he does not think it proper to ſpeak out ſo much as *Clement* did: For where he ſpeaks of Hereſies which are lately ſprung up, they have reaſon to believe he meaneth their Doctrin, which he has, as it were, condemn'd before-hand under that notion; for what a ſevere opinion he has of their Religion, intending no leſs than the utter Extirpation of it, is plain by thoſe Puniſhments with which he Percutes innocent People only for the profeſſion of it; and yet at the ſame time he hath the Impudence to pretend, as if he only deſign'd to purge the Church of thoſe groſs Errors and Corruptions which have been ſo long and ſo ſharply complain'd of by ſo many Men of Piety and Learning: With theſe Subtilties he had prevail'd upon the Emperor to call upon them to attend the Council, which his Majeſty would never have done, if he had underſtood his Holineſs's Tricks: With the ſame flattering Pretences he ſolicits Kings and Princes, and themſelves, among the reſt, to admit the Council, that by this means he may hook them in to applaud and defend his wicked Project; and by their approbation of the Council condemn their own Doctrin themſelves, which Artifice *Julian* the Apoſtate formerly made uſe of, to circumvent the Chriſtans in his Army. And notwithſtanding the Pope gives ſuch apparent ſigns of being their Adverſary, yet he continues to arrogate the authority of a Judge to himſelf, which is contrary to all right and reaſon, and is backed in this uſurpation by the reſt of the Prelates who are tied to him by Oaths, and ſeveral other Obligations: Now how unreaſonable ſuch a Claim is, and how dangerous to be granted, the Emperor and other Princes they preſume may eaſily underſtand. For by the bleſſing of God their Divines had abundantly ſhewed that the Popes had broached ſeveral Errors in the Church, and maintained Tenents not only contrary to the Word of God, but to the ancient Councils and Fathers; That they had made a great many Laws without any Warrant from God Almighty, by which the true notion of Religion was quite ſtifled and ſuppreſſed; therefore they intended when they had the opportunity of a lawful Aſſembly, to accuſe the Pope and his Adherents of theſe high Miſdemeanors, and to prove the Crimes charg'd upon 1537.

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Farther they ſaid, That *Italy* was made the Seat of the Council, in direct oppoſition and contempt of what was decreed by the Emperor and the States of *Germany*: Neither as yet had they any aſſurance that other Chriſtian Princes would like the place; and moreover, they had great reaſon to ſuſpect it was not ſafe for them and their Party to come thither. For notwithſtanding they may have a ſafe Conduct drawn up in ample and ſatisfactory manner; yet becauſe thoſe places are moſt poſſeſs'd by the Popes Vaſſals, who mortally hate the Reformed Doctrin; they muſt lie expos'd to Treachery and ſecret Practices, which are very formidable dangers in that Country; and ſince this Debate is of the moſt important nature imaginable, it being impoſſible for the World to produce a greater, for the eternal happineſs or miſery of Men is concern'd in it; and ſince the weightineſs of the Affair obligeth them to appear there in conſiderable numbers, with their Divines and Paſtors of their Churches, and not truſt a matter of ſuch Conſequence with their Embaſſadors and Proxies; it would be very inconvenient for them to be forc'd to travel out of the Empire, and go into *Italy*, and leave their Country and Subjects without a Guard, and their Churches without Paſtors for any conſiderable time; eſpecially at this juncture when there are ſuch Miſunderſtandings and Animoſities among the *Germans*; therefore they earneſtly beſeech the Emperor, that he would pleaſe to allow the Reaſons they had laid before him a full and diſtinct conſideration; and ſince he was the chief Magiſtrate to whom the ſupport of the true Religion did more eſpecially belong, that he would make it his principal Endeavour, that the right way of Worſhiping God might be taught under the Countenance of Law, and ſpread into a farther extent: As for themſelves they embrac'd no Doctrin that was wicked, nor aim'd at any thing but the Glory of God. This Anſwer of theirs, concerning the Council, was approv'd by the Embaſſadors of *George* Duke of *Brandenburgh*, and of the Cities of *Nuremburgh*, *Hall* and *Hailbrun*; but being not Confederates, they did not concern themſelves in the other points. When the Proteſtants had deliver'd themſelves to this effect, *Eldo* return'd them an Anſwer *ex tempore*; where after he had enlarged himſelf again upon the Emperor's kind Inclinations towards them, and concerning the *French* King his conſpiring with the *Turk* to ruine Chriſtendom; he came to the buſineſs of the Chamber, That no Man was to be proſecuted there for any thing relating to Religion, he granted was undeniable. But then the Pinch of the Controverſie was, what matters ought to be comprehended under this notion, and what not; for thoſe Cauſes which they call'd Religious, others believ'd to be of a civil and ſecular nature, and it was very unjuſt in them to be unwilling to have the Point argu'd, and not to hear the reaſons and defence of the other ſide. It's poſſible they might mention ſome Cauſes to the Princes of the Mediation at *Nuremburgh*, and threw them into the Claſſis of Religion; but then the Emperor did not receive them as ſuch, becauſe he did not perfectly underſtand under what denomination they were to paſs. Nay poſſibly thoſe very Princes had not then any exact knowledge of the nature of the Cauſes, nor have at preſent, but only as they are inform'd by thoſe who are concerned in the Diſpute, who will be ſure to ſay nothing to their own diſadvantage. Now it's agreeable to the Municipal Laws, to Equity, and the holy Scriptures, that in all Diſputes both Parties ſhould have a ſufficient Hearing, and that no Sentence ſhould be pronounced upon the Information of one ſide, though the Allegations ſhould be never ſo true: Therefore the Emperor in referring this Debate to the Imperial Chamber, had done nothing but what became a Perſon in his place; His Majeſty being of opinion, that if the Reaſons of the Proteſtants Proceedings were ſo weighty as they pretended, they ought to be brought into view, and made publick: This was the way to clear the Controverſie about the Preliminary Points, and to ſatisfie all Parties what Cauſes were to be referr'd to the Council, and what not: And alſo whether thoſe who had loſt their Goods and Eſtates were to have Reſtitution made them; neither did the Emperor believe the Judges would do any thing in this

Eldo his anſwer to the Proteſtants.

this matter contrary to their Duty and ſolemn Obligations; of this they had given his Majeſty an aſſurance in their Letters, intimating that they had not in the leaſt concern'd themſelves with any Cauſes relating to Religion; which account they alſo wrote to himſelf, and added particularly concerning the *Hamburgers*, that all the while the Suit was depending between them and their Eccleſiaſticks, they did not ſo much as make the leaſt mention of Religion; but when Judgment was given againſt them, and was ready to be executed, then they began to inſiſt upon it; beſides the Judges are willing to give an account of their Proceedings, which ought to content them, eſpecially ſince he ſo lately acquainted them, that the Emperor intends to give them Satisfaction, as ſoon as he is aſſur'd that the Chamber has done them any Injury: For his Majeſty reſolves not only to make good the Damages they have ſuſtain'd, but all Cauſes which appear to have been illegally decided, ſhall be heard over again, and all unjuſt Verdicts ſet aſide and revers'd; and for his part he declares, he cannot apprehend what the Emperor can or ought to do more than this. And whereas they alledge, that thoſe who refuſe to be of their Religion ought not to be repoſſeſs'd of their Eſtates, he does not ſee any manner of Equity in that Plea; for we are not to pronounce in theſe caſes, till both Parties have had a Hearing in a legal way. For they could not be ignorant that no Law gives any Man the liberty to rob another for the ſake of Religion, or upon any other account; therefore he could not admire this method of proceeding, let the Practiſers of it be who they would. Now to prevent ſuch arbitrary and unaccountable Courſes as theſe, there was a Treaty concluded at *Nuremburgh* upon certain conditions; and afterwards, by the Emperor's Edict, there was a general Peace ſetled, and proclaim'd through the whole Empire. And to ſpeak truth, it was his opinion, that the buſineſs of Religion might be much more eaſily accommodated, if they did not graſpe ſo eagerly at the Temporalties. Now theſe ſecular Advantages ought not to be ſo highly valu'd in the preſent Affair; eſpecially conſidering the Goſpel preſcribes us other Meaſures, and teaches us to ſet our thoughts and inclinations upon other deſigns. Their ſaying that either the diſpute of the *Hamburgers* related to Religion, or none can, was very ſurprizing to him, when there are a great many other Cauſes which the Chamber hath a right to take Cognizance of, both by the Conſtitution of the Laws, and by Vertue of that Edict which the Emperor ſet forth at *Worms*; but his Majeſty out of a ſingular kindneſs to them, had order'd the Proceſs of them all to be ſtopped. And ſince the Emperor will do nothing contrary to what he hath agreed to, and expects the ſame exactneſs from them; he deſires they would give him a Categorical anſwer to this queſtion. As to their perſonal Objections againſt the Chamber, he lately told them, thoſe Judges were choſen out of the heart of *Germany*; and though there were very few of the Bench of their Perſwaſion, yet it was not probable Juſtice would be leſs impartially adminiſtred upon that account; becauſe the Judges had no power to act Arbitrarily, but were tied up to Rule, and bound by Oath to give Sentence according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Empire; which method was conſtantly obſerv'd, when he was one of their number. But let this matter be as it will, if they have offended, they will be ſure to be puniſh'd; neither does he pretend to juſtifie or excuſe them; indeed they did not deſire he ſhould, but are willing to ſubmit their whole Proceedings to Examination. Now concerning thoſe who came into their League and Religion afterwards, he had lately acquainted them, that the Emperor had yet receiv'd no certain account of that matter; and his Majeſty conceiv'd, that thoſe who were not expreſly comprehended in the Pacification at *Nuremburgh*, were bound to obſerve the precedent Laws of the Empire, and wait for the determination of the Council. And whereas they ſay, that ſome of their late Confederates made no promiſes at all; ſome reſerv'd themſelves a liberty in this point by private Treaties, and others thought they did engage, it was upon an aſſurance that a Council would be call'd in a ſhort time; whatever the truth of theſe Allegations may be, he does not intend to examine at preſent; but yet as to thoſe who pretend a private Agreement, he dares adventure to give them an anſwer on the Emperors's behalf, if they can produce an Inſtance of any ſuch thing: For he could not believe that the Emperor had ever concluded any private Treaty with any Perſon about this matter, excepting at *Nuremburgh*; beſides he thought it proper that thoſe who aſſign'd this reaſon in excuſe of what they had done, ſhould prove their Plea to be matter of Fact; which proof he would take care to convey to the Emperor, and poſſibly carry it himſelf. And ſince the Emperor's Inclinations are ſo apparently diſpos'd for Peace, and for the

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1537. ſetling a good underſtanding amongſt the States; he cannot but renew his former Requeſt to them; that they would contribute their Aſſiſtance towards the carrying on the *Turkiſh*-War, and defray the Expence of the Imperial-Chamber, both which Proviſions had a very conſiderable Influence upon the welfare of *Germany*. And if it ſo happens that the *Turk* does not come into the Field, that then they would ſend his Majeſty the ſame Supply for ſome months againſt the *French* King: If they gratifie his Majeſty in this, they will never have any reaſon to repent of their Compliance; therefore he deſires they would let him know their Reſolution in this Point, that he may give the Emperor an account of it forthwith. Touching the Council, they very well knew what care and pains the Emperor had taken to procure its Intimation, deſigning by this means to give the faireſt opportunity to adjuſt the differences in Religion in a peaceable way, and to promote the Glory of God and the Salvation of Men by the Reformation of Chriſtendom: And now when the undertaking is ſo well advanc'd, and the time for the opening the Council almoſt at hand, his Majeſty little ſuſpected that they would have put in their Exceptions againſt it; which Reſolution, if they perſiſt in it, will be very unacceptable to him. Now this being an Affair of the greateſt concern, he is order'd in his Commiſſion to diſpatch it fully with them; therefore he earneſtly beſeecheth them, that they would oblige the Emperor, and not make a ſeparation from the reſt of the States; for it never was the Emperor's intention to defend any Doctrin or Practice in the Council, which was lewd, wicked, and contrary to the Word of God, nor to excuſe any thing which was ſcandalous and immoral; but would take particular care that Debates ſhould not be ſwayed by favour and partiality. And ſince it's agreeable to reaſon, that the holy Scriptures, and the approved Interpretations of them, ſhould have the greateſt Authority; the Emperor cannot imagine what ſhould hinder them from coming to the Council either themſelves, or ſending their Embaſſadors. For when fraud and indirect Practices are once barr'd, which the Emperor will undertake to effect, there can be no manner of ground to ſuſpect the Council: Thoſe Reaſons therefore which they aſſign'd for their refuſal, had not weight enough in them, and were apt to create jealouſies and apprehenſions not only in the Emperor, but in other Nations alſo. Concerning that which they objected about the Inclinations and Intentions of the Pope, though their Expreſſions were ſomewhat too ſmart; yet if what they ſaid was true, no Man can commend his Holineſs upon this account. But the Emperor was ſo far from knowing any thing of this nature, that he did not ſo much as ſuſpect it; nay his Majeſty did not queſtion but that the Pope would behave himſelf like a Chriſtian in his Office, and as it became one who was the chief Head of the Clergy. However if they had any thing to ſay againſt his Holineſs, or any others of his Order, they might prefer their Complaints againſt them in the Council, and argue the matter out, provided they did it modeſtly, and without any ſigns of hatred and ill will. There alſo they may propoſe what their Opinion is concerning the proper form and modelling of the Council, and whatever elſe they have a mind to in any other Circumſtance. But for them to preſcribe the methods of Management and Debate to all Chriſtendom, was neither fair nor commendable. This was more than the Emperor and all the reſt of the States could do; for the determination of thoſe Points did not belong to a ſmall Party, but were to be ſetled by the whole Aſſembly; where they would find a great many Perſons eminent for their Learning and Probity; for they muſt not ſuppoſe that their Divines are the only knowing and inſpired Men, for there are other places in which neither the abilities nor vertuous Converſation of the Church-men can be queſtion'd: Now as to what they object againſt *Mantua*, its being made the Seat of the Council; he grants that the Princes of *Germany*, and more particularly themſelves, did earneſtly deſire that ſome place in *Germany* might be pitched upon for this purpoſe; neither was the Emperor againſt it; but then we ſhould conſider what is ſuitable and convenient for other Nations. Now the reaſon why the Pope choſe this Town before any other, was, in his opinion, becauſe it lay near to *Germany*, was a plentiful place of it ſelf, and ſo ſituated that Proviſions might be conveyed to it at an eaſie Charge; beſides it was remarkable for a healthy Climate, and under the Juriſdiction of the Empire, ſo that the Pope could have no advantage of them there. For the Duke of that Town was a Homager and Vaſſal of the Empire; however if they are ſtill ſuſpicious and apprehenſive of danger, the Emperor, out of the great deſire he hath for the calling of a Council, will take care that they ſhall have ſufficient Security; therefore if they think it requiſite they may addreſs

to

to him about this Point, and he does not queſtion but that they will receive a very fair Anſwer from his Majeſty: Therefore he deſires they would debate this matter over again, return him a clear and poſitive anſwer, and comply with the Emperor, which would be very honourable and advantageous to themſelves, and moſt acceptable to God Almighty. When he had done his Speech, he deſir'd the Names of thoſe might be deliver'd to him in writing, who came in after the Pacification at *Nuremburgh*. In this Liſt there was *George* Duke of *Brandenburgh*, *Nuremburgh*, *Weiſſemburgh*, *Hailbrun*, *Wintzeim* and *Hall*, mention'd to be of the ſame Religion, but not engag'd in the League: Then he deſir'd them, in the Emperor's Name, to explain their League to him, and upon what conditions it was made. The ſame day that this was done, the Biſhop of *Aix*, the Pope's Legate, came thither charg'd with Letters to the Elector of *Saxony*, in which his Holineſs invited him to the Council. For the laſt year, when *Vergerius* gave an account of his *German* Embaſſy (which I mention'd in the former Book) the Pope was not at all pleas'd with it, and therefore orders the Biſhop to go thither under the ſame Character, to try if he could gain any advantage by ſending a new Embaſſador. But he loſt his labour as well as the other, neither was there much notice taken of him. One day when he deſir'd to be admitted to Audience by the *Lantgrave*, he ſent him word, that he was not at leizure, and almoſt the ſame minute went and made *Luther* a viſit, who lay very ill of the Stone; which diſreſpect the Embaſſador might ſee, if he pleas'd, out of his own Lodgings. Before the Biſhop of *Aix* went upon his Employ, *Vergerius*, by the Popes Command, acquainted him with the State of *Germany*, and how he was to make his Court, and ſalute every Perſon. The fourth day after, being the laſt of *February*, the Proteſtants gave in their anſwer to *Eldo*: That they did not queſtion but that the Emperor would ſtand to the Pacification, which he had engag'd himſelf to do ſeveral times both in his publick and private Letters; but the Chamber of *Spire*, and himſelf alſo in his Speech had advanced ſuch an Interpretation, which would not only render that Treaty leſs intelligible, but perfectly void it, and make it inſignificant. For the drift of his Diſcourſe is to prove, that only thoſe Matters and Diſputes are to be referr'd to Religion, which are comprehended in the Edict at *Wormes*, and in ſome other Decrees of the Empire; and not thoſe which are riſen ſince, and concern private Perſons, though they were expreſly mention'd at *Nuremburgh* to the Princes of the Mediation; but the Deſign of this Treaty was quite different from what his Excellency pretends: For notwithſtanding, by the Inſtigation of Pope *Leo* the 10*th*, the Emperor happen'd to publiſh his Edict at *Wormes*, at a time when the true Faith was underſtood but by a very few; yet afterwards that Edict, as far as it related to them, was ſuſpended by ſeveral Decrees of the Empire, more particularly in the Diet at *Spire*, about eleven years ſince; where it was agreed, That the whole Controverſie ſhould be referr'd to a Council, with the addition of this remarkable Clauſe, that in the mean time all Magiſtrates, in their reſpective Juriſdictions, ſhould diſcharge their Office in ſuch a manner, as they might be able to give a good account of their actions to God and the Emperor; from whence it plainly appears, that the foremention'd Edict was laid aſleep, ſo that they had no occaſion to inſiſt upon a new ſuſpenſion of it at *Nuremburgh*: For why were all Debates remitted to a lawful Council, if the Edict of *Wormes* was always to be in force, or if their Religion had always been accounted condemned? But there was a wide difference between the Matter of that Edict, and the Pacification at *Nuremburgh*; for the former conſider'd nothing but matter of Fact, and was deſign'd for Proſecution; the queſtion at that time being only, Whether the Edict was violated or not? If a breach was prov'd, then it's likely the Chamber, if the Decree of the Diet at *Spire* had not interpos'd, might have exercis'd their Juriſdiction, as in a ſecular affair. But thoſe things which were the occaſion of that Convention and Treaty at *Nuremburgh* relate to Faith and Religion, which, beſide other Proofs, appears plainly from the Emperor's Letters Patents: For though the Chamber had no Authority to try any Cauſes of this nature before, yet to prevent Diſturbance there was a more comprehenſive Proviſion ſign'd at *Nuremburgh* to make them forbear. Beſides it appears from the very words of the Emperor's Letters Patents, that not only thoſe Diſputes which relate to matters of meer Religion, were comprehended in the Treaty at *Nuremburgh*, but all others alſo which are occaſioned by the Change of Rites and Ceremonies, and ariſe from Cauſes of a reſembling nature. Farther, all Agreements are to be interpreted with reſpect to the circumſtances of the thing, which was the ground of the Controverſie. Now from the time of the Decree at *Spire*,

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The Pope ſendeth an Embaſſador to the Elector of *Saxony*.

The Proteſtants anſwer to *Eldo*.

1537. *Spire*, till the Treaty at *Nuremburgh*, they do not remember that any of their Party have been proſecuted, or have had the leaſt Diſturbance given them by any particular Courts under the Emperor or Princes: It's true, the Chamber had uſurp'd an Authority in theſe Matters, and commenc'd a Suit againſt ſome Perſons for changing Religion, together with the Rites and Ceremonies; as alſo concerning Property and Eſtate: And when there was a miſunderſtanding about theſe things, they made expreſs mention of them to the Princes of the Mediation. Therefore that Treaty is to be underſtood to extend not only to thoſe Points which reſult from the Edict of *Wormes*, but to thoſe alſo which were controverted at the very time of the Convention. For otherwiſe what made them labour and trouble themſelves at the rate they had done? why were they at ſuch Expences to remove a Grievance which was already mortifi'd by a ſolemn Decree of the Empire, and from which they had no reaſon to apprehend the leaſt inconvenience? But being afraid the Chamber would occaſion a Diſorder in the State by commencing of Suits; they agreed to a Ceſſation, which can relate to no other Debates but thoſe which were then the Principal Subject of the Controverſie, and explain'd to the Princes of the Mediation as ſuch: And whereas he alledgeth, that the Emperor did not know under what *Claſſis* thoſe Diſputes were to be rang'd; this ſeemeth improbable, becauſe that Convention was order'd on purpoſe to take up thoſe Differences, which unleſs they had been accommodated, it was thought ſome publick Diſturbances would have immediately follow'd: Neither indeed is it credible that the Princes of the Mediation omitted the ſending the Emperor an account of theſe things, or that his Majeſty, if he diſapprov'd any part of them, ſhould diſſemble his diſlike: That the Emperor may allow this Liberty for the preſervation of Peace is beyond all queſtion; and that the Peace cannot continue, unleſs theſe Terms are granted, they have lately prov'd. And ſince by the Laws of the Empire no Man may take away his Neighbours Property, therefore they explain'd themſelves upon this Point to the Princes of the Mediation at *Nuremburgh*; and declar'd, That if the Chamber gave them any trouble for ſeizing upon the Fortunes of their Monks and Prieſts, who had rejected the Doctrin and Worſhip of the true Religion, they would look upon it as a Force and an Injury. And whereas his Excellency thinks it unjuſt for them not to allow the Chamber to determine the nature of the Cauſe, Whether it is Religious or Secular; adding likewiſe, That the more Reaſons they had to ſupport their Reſolution, the more publick they ought to make them; They ſaid they had given a ſufficient Anſwer to this Objection before, and thought it would have been urg'd no more upon them: For though they are not afraid to make their Defence in open Court; nay they are very deſirous the whole Cauſe might be tried before equal Judges, yet they could not depart from that Order which the Emperor had made in the preſent Caſe; by which they were not remitted to the Judgment of the Chamber, but all Proceſs was ſtopp'd by his Imperial Prohibition, with this Proviſo, That if any Perſon acted to the contrary, his Majeſty, or his Embaſſador, was to be acquainted with it. As touching the Chamber, it was eaſie for them to anſwer, why they could not admit it; namely becauſe moſt of that Court were *Roman Catholicks*, who are bound by Oath, in giving of Sentence, to obſerve the Canon-Law, as well as the Conſtitutions of the Empire; and that the Methods of theſe Judges were very ſingular, was known to many others in *Germany* beſides themſelves: To ſay they are tied up by Oaths does not clear them from ſuſpicion; notwithſtanding this Allegation they may be lawfully refus'd, which themſelves were under a neceſſity of doing: For what could they expect from thoſe of a contrary Perſwaſion, who condemn the Proteſtant Religion as impious? Neither is it at all material that ſome few of them are delegated by his Majeſty, and moſt of them choſen out of the Provinces of the Empire; for the main ſtreſs of the Cauſe lies in the Queſtion of their Religion; but how they ought to be qualifi'd in theſe reſpects, the Decree made in the Diet at *Ratisbone* ſufficiently ſhews: Beſides moſt of them are made by the Biſhops, or by others of their way and Intereſt: Now when theſe Clergymen call all thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, which relate to Rites and Ceremonies, to the Paſtoral Office, and the Revenues of the Church; why does not the Chamber put all thoſe Debates which are of the ſame kind under the ſame denomination? Therefore what they told him before was no more than truth; that if they ſubmit themſelves to the Juriſdiction of the Chamber, there will be no occaſion for a Council, (and yet the Points conteſted ought to be decided there.) For thoſe Gentlemen make no diſtinction of Cauſes, but try all which are brought before them, and are willing that

that their Eccleſiaſticks ſhould have not only their pretended Eſtates, but their wicked Ceremonies reſtor'd them: Now if ſuch proceedings as theſe ſtand good, all the Proteſtant Doctrin muſt be condemn'd. They ſaid likewiſe, that their Lawyers were ſo much overaw'd, and apprehenſive of danger, that they durſt not defend their Right, much leſs make any Exception againſt the Judges; who if they were challeng'd, kept the Bench notwithſtanding, and had lately ſent back the *Hamburgers* their Letters of Recuſation. The reaſon why they inſtanced in the Monks, and ſuch ſort of People, was, to let his Excellency underſtand, that the Goods and Eſtates which he mention'd, did not belong them, but to the Miniſters of the Church, and were partly to be ſpent upon other pious Uſes. Therefore in charging them with Rapine, and detaining other Mens Goods, he did them wrong; neither was any thing of this nature ever objected to them before, not only by one of his Quality, but not by the Emperor himſelf: They wonder he ſhould ſay it was Violence, to take away the Revenues of the Church from the Monks and Prieſts, who contemn the true Religion, and obſtinately defend plain and notorious Errors: For to theſe Eſtates which were moſt of them given by their Anceſtors, the Clergy had no other right than as they were formerly Miniſters of the Church in their Dominions. Now when they underſtood the true Doctrin, and their Apprehenſions were better inform'd; they could not with a ſafe Conſcience tolerate known Errors any longer; and being oblig'd to remove theſe Corruptions, they did not think it fit to let thoſe Men enjoy the Profits of the Church, who poſitively refus'd to reform their Religion. Now if any are of opinion that they ought notwithſtanding to have been tolerated in their Perſwaſion, they are miſtaken; for they could not grant them ſuch an Indulgence, without being involv'd in their guilt; for we may deny Chriſt and the Truth, not only in our words, but in our actions; therefore his Excellency had charg'd them wrongfully in this Point. For what a ſtrange piece of imprudence would it be to endanger all their Fortunes, their Reputation, their Lives, their Wives and Children, and whatever was dear to them, for the gaining ſuch little and invidious Advantages? They did not deſire to poſſeſs other Mens Eſtates, and which were not under their own Juriſdiction; and if they were put upon it, they could demonſtrate by the Canon-Law, that the Revenues of the Church did not belong to thoſe who broached and maintain'd falſe Doctrin; neither was worldly Intereſt propos'd by them in this caſe; but their principal and only aim was, That God might not be diſhonour'd in their Territories, and therefore thoſe who profeſs'd the true Religion had been depriv'd of nothing: Neither did they queſtion but that they ſhould give a better account of what they had taken from the Eccleſiaſticks; than thoſe who aſſume the name of the Church to themſelves, and poſſeſs the Revenues of it without any right, and ſpend them without any reaſon. Now if they inſiſt upon the right of Poſſeſſion, that is nothing to the purpoſe; for to go no farther than the Canon-Law, when Truth begins to diſplay its light, all Claims by vertue of Poſſeſſion, Preſcription and Cuſtom, are to diſappear, and give place, like ſo many ſhadows. Therefore their Practices are contrary neither to Law, nor Equity, but are honeſt, pious, and conſonant to the holy Scriptures: That Objection likewiſe which his Excellency urgeth, that he cannot approve that Men ſhould be outed of their Eſtates, is properly applicable to their Adverſaries; for when any of their Flock happens to turn to the true Religion, he hath not only his Fortune, but his life too taken from him: That this is no Calumny, they appeal to his Excellency, who very well knows what Cruelties have been exercis'd, and how much Blood hath been ſhed upon this one account; for baniſhment, and the ruine of their whole Families, is the gentleſt puniſhment ſuch Converts are favour'd with. And whereas he inſiſts farther, that an Accommodation would be very feaſible if the point of Property was waved; they grant the truth of this Allegation, but then the ſtrength of it ought to be turn'd upon their Adverſaries; who unleſs they valu'd their Wealth, their Honour, and their Luxury, that diſſolute and ſcandalous Life which they lead, above any regard to Truth, all Differences might be eaſily reconcil'd; but though they are ſenſible of the Exceſſes and Prodigality of their Expences, yet they will not endure a Reformation, which is of ſo abſolute neceſſity. Now what truth there is in the Gentlemen of the Chambers Affirmation, where they ſay they have done nothing contrary to their Office, his Excellency may underſtand by what they have deliver'd to him already: For their parts they deſire nothing more than a legal Trial, and have formerly moved, that the reaſons of their demurring to the Juriſdiction of the Chamber, might be examin'd by Referees: Now that the Cauſes which the

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Chamber

1537. Chamber have unjuſtly decided, ſhould be brought about again by the Emperor, as his Excellency ſuggeſteth, this will be a very difficult matter to effect, neither will the Parties who have had Judgment given on their ſide, allow it. And becauſe he is deſirous to know their Reſolution in the preſent caſe; They declare, that they value nothing more than Peace, that they have not done any thing to diſturb it, and have given their Reaſons why they refuſe to ſubmit to the Chamber: But if thoſe Judges will go on at their old rate, they are reſolv'd not to take any notice of their Sentence; and if any violence was offer'd, the Law of Nature allow'd all Perſons to defend themſelves; and therefore they could not deſert their Confederates when they were in danger, eſpecially ſince they knew that when they were ſuppreſs'd, the ſame Fate muſt be undergone by themſelves. As concerning their Allies who came over to their League and Religion ſince the Pacification at *Nuremburgh*; they are ſorry the Emperor ſhould know nothing of it; for when they ſent their Embaſſadors into *Italy*, they gave them their Names in writing, that they might deliver them upon demand; and whereas they told him, that ſome of their Confederates had made a particular Agreement for their Liberty in Religion, this was be to underſtood of the Treaty at *Cadan*, and concerning the Duke of *Wirtenburgh*, to whom this Freedom was allowed; and ſince the Emperor may know this already, they need not produce any farther proof: As for the reſt, when they had gain'd a better notion of Religion, and ſaw the Council was delay'd, they concluded their Conſcience was much to be preferr'd to a State-Obligation: They did not queſtion what his Excellency told them concerning the good Intentions of the Emperor; yet they heard their Adverſaries were forming Deſigns quite contrary to ſuch Inclinations, and endeavour'd to exaſperate his Majeſty againſt them, which, beſide other proofs, they had reaſon to believe from the practices of the Chamber. Therefore their requeſt is, That their Caſe may be conſider'd, and that ſuch a Peace may be granted in which they may lawfully acquieſce. If they have ſatisfaction in this Point, they ſhall not be backward in complying with his Demands in reference to the *Turks* and the Imperial Chamber. Laſtly, They ſaid they were ſomething ſurpriz'd at his requeſting them to explain their League; for the Emperor underſtood it already, and deſir'd them, by the Princes of the Mediation at *Nuremburgh*, that they would recede from it; but they then gave ſuch an Anſwer that it was urg'd no more to them. They may thank their Adverſaries for forcing them upon theſe meaſures; For it's no ſecret what ſort of Deſign they are carrying on, and have been contriving for theſe many years: As for their League it's made only for defence, and form'd upon ſuch conditions, that if it was requiſite, they need not be aſham'd to ſhew it, not only to the Emperor, but to all the World. What he had related concerning the Council, and his Majeſties kind Inclinations towards the Empire, was very acceptable to them; and they believ'd his Majeſty was unacquainted with the Popes Deſigns, which made him ſo earneſtly promote the calling of a Council: Now what opinion his Majeſty had of the Pope they would not diſpute; but ſince his Bull was enſnaringly worded, and quite contrary to the Intentions of the Emperor, they could not diſſemble their Sentiments of it. For before the Council was open'd, he hath been ſo forward as to condemn their Doctrin not only by his Pen, but by his Practice: Beſides it is very well known how himſelf and his Predeceſſors, though they cannot chooſe but ſee the Scripture makes againſt them, have uſurp'd and appropriated the Authority of determining to themſelves in all Aſſemblies where there are any Diſputes about Religion: And though they intend when there is a Council lawfully conven'd and conſtituted, to Impeach the Pope and his Adherents of falſe Doctrin, Hereſie, and Impiety; yet they do not queſtion but that he will pretend to be Umpire and Judge, according to his old cuſtom. That he aims at ſuch an Uſurpation, is apparent by his Bull, which if they ſhould once approve, it will be to no purpoſe for them to talk afterwards about methodizing the Debate of the Controverſie. Now whether this be ſuch a Council as his Majeſty and the States of the Empire reſolv'd upon in ſeveral Diets, they leave to all indifferent Perſons to determine. For thoſe words, *A Free and Chriſtian Council* were always added on purpoſe, and for very good reaſons. Neither was the former part of the Clauſe to be ſo taken, as if no more was meant by it, than that every one ſhould have the liberty to propound his Opinion: But to prevent the Pope and his Aſſociates, who were engag'd to each other upon the account of perſwaſion and dependencies, from being Judges in their own Cauſe; nor was the word *Chriſtian* to be ſo interpreted, as if none but *Turks* and *Infidels* were prohibited the Council; but that all the points of Doctrin might be examin'd and decided by the holy Scriptures.

For

For they were assur'd, that there were pious and learned Men, not only in one Country, but all the World over. And it is a very entertaining Speculation to them to consider, that if the Pope's Exorbitant Power was retrench'd, and all things were not under the command of one Man, then there was reason to hope, that not only their Divines, but a great many good Men of divers Countries, who are now kept under by his Holinesses Tyranny, and forc'd either to conceal, or but to whisper their Grievances, would contribute their utmost Endeavours towards the Reformation of the Church. Now as to the Seat of the Council (they said) they could not imagine any place could be more proper than *Germany*; for notwithstanding other Nations ought to have a share in the Council, the *Germans*, and particularly themselves were chiefly concern'd in it, for they were oblig'd to be there in Person, and to bring the Ministers of their Churches along with them; whereas other King's and Princes might dispatch their business by their Embassadors, according to the ancient and usual custom: Concerning the situation and convenience of *Mantua*, they had no mind to dispute; but at this time there was War in *Italy*; and though there was none, yet they had lately given him the reasons why they ought to suspect that Country. How the Duke of *Mantua* stood affected, they would not examine at present, but it was certain his own Brother was a Cardinal of great Note; which circumstances encreased their suspicion. Therefore when foreign Countries understand their reasons why they refuse the place, and way of proceeding in the Council, they do not question but that they will approve them; nay if they had done otherwise, other Nations, they believe, would have had an ill opinion of them for it; besides his Majesty knows there are many Cities in *Germany* no less commodious than *Mantua*, and which is more especially to be consider'd, they are celebrated for their Justice and Fair-dealing. For those Clandestine ways of dispatching Men are not so much known and practised in *Germany* as in some other places. Now their insisting so much upon the Decrees of the Empire, and being so unalterably resolv'd to stand by them, ought not to seem strange or unprecidented to the Emperor. For formerly *Liberius*, Bishop of *Rome*, a Friend and Favourer of *Athanasius*, desir'd the Emperor *Constantine* to call a Council at *Alexandria*, because the Accused and Prosecutors lived there; and notwithstanding that place was inconvenient for the Eastern Churches; notwithstanding the Emperor (*Constantius*) declar'd, That *Athanasius* had been condemn'd by the Suffrages of the whole World, and that his Adherents were banish'd; notwithstanding he protested, That *Liberius* was the great Disturber of the Peace of Christendom; yet the Bishop did not desist in his Application, and the Emperor continuing as much resolv'd in his denial, was the occasion of making the *Arian* Heresie prevail for a long time; but at last *Athanasius* his Cause prov'd Victorious, and will continue so to the Worlds end; now how many Christians lost their Lives in the defence of that Doctrin, is impossible to recount: They expect that their Religion will have the same Success, Whether there is a fit place assign'd them to argue in or not: For such reasons as these the Fathers of *Basil* refus'd to meet at *Ferrara*, where the Pope *Eugenius* had order'd the Council to convene: So likewise when the Emperor *Henry* the Seventh had a Dispute of great consequence with *Robert* King of *Sicily*, and cited him to appear at *Pisa*, Pope *Clement* the Fifth look'd upon this proceeding as unjust, and thereupon undertook the King's Defence, and inform'd the Emperor why he was not bound to come thither, though his reasons were much less considerable than those which they had produc'd; therefore their refusing such a Council as this, is none of their fault, but the Popes. For whenever they cast the Issue of their Cause upon a Council, they meant such a one as his Majesty and the States had decreed; being sensible that if the whole Affair was left to the management of Popes, they would regard nothing but their private Advantage, suppress the true Religion, and establish their own Corruptions and Impieties; notwithstanding this, *Paul* the Third has so varnish'd over the matter to the Emperor, as if he proceed with the greatest fairness and sincerity imaginable, when he intends the direct contrary. Moreover what sort of Council it is which they demand, they have already declar'd in writing, not only to *Clement*'s Legate, but to *Peter Paul Vergerius*, who was sent by *Paul* the Third. And whereas his Excellency informs them that the Emperor's design is, That Error and Immorality may be rectified, and reform'd; they profess they cannot see the least intimation of any such matter in the Pope's Bull; for if he had design'd a real and effectual Reformation, he would never have condemn'd their Doctrin before it had been publickly examin'd. And though they do not doubt of the Emperor's Candour and Justice, and therefore

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1537. they are the more concern'd that it's not in their power to gratifie him; yet this they muſt ſay, that his Majeſties kindneſs and forwardneſs in this Affair cannot turn to any advantage to them: For admitting the Emperor ſhould be preſent at the Council himſelf, yet it's well known what a ſlender Authority the Popes allow his Majeſty, and other Princes in ſuch caſes. Now ſuppoſing the Pope and his Clergy ſhould ſhew themſelves very frank, and let them be preſent at the Debates; yet they never permit them to Vote; that Priviledge they reſerve for their own Order; ſo that if the Emperor and the Civil Magiſtrate happen to carry on the Diſpute farther than is acceptable to the other, they have this check upon them; and at laſt determine the Controverſie according to their own good liking. And ſince their caution is only to avoid falling into the Pope's Ambuſcadoes, they deſire his Majeſty would pleaſe not to take it ill, for it's natural to Brutes to ſhun thoſe places in which they know Snares and Traps are ſet for them. Beſides it's ſufficiently known how the Emperor *Sigiſmund* was ſerv'd at the Council of *Conſtance*: For notwithſtanding he had granted *John Huſſe* a ſafe Conduct in due form, yet the Fathers there clip'd his Prerogative to purpoſe, when they told him, That neither his Majeſty, nor any Perſon elſe, ought to preſcribe to the Council in that matter. In ſhort, the Emperor gave up the Point, and yielded to their Claim and Authority; and though they believe his Majeſty did not do this without great regret, yet that was little comfort to the other miſerable Perſon, who was ſurpriz'd into ſo great a Calamity, and forc'd to ſuffer a cruel death, for being over-credulous in depending upon the ſafe Conduct. From which matter of Fact, it plainly appears, what a ſlender Aſſiſtance the Emperor, though he was never ſo willing, is able to afford thoſe whom they have taken in their Toyls, and, as it were, cag'd up: Therefore they are oblig'd to be circumſpect in their motions; however that no blame may be charg'd upon them, they declare, That they are not only willing to ſubmit to a fair Trial, but alſo they earneſtly entreat the Emperor, that he would pleaſe fully to examine the weight of their Reaſons, and call a lawful Council in *Germany*, where the Pope, and his Party, may not engroſs the Office of Judges: And if it ſhall ſo happen that the Pope hinders the Emperor in the execution of this Deſign, and will not ſuffer an honeſt Council to be call'd in *Germany*; they ſolemnly profeſs to the World, That it's none of their fault which prevents the proper Meaſures for Agreement from being reſolv'd on; and all the inconveniencies which follow from theſe miſunderſtandings muſt be attributed to the Pope. Laſtly, They deſire him that he would make an exact Report of what they have ſaid to the Emperor, and let his Majeſty underſtand their Inclinations to ſerve him. After theſe Speeches were over, and *Eldo* had promis'd that he would give the Emperor an account of what had paſt between them; the Proteſtants proceeded to make a Proviſion for ſeveral other Matters, *viz.* for the Maintenance of the Clergy, for the Founding of Schools, that there might be a conſtant ſupply of fit Perſons for the Service both of Church and State; and when they had done this, they decreed what was requiſite concerning their League and mutual Defence. I have already mention'd what anſwer they gave *Eldo* in reference to the *Turk*; and beſides there was a rumour ſpread as if *Ferdinand* was making Preparations for a War againſt *John Vaivod* of *Tranſylvania*, and therefore deſir'd Supplies to carry on that deſign. And leſt they ſhould be guilty of an Omiſſion in reſpect of the Commonwealth, for want of right information in the caſe, they decreed after *Eldo* was gone, That the Elector of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave* ſhould ſend away their Agents at the Common charge, that they might have certain Intelligence concerning this matter; and if the *Turk* did invade *Germany* they would then convene themſelves again, to conſult what was proper for every Man to do. Moreover, that all Men might underſtand the reaſonableneſs of their Proceedings, and the Grounds upon which they refus'd the Council; they thought it convenient to ſet them down in writing, which Paper they afterwards publiſh'd in Print, where they addreſs themſelves to foreign Princes and Nations to this effect; *Paul* the Third, ſay they, hath lately publiſh'd a Bull, in which he hath intimated a Council at *Mantua*, which will be opened upon the 23*th* of *May*, and hath offer'd ſome Reaſons why theſe Meaſures were pitch'd upon: Beſides, he hath diſpatch'd his Nuncios to foreign Kings and Princes, both *Germans* and others, to acquaint them with the Council, and invite them either to come thither themſelves, or ſend their Embaſſadors; and in regard we have been ſolicited by him, and by the Emperor upon this account, we think our ſelves oblig'd to demonſtrate how dangerous and diſadvantageous a Compliance with him in this Point will be, not only to us, but

The Decrees of the Proteſtants at *Smalcalde*.

A Paper containing the Proteſtants Reaſons for their refuſal of the Council.

but to all Chriſtendom. And though we proceed upon none but juſtifiable grounds, yet when we conſider the temper of our Adverſaries, we have reaſon to believe they will cenſure our actions, and interpret them in the worſt ſenſe. For it's likely, in order to the bringing us and the whole Cauſe under their Juriſdiction, they will not ſtick to affirm, that we will not abide by any Trial, nor ſubmit to any Judge: That we contemn other Nations which have been often remarkable for a great many Men of Learning: They will ſay alſo, that it's a wicked thing to refuſe Submiſſion to the determinations of a Council, which is the higheſt Tribunal of the Church, and ought to be obeyed by all Perſons. They will likewiſe pretend as if we were aſham'd of our Tenents, and durſt not bring them into view; or that we watched an opportunity to make an unneceſſary Breach, and could not reconcile our ſelves to the Peace of Chriſtendom. Now if this Charge againſt us were true, it were not only wicked in it ſelf, but it would be a kind of a Calamity to hear it: For theſe reaſons we are under a neceſſity of publiſhing our own Juſtification, and we hope the conſequence of it will be, that all honeſt Men both in *Germany*, and other places, will not only forbear believing any thing of this nature of us; but that they will make it their buſineſs, that this moſt important Affair may be rightly manag'd; and that it may not be in the Pope's Power to Tyrannize over apparent Truth, and ſuppreſs it under the pretended and venerable Authority of a Council. For we will not only make it appear, that we hold no Opinions in Religion but what are ſound and Orthodox, but likewiſe that we aim at nothing but the Glory of God, and the good of the Commonwealth, and that no Man can juſtly charge us with obſtinancy and perverſeneſs. And in the firſt place how far we are from contemning the Judgment of other Nations, and of the Church, is evident by our endeavouring to prevent the Pope and his Party from ſetting up for Judges; and that all things may be debated by proper and unſuſpected Perſons, which they believe is the unanimous deſire of all good Men: For in regard in ſome Countries there are now extant ſeveral ancient Books complaining of falſe Doctrin, Immorality, wicked Ceremonies and Practices which were then crept into the Church; they do not queſtion but that in thoſe very places there are at this day ſeveral Perſons of Learning and Piety, who underſtand the true Doctrin, though at preſent they are brow-beaten, and overaw'd into ſilence by the Pope's Tyranny. Now theſe are the Men who ought to appear in Councils, that they may ſpeak their mind freely; for that is not to be accounted a lawful Council which is govern'd by the Pope and his Party, who maintain their unorthodox Tenents by dint of Violence and Power, and, according to their old cuſtom, make Canons contrary to the Word of God. For our Saviour when he erected his Supream Tribunal upon Earth, ordered, That whatever required Reformation ſhould be brought before the Church; in which very words all manner of Tyranny and Dominion is excluded. Farther, they aſperſe us falſely, if they ſay we are afraid to make our publick Appearance, and will not endure the Light. For in the Diet at *Ausburgh* we made an open Profeſſion of our Doctrin in the Preſence of the Emperor, and all the States of the Empire: Beſides, this very Religion is publickly taught in our Dominions; ſeveral of our Subjects have written Books of it, and own'd it in Print; and many of our Adverſaries confeſs, that our Writers have recover'd a great number of ancient Tenents, which before were quite ſmother'd and ſuppreſs'd: For now the true Doctrin is come to Light again, which gives us the right notion of Repentance, of Faith in Chriſt, of Remiſſion of Sins, of good Works, Religious Worſhip, the uſe of the Sacraments, the Power of the Keys, of Magiſtracy, Humane Traditions, and ſuch like. Neither, to ſpeak in St. *Paul*'s Language, are we aſham'd of the Goſpel, but wiſh above all things that we had an opportunity to declare our ſenſe of theſe Points in the moſt publick Audience. And whereas it's objected to our Party, as if they had reviv'd old condemn'd Hereſies, and therefore there is no need of any farther Diſpute or Examination of the Cauſe, this Suggeſtion is falſe, and thoſe who have read our Confeſſion, and the Defence annex'd to it, will not require much Apology from us: For the Doctrin which we Profeſs is no new one, but was approv'd by the Primitive Church, as may be made good to a demonſtration. Neither have we receiv'd any Hereſie or wicked Opinion, but on the contrary our Divines have regain'd the Doctrin of the Ancients in ſeveral Points, which the Popes and Monks had ſuppreſs'd. It is another Calumny to ſay, that we are pleas'd with publick Animoſities and Diviſions, for we are ſorry at our very Souls that Chriſtendom is ſo miſerably diſtracted, and earneſtly deſire a Council, in order 1537.

1537. to a Reconciliation. And ſince the Pope and his Adherents have condemn'd that Doctrin which is both true and neceſſary to be believ'd, ſince they puniſh and perſecute the Profeſſors of it, and excite others to follow their Example; we could do no leſs than reprove them for their Cruelty and Inſolence. For God requireth us to Honour him by an open Confeſſion; and to hold any farther Correſpondence with the Pope, when he rages at ſuch a barbarous rate, would be a very wicked Alliance. Beſides, it cannot be deni'd but we perform all Offices, and undergo all Burthens which the Commonwealth requires, as well as the reſt of the States; from whence it appeareth, that we would willingly comply with others in Religion too, if our Conſciences would give us leave; eſpecially when we underſtand what danger hangeth over our Heads upon this account. For the Popes for many years laſt paſt have told us pretty plainly what they would be at, and how buſie they have been in exaſperating the Paſſions of Princes againſt us: Now to run all theſe hazards, and be at all this Expence to no purpoſe, is perfect diſtraction. But we are convin'd this is a Duty which God requires of us; whoſe Commands ought to be preferr'd to all Secular Intereſt; and we proteſt before God Almighty, That we deſign nothing but his Service. And now having confuted their Accuſations, we ſhall proceed to another branch of our Apology. Poſſibly moſt People of foreign Countries may think that we have been too nice in quarrelling with thoſe things which have no great malignity in them, and which might have paſſed without notice for Peace-ſake, eſpecially when the nature of Humane Affairs is ſuch, that there will always be ſome Imperfections in Church and State, which muſt be conniv'd at. But the caſe is quite otherwiſe; for firſt we are not to conceal our diſlike of Errors and wrong Opinions in Religion, being commanded by Chriſt to beware of falſe Teachers: Beſides, the Conteſt is not about little Miſtakes, but concerning the Doctrin of Faith, and right Apprehenſions of God, upon which the due performance of a Chriſtians Duty, and of Divine Worſhip does principally depend; now theſe are points which cannot be paſſed over in ſilence, but are to be maintain'd in their Purity, and diligently taught in the Church: But that this part of Truth was perfectly extinct, cannot be denied, and a new Doctrin introduc'd in its room, to the great diſhonour of our Saviour. We likewiſe diſapprove many other Errors and ungodly Practices in their Worſhip, which ſome Perſons, *who liv'd long* before our time, have diſcover'd, and thereupon wiſh'd for a *Council, that thoſe things* which were amiſs might be rectified, and the Peace of the Church eſtabliſh'd. But now there is more need of a Council than ever, becauſe the ſame Corruptions remain and have ſpread their Infection further, becauſe they have occaſion'd Broils and Diviſions in Chriſtendom, inſomuch that many innocent Perſons run the hazard of loſing their Lives upon this account. For theſe weighty reaſons, not only our ſelves, but the Emperor, and the reſt of the States and Biſhops of the Empire, voted a Council very neceſſary for the preſervation of the true Religion in the Church; for unleſs ſuch an Expedient was made uſe of, they foreſaw the Diſtractions of Chriſtendom would encreaſe: And while we were big with the expectation of ſuch a Council as this, out comes the Pope's Bull with Contents directly contrary to the Decrees of the Empire. And becauſe we are not concern'd alone, but the whole Chriſtian Church is intereſſed in it, we thought it neceſſary to ſet forth a publick Declaration of our Reaſons in this Paper, why we refuſe this Council of the Pope's calling. For the right of Voting does not belong ſolely to the Pope and Biſhops, but to the Church; in which ſignification Kings and other degrees of Men and Secular Magiſtrates are included. Therefore though the Pope was no Party in the preſent Debate, yet there was no reaſon to allow him and his Adherents the whole Power of Determining, and exclude the other Miniſters of the Church: But ſince he is apparently one of the Litigants himſelf, the yielding him ſuch a Priviledge is ſtill more unaccountable, and no leſs than a contradiction to the Laws of God and Nature. Now we do not accuſe the Pope of ſmall Miſdemeanors, neither do we quarrel with him only for his Luxury and Lording it over the Church; but the main of our charge lieth againſt his Doctrin, his Canons, and abominable Worſhip; that is, we arraign him for Idolatry and Hereſie; and when he is impeached of ſuch Crimes as theſe, the Church, and not himſelf, is to examine and give Sentence in the Cauſe; according to the Proviſion which the old Canon-Law it ſelf hath made for this purpoſe. Beſides, the Pope hath made himſelf the more ſuſpected, not only by being a Party; but becauſe he hath condemn'd our Doctrin long beforehand;

now

now the caſe ſtanding thus, it's eaſie to imagine what ſort of Cenſure will be paſt upon our Doctrin in a Council of his own packing: For we are not to ſuppoſe that he will give a liberty of Voting to any Perſons contrary to the old cuſtoms of his Church. And in regard the Bull does not mention in what order and method Debates are to be managed, we have reaſon to ſuſpect every thing. For he only ſummoneth and Muſtereth thoſe who are engag'd to him upon many accounts, and of whoſe Truſtineſs he is ſufficiently aſſur'd. He likewiſe profeſſeth that the reaſon of his calling a Council is, That thoſe Hereſies which have lately ſprung up, may be extirpated: And notwithſtanding theſe words will bear a large ſignification, yet there is no doubt, but that he meant them of our Doctrin; for we have no reaſon to believe that he would tax his own Errors: Nay afterwards he publiſh'd another Bull concerning the Reformation of the Court of *Rome*, where he owneth in expreſs words, That the Council was call'd that the peſtilent *Lutheran* Hereſie might be ſuppreſs'd. At firſt, it's true, he cunningly diſſembled his Intentions, that he might make the Bull appear plauſible; but afterwards he diſcover'd himſelf. It's plain therefore, that he aims only at the ſubverſion of our Religion. Now what a madneſs would it be for us to approve of ſuch a Deſign as this? For this is the thing which he driveth at, namely to draw a Confeſſion from thoſe who admit his Bull, that our Doctrin is wicked and heretical; and when Kings and Princes have own'd this, they may be oblig'd to contribute their good wiſhes and endeavours to the Cauſe. And becauſe the common Intereſt of Chriſtendom is concern'd in this Affair, we intreat all People, that they would ſeriouſly conſider the deſigning ſubtilty of this Man; for his couching the Bull in ſuch Terms is ſomewhat admirable, and it is a queſtion, Whether he intended to fright us from the Council this way, or elſe to enſnare us by approving the Inſtrument: That the Emperor intends the welfare and ſecurity of the Commonwealth, we do not in the leaſt queſtion, and believe that his Majeſty does not approve the form of the Bull. But as for the Pope he hath not ſo much intimated a Council, as publickly given Sentence againſt us. Neither will he allow the Scriptures to determine the Diſpute; but his own Canons and Cuſtoms, and the Opinions of ſome modern Councils, muſt overrule all other Pleas; whereas it's one of our principal Aſſertions, That Humane Traditions are to be rejected when they are repugnant to the Word of God. That which is really the Doctrin of the Church, we willingly receive; but then the Errors and Tyranny of the Pope ought not to be flouriſh'd over with that reverend Name. For firſt the ancient Church never admitted of any Conſtitutions which were contrary to Scripture; nor yet gave the Pope that unlimited power which he now aſſumes to himſelf. And ſecondly, Theſe Men who condemn and perſecute the Doctrin of the Goſpel, are none of the Church, but Parricides and Sons of *Cain*. In the Primitive times godly Biſhops have often refus'd to concern themſelves in Councils, when they ſaw they were not call'd for the Defence of Truth, but either to eſtabliſh falſe Doctrin, or to countenance ſome Perſons in their Ambition. Thus when *Conſtantine* the Emperor ſummon'd a Council to *Antioch*, *Maximus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, though he was not very far diſtant from the place, would not come thither; becauſe he underſtood the Emperor's Inclinations, and what the *Arian* Biſhops were contriving. So *Athanaſius* though he came to the Council at *Tyre*, yet he ſtayed not long there, becauſe he perceiv'd the Principal Perſons of the Council took upon them to be Complainants and Judges too; and was alſo well aſſur'd that there were Witneſſes ſuborned againſt him. In like manner at *Sirmium* in *Hungary* there was formerly conven'd a very numerous Council againſt *Photinus*, for the Debate was of great Conſequence; and notwithſtanding the Emperor commanded the Biſhops to repair thither, yet thoſe of the *Weſtern*-Church did not obey him, when they underſtood the *Arian*-Faction was encreas'd; for they ſuſpected ſome falſe Doctrin would be decreed there: At this time *Hoſius* a Perſon of great Reputation was Biſhop of *Corduba*, whom the Emperor, by the advice of the *Arians*, commanded to go out of *Spain* to the Council, who when he came there, he conſented to that enſnaring Creed at *Sirmium*, which was afterwards the occaſion of horrible Diſorders in the Church; and *Hilary* who was not preſent at this Aſſembly reproves *Hoſius* for his compliance. *Cyril* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* would never aſſiſt at their Meetings, who denied Chriſt to be of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father; and is ſaid to be the firſt Man who appeal'd in writing from the Authority of their Councils. There was a Council begun at *Millain*, and the Biſhops were call'd thither by the Emperor's order. 1537.

1537. order. But when *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Triers*, and ſome few others, perceived that *Auxentius* Biſhop of *Millain* and his Party were projecting things which were not fair, They went off, and ſo occaſioned the breaking up of the Council. Thus thoſe great Men declined, going to all ſuſpected Synods, that they might not be involved in their guilt: And ſince the Pope giveth pretty plain intimations, that this Council is deſign'd to eſtabliſh his Power and Greatneſs, we deſire all People that they would not blame our refuſal of it. Moreover we have great reaſon to diſlike the place of the Council, for it's very fit for Miſchief, and in all reſpects, ſuch as if it was contrived to hinder the freedom of Debates: To which we may add, that the Calumnies of our Adverſaries have given Strangers a very ill opinion of us, as if all Probity and Religion was baniſh'd our Country: Now to have Mens minds prepoſſeſs'd with ſuch a notion as this, may be exceeding dangerous for us. Therefore if it was only upon this account, it was very proper to have the Council conven'd in *Germany*, that thoſe of foreign Nations might ſee the cuſtoms and regularity of our Churches and Towns, and ſo diſengage themſelves from their prejudice againſt the true Doctrin. The importance of the Affair likewiſe obligeth moſt of us to be in Perſon at the Council; but to go out of our own Country in ſuch numbers, would be a great inconvenience to us. And ſince it was decreed in a Diet of the Empire upon ſuch weighty conſiderations, that a Council ſhould be held in *Germany*, we ſee no reaſon to depart from what was then reſolv'd upon. And in regard the welfare of all Chriſtendom is concern'd in this buſineſs, we entreat all Kings and Princes not to give any credit to our Adverſaries; but rather uſe their Endeavours that the true knowledge of God may be recover'd, which is the moſt glorious Action they can poſſibly engage in. As for the Pope it's his Deſign to run them upon Injuſtice and Cruelty, but they are oblig'd to abhor ſuch Practices above all things: For they are placed on purpoſe on that elevated Station, that they might promote the Honour of God with greater advantage; ſhew a good Example to their Inferiors, and reſcue innocent Perſons from Injury and Oppreſſion. And if ever a lawful Council happeneth to be call'd, we will give ſuch a ſatisfactory account of our Proceedings there, as ſhall be ſufficient to convince all People, that we have aim'd at and attempted nothing but what was for the real advantage of Chriſtendom. In this Convention there was the Elector of *Saxony*, *Erneſt* and *Francis* his Brother, Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemburgh*, the *Lantgrave*, *Philip* Duke of *Pomern*, three Earls of *Anhalt*, and *Albert* Count *Mansfield*; there were alſo the Agents of a great many Cities, who were ſent thither with very large Commiſſions, their Principals being pre-acquainted with the ſubject of the Debate. Before they broke up their Aſſembly, which was done upon the *6th* of *March*, they wrote to the *French* King, where in the firſt place they excuſe themſelves for not giving his Embaſſador ſatisfaction at the laſt Convention; and alſo gave him their Reaſons why they omitted ſending an Embaſſy to him now: Then they deſired him to continue them his Friendſhip; and ſince they had made all imaginable Overtures for the compoſing the Differences in Religion, though they had been unſucceſsful in their Endeavours, yet they hoped he would oblige them with his Favour for their good Intentions. Laſtly, They acquaint him with their Reſolutions concerning the Council, and deſire to know how his Majeſty intends to act in this Affair. Upon the *22th* of *May* the King returns them an Anſwer, in which he lets them underſtand, that he was ſatisfi'd with their Reaſons, and maketh them large aſſurances of the conſtancy of his Friendſhip, and ſends them a Paper which he had publiſh'd to confute the Miſrepreſentations of their Adverſaries: And as to the Council he told them, That he was ſtill of the ſame mind of which he had always been, that unleſs it was lawful in its Conſtitution and Method, and coven'd in a place of Security, he would never approve it; neither did he queſtion but that the King of *Scotland* his Son in law would be wholly influenced by him: This Prince ſome few days before in the beginning of *May* return'd into *Scotland* with his Queen, who died there about the middle of *June* following. In the mean time the Pope prorogeth the Council till the firſt of *November*; the occaſion of which delay he charg'd upon the Duke of *Mantua*, who inſiſted upon a Garriſon to ſecure the Town, and demanded a Supply of Monies for that purpoſe. Theſe Terms the Pope ſaid were unexpected and ſurprizing to him, and he was very much afraid leſt the greateſt part of the Biſhops, in compliance with his Bull, were already arriv'd at *Mantua*, and being denied admittance into the Town, might be forc'd to return home: This he was extreamly troubled at, but ſhould bear it with the more patience, becauſe

The Pope prorogeth the Council.

becauſe it was not his fault, but anothers. Not long after the King of *England* publiſh'd a *Manifeſto* in the name of himſelf and his Nobility, to this effect, That the Pope had call'd a Council without any Authority to do it: That it was conven'd at an improper time, when the Emperor and *French* King were deeply engag'd in War againſt each other: That *Mantua* was an exceptionable place, as being neither commodious nor ſafe for all Perſons. For his part he heartily deſired a Chriſtian Council, but he would neither come nor ſend his Embaſſadors to this of the Pope's packing. For it hath been their way in theſe Synods to betray Chriſt and the Truth for their own advantage. He had nothing to ſay to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and was no more concern'd in his Bulls, than in the Orders of any other Biſhop: Councils (he ſaid) us'd to be call'd by the Emperor and other Princes, which Cuſtom ought to be retrieved, eſpecially at this time, when there are ſuch ſevere Complaints to be made againſt the Pope; and yet no Man without danger of his life, could publickly accuſe and reprove him, unleſs the Council was rightly conſtituted. Beſides, neither himſelf nor any of his Subjects had a ſafe Conduct granted them, and though they had, yet there would remain dangers apparent enough to make him decline coming. For it's no new thing with the Popes to break their Promiſes, and imbrue themſelves in the blood of the Innocent. And granting it might be ſafe for other Perſons to come thither, yet there were very good reaſons why it could not be ſo for him; when the Pope endeavours to draw him into an Ambuſcado, hates him mortally, and does his utmoſt to make him as odious to other Princes as is poſſible; and all for no other reaſon, but becauſe he took the liberty to free his own Dominions from his Holineſs's Tyranny, and ſtopped the return of his *Peter-pence*; and ſome other pretended Revenues. This thing he is ſenſible the Pope takes extreamly ill at his hands, and ſo much the more, becauſe he is afraid other Princes may follow his example: And now the Council forſooth is deferr'd till the firſt of *November*, yet we are not told where it will be held at laſt, and the blame of this diſappointment is laid upon the Duke of *Mantua*; now what is all this but abuſing the World? The Duke of *Mantua* was certainly in the right, in refuſing to admit ſuch a body of Men into his Town without a Garriſon, and therefore all the fault muſt lie at his door, who never acts with any ſincerity, but hath always ſomething of circumvention and deſign at the bottom; and if he happens to change the Seat of the Council, we muſt expect the Town he pitches upon will either belong to ſome Prince he holdeth as it were under Vaſſalage, or elſe it muſt be in his own Juriſdiction: The truth is, he hath a very large Dominion, and fine Towns in it; which his Predeceſſors made themſelves Maſters of by violence and fraud, neither hath he much mended his Title to them ſince. And in regard moſt Men of ſenſe deſpair of an honeſt Council, the beſt way in his judgment is for all Magiſtrates to reform Religion themſelves in their reſpective Territories. Now if the Pope pretends Cuſtom to the contrary, his Argument will not hold; for St. *Cyprian* will vouch for us in the caſe, that Cuſtom, when it's not founded upon Truth, is no more than ancient Error. This expedient therefore which he hath mention'd already, is in his opinion the moſt proper; but if any perſon can propoſe a better, he is ready to comply with it.

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The King of *England* publiſheth a Paper againſt the Council which was called by the Pope.

The Emperor ſpent all this year in *Spain*; but in *June* his Army in *Flanders*, under *Florus* Count of *Bures*, took the Town and Caſtle of St. *Paul* in *Artois* by Storm, and put all the Garriſon to the Sword; from thence he marched to *Therouenne*, and ſet down before it, but without ſucceſs At laſt they came to a Truce there for ten months, which was to take place only in that Country. For in *Peidmont* the War went on as vigorouſly as before; where the Imperialiſts recover'd the Town of *Quiers* by Aſſault, and made a great ſlaughter among the beſieged, both Soldiers and Townſmen. And afterwards when the Garriſon of *Turin* was ſtraitned for want of Proviſions, and all the Paſſes and Avenues poſſeſs'd by the Enemy; The *French* King levied an Army in Autumn, and marched it thither under the Command of the *Dolphin* and *Anne Momorency*, who cut through the Blockade with their Swords, and victualled the Town.

The Imperialiſts take St. *Paul* by ſtorm. They beſiege *Therouenne* without effect.

They carry *Quiers* by aſſault.

Turin is ſupplied with Proviſions.

In *October* King *Ferdinand* his Army conſiſting of *Saxon* Horſe, *Meiſſeners*, *Francovians*, *Auſtrians*, *Carinthians*, *Bohemians*, and thoſe *Hungarians* which the *Germans* call *Huſſars*, beſieged *Exechium* or *Eſſek*, ſituate upon the *Drave*, which the *Turks* had put a ſtrong Garriſon into. Now when they had thrown away a great deal of time upon this Place, and were forc'd to draw off at laſt for want of Proviſions, they were incloſed by the Enemy in their retreat, who had poſted themſelves

Ferdinand his Army beaten by the Turks.

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Edward the Sixth of *England* is born.

October the 12*th* the King of *England* had a Son born named *Edward*, by *Jane Seimour*, whom he married after the death of *Anne* of *Bolein*. In the mean time the Pope underſtanding there was a Truce in *Flanders*, made it his buſineſs to procure a Ceſſation in *Italy* and in other places, that he might have the better opportunity to finiſh the grand Affair. Firſt, therefore the Truce was agreed upon for a certain Term; when that was expir'd, it was continued for another, till at laſt a Peace was made, as I ſhall ſhew afterwards. Now the Popes deſign in reconciling theſe Princes, was, to perſwade them to joyn their Forces againſt his mortal Enemy the King of *England*, and againſt the *Lutherans*. About this time *Chriſtiana* of *Denmark*, the Emperor's Neice by his Siſter and Dowager of *Millain*, left *Italy*, and returned into *Flanders* through *Germany*; there was a Match treated of between this Lady and the Duke of *Cleve*, but it came to nothing. Now alſo the People of *Gelderland* began to rebel againſt their Prince *Charles* Count *Egmond*, who was all along of the *French*-Faction, having a violent averſion to the *Burgundians*: And it was thought he was then attempting to bring his Province under the Juriſdiction of the *French*; but his Subjects making a general Inſurrection againſt him; he was outed of almoſt all, ſo that he had not above one or two Towns left him to retreat to. He was always a zealous *Roman Catholick*, and puniſhed thoſe who profeſſed the Reformed Religion. *Paul* the Third in the beginning of his Popedom made two of his Grandchildren Cardinals, and being ſenſible that he had loſt ſome Reputation upon this account, he promoted ſeveral others who were eminent for their Quality and Learning, to this Honour, partly that he might make the promotion of his young Relations leſs invidious and disobliging, partly that he might be furniſhed with Friends able to defend his Cauſe with their Rhetorick and Writings. Thoſe who were created, were *Gaſper Contareno*, *Reginald Poole*, *John Bellay*, *Frederick Fregoſi*; to which were afterwards added *Sadolet*, *Alexander*, *Bembo*. Beſides, *Eraſmus* was alſo thought on, as he himſelf relates in a Letter of his to a Friend. There are extant likewiſe ſeveral Letters of *Sadolets* to *Eraſmus*, in which he tells him, in a great many words, what a ſingular eſteem the Pope had for him, and that he intended to raiſe him very ſhortly to the higheſt Dignity. *Contareno* was of a noble Family, and a Senator of *Venice*; a Man of great Reputation for his Learning, and was ſaid to be preferr'd to this eminent Station altogether beyond his expectation, and when he made no manner of Intereſt for it.

The reaſon why the Pope would reconcile the Emperor and *French* King.

Chriſtiana of *Denmark* returns into *Flanders*.

The *Gelderlanders* rebel.

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THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK XII.

The CONTENTS.

Pope Paul *ſtrictly charges his Commiſſioners for the Reformation, diligently to enquire into the numerous Corruptions of the Church, and provide effectual Remedies.* Eraſmus *his Colloquies are prohibited. The Proteſtants meet at* Brunſwick, *and receive the King of* Denmark *into their League. The Perſecution of Lutheraniſm revived in* France. *The Pope goes on Progreſs to* Nice, *in* Provence: *Whither the Emperor and the French King alſo come. The French King and ſeveral of his Nobility kiſs the Pope's Right-foot. The French of the Reformed Religion have a Church aſſigned them at* Strasburg. *The King of* England *burns* Thomas *of* Canterbury's *Bones. The Elector of* Brandenburg *gives the Elector of* Saxony *notice of the Preparation which the Turks made for a War. The Riſe of the* Antinomians. Eldo's *and the Duke of* Brunſwick's *Deſigns diſcovered, by the* Lantgrave's *intercepting the Duke's Letters. A Convention is held at* Frankfort, *where at laſt a Conference is decreed, in order to an Accommodation; which* Henry *Duke of* Brunſwick *endeavours to prevent, and raiſeth Forces for that Purpoſe.* George *Duke of* Saxony, *a moſt violent Enemy to the Reformation, dies, and* Henry *his Brother ſucceeds him. The King of* England *publiſheth another Paper againſt the Council appointed at* Vicenza; *and makes ſeveral Laws touching Religion. An Inſurrection at* Ghent, *to ſuppreſs which the Emperor takes a Journey thither through* France. *The* Venetians *make a Peace with the Turk, who had ſecret Intelligence what their Senate had decreed touching this Matter.*

I Have already mentioned the Proroguëing of the Council till *November*, which was ſtill delay'd after that Term was expired: However, that the Pope might keep up the Expectation of the World, and ſeem to do ſomething, he had ſome time ſince pitched upon a ſelect Number out of the whole Body of his Clergy, whom he ſtrictly charged to make a diligent Enquiry into the Abuſes of the Church, and lay them before him impartially, without any manner of Flattery. He likewiſe diſcharged them from their Oath, that they might ſpeak their Minds freely; and ordered them to manage the Affair with great Secrecy. The Delegates were, *Jaſpar Contarino*, *Peter Theatino*, *James Sadolet*, *Reginald Poole*, Cardinals; *Frederick*, Archbiſhop of *Salerno*; *Hierome Aleander*, Archbiſhop of *Brindiſi*; *John Matthew*, Biſhop of *Verona*; *George Vener*, Abbot; and *Thomas*, Maſter of the Holy Palace. Theſe Perſons, after they had debated the Point among themſelves, ſet down their Reformation in Writing; and addreſſing themſelves to the Pope, they begin with a high Commendation of his Zeal for the promoting of Truth; which was not prevalent enough to gain the Ears of ſeveral of his Predeceſſors; indeed the Fault was chiefly in their Flatterers, who ſtretched their Prerogative, too far, and told their Holineſſes, That they were abſolute Lords of all things; and might do whatever they pleaſed. From this Fountain it was that ſo many Diſorders flowed in upon the Church,

1537. A Draught of the Reformation of the Church.

1537. which had brought her into that very ill Condition ſhe was in at preſent. Therefore his beginning his Cure in the firſt Principles and Original of the Diſtemper, was an Argument of great Prudence and Vertue in his Holineſs; who, according to St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, Choſe rather to be a Miniſter and Steward than a Lord. And ſince he was pleaſed to lay this Task upon them, they, in obedience to his Commands, had, according to the beſt of their Underſtandings, digeſted the Matter into ſeveral diſtinct Heads, relating to himſelf, the Biſhops, and the Church. Now, becauſe he bore a double Character, being not only Biſhop of the Univerſal Church, but a Monarch of divers Towns and Countries; they would only conſider the Eccleſiaſtical part of his Juriſdiction, for the State was well already, and governed very prudently and unexceptionably by him. And firſt; May it pleaſe your Holineſs, (ſay they) We are of *Ariſtotle*'s Opinion, That the Laws of a Country ought not to be changed upon a ſlight Occaſion; and apply his Maxim to the Canons of the Church, which ought to be ſtrictly kept up, and not diſpenſed with but when the Caſe is very weighty and important: For there can no greater Miſchief happen to the Commonwealth, than the weakening the Force and Authority of the Laws, which were eſteemed Sacred and almoſt Divine by our Forefathers. The next Expedient is, That the Pope of *Rome*, who is the Vicar of Chriſt, ſhould refuſe to receive Money for the granting any ſpiritual Privilege by virtue of the Power derived to him from Chriſt: For ſince all theſe Advantages were freely beſtowed upon him, our Saviour expects he ſhould communicate them in the ſame manner.

This Foundation of Regularity being once laid, there muſt be a Proviſion made, that your Holineſs may be always furniſhed with a conſiderable Number of Clergy-men, well qualified, to take care of the Church: Among theſe the Biſhops are the chief. But there is a great Miſcarriage in this Point; for all Perſons are admitted into this Order without any Diſtinction or Difficulty, when they have neither Learning nor Probity to recommend them; and oftentimes when they are Boys: Hence it is that ſo much Scandal ariſeth; that ſuch Diſreſpect and Contempt is ſhown to Religion. We therefore believe it moſt adviſable for your Holineſs, to appoint, in the firſt place, ſome Perſons at *Rome* to examine thoſe who offer themſelves to Holy Orders; and then enjoin the Biſhops the ſame Diligence in their reſpective Dioceſſes: And that you would take care that none ſhould be received without the Approbation of his Triers or Biſhop; and let thoſe young People who are deſigned for Church-men, have a Maſter ſet over them by particular Order, that ſo their Learning and Morals may be fit for their Employment. And here we cannot but take notice that there are a great many Abuſes in the beſtowing of Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, eſpecially of thoſe which were intended to make a Proviſion for the Salvation of the People: For in ſuch Caſes the Advantage of the Incumbent is chiefly conſidered, without taking any Care of the Flock: Therefore when any Office of this Nature, eſpecially the Epiſcopal, is conferred, there ought to be good Aſſurance given of the Vertue and Capacity of the Perſons choſen, that they may be able and willing to govern their Churches themſelves, as they are in Duty obliged: And for this Reaſon an *Italian* ought not to be preferred in *Spain* or great *Britain*; nor a *Spaniard* or *Engliſhman* in *Italy*. There is likewiſe a great deal of Deceit uſed in Reſignations; for the Incumbents, when they reſign to another, have a Cuſtom of reſerving a Rentcharge, and ſometimes the whole Revenue to themſelves. Now no Rentcharge ought to be reſerved, except for the Relief of the Poor, and ſuch other pious Uſes; for the Profits are annexed to the Benefice, and ſhould no more be ſeparated from it than the Body from the Soul. So that he who hath that, ought to enjoy the Revenues belonging to it; and make a diſcreet Uſe of it as far as his Occaſions ſhall require; ſpending the Overplus in thoſe Inſtances of Charity before mentioned. Notwithſtanding, when the Pope thinks it convenient, it ſhall ſtill remain in his Power to lay ſuch an Incumbrance as this upon the beneficed Perſon, and oblige him to pay a yearly Penſion to ſome poor Body, eſpecially an Eccleſiaſtick, that he may live more decently and commodiouſly by ſuch a Proviſion: It is therefore a manifeſt Corruption for the Incumbent to reſerve the whole Profits, or for a Penſion to be ſecured to thoſe who have no need. The Practice of Permutation is alſo very faulty, and managed altogether for Advantage; and notwithſtanding it is againſt Law to bequeath a Benefice by Will, yet Men of Parts have found out a cunning Contrivance to evade the Law: Their Way is to part with their Preferments to another; but with this

this Condition, That it ſhall be lawful for them to re-enter upon the full Profits and Juriſdiction: Hence it comes to paſs, that one Man bears the Name of a Biſhop, who has no Power or Authority in his Character; and another, who hath all the Epiſcopal Right and Juriſdiction in the Dioceſs, wanteth the Title of his Office: Now what is this leſs than a Bequeſt and making another Man ones Heir? It's the ſame ſort of Fault for Biſhops to deſire Coadjutors, eſpecially ſince they often make uſe of Perſons much worſe qualified for Government than themſelves. Pope *Clement* reinforced that ancient Canon which forbids the Children of Prieſts to poſſeſs their Fathers Benefices, but this Canon is likewiſe diſpenſed with; though ſuch Practices are very diſobliging and unexemplary: For it cannot be denied but that the greateſt part of the Peoples Diſguſt proceedeth from their obſerving the Church Revenues to be thus miſemployed, and converted to private Uſes. Hitherto indeed moſt Men have had ſome Hopes to ſee this Diſorder rectified, but now they diſpair of receiving any Satisfaction, which makes them both think and ſpeak very hardly of us. And here we may range that other Contrivance, to diſpoſe of the next Avoidance of a Benefice, which certainly makes Men apt to wiſh for, and expect the Death of another; beſides, thoſe who are poſſibly more deſerving are barred from Preferment this way; and an Occaſion is likewiſe given to many Contentions and Diſputes. But what ſhall we ſay of thoſe Benefices, which becauſe they could not be lodged in one Perſon, were commonly called incompetible? By which Word our Predeceſſors gave us to underſtand, That they were not to be conferred upon any one Man: But here alſo the ancient Diſcipline is extinct, and one Perſon is allowed to hold ſeveral Biſhopricks together; which, in our Opinion, ought by all Means to be rectified. To this Claſſis of Faults we may add thoſe which they call Unions; where ſeveral Benefices are ſouldered into Joints and Members, to make up a Body of Preferment: But what is this but mocking and ridiculing of the Canons? There is another Abuſe likewiſe which has gained upon us very much by Cuſtom, and that is the beſtowing Biſhopricks upon Cardinals; and ſometimes ſeveral upon one Perſon: Now this is ſuch an Irregularity, as we believe carries a great Weight in it, and ought more eſpecially to be reformed; for the Office of a Cardinal and Biſhop are diſtinct, and inconſiſtent with the ſame Perſon. Cardinals were made on purpoſe, that they might conſtantly attend your Holineſs, and aſſiſt you in the Government of the Univerſal Church: But the Duty of Biſhops is to feed the Flock which God hath committed to their Charge; which cannot be done without being reſident among them, no more than a Shepherd can take care of his Sheep at a Diſtance: Beſides this Practice does us great Miſchief in the Example; for with what Confidence, with what Face can we pretend to correct thoſe Vices in others, which are moſt apparent and notorious in our own Society? Neither let them imagine that their Quality gives them a greater Liberty than other Men: They ſhould rather conſider that Reſervedneſs and Moderation, is more particularly required of them, becauſe they ought to be exemplary in their Lives to others. For we are not to imitate the Phariſees, who made Laws without any Regard to keep them; but to follow our Saviour his Example, who was mighty both in Word and Deed. We are likewiſe to conſider that ſuch a Liberty as this hath an ill effect upon their Conſultations, for a Man is neither fit to give nor take good Advice, when his Mind is prepoſſeſſed with Ambition and Covetouſneſs. To this we may add that many of the Cardinals run after Princes Courts to get Biſhopricks, which makes them obnoxious and ſervile; ſo that they dare not ſpeak their Minds freely upon Occaſion. Now it were to be wiſhed this Cuſtom were broken, and that the Cardinals were provided ſome other way with a decent Support for themſelves and their Families: In which Appointment an Equality ought to be obſerved, and all their yearly Revenues brought to the ſame Value: Which Expedient is eaſily made practicable, if we would but diſengage our ſelves from Secular Intereſt, and conform to the Pattern our Saviour hath ſet us. And when theſe Corruptions are removed, and the Church furniſhed with Paſtors of ſufficient Ability; there muſt be particular Care taken that the Biſhops, and thoſe of a reſembling Function, may be obliged to live among their People; for they are as it were the Churches Husbands. For what more deplorable Sight can there be, than to ſee the Churches almoſt every where deſtitute, the Flocks abandoned by their own Shepherds, and left in the Hands of Mercenaries? Thoſe therefore who deſert their People ought to be ſeverely puniſhed: Neither ſhould they be proceeded

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1537. againſt only by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures and Proſcriptions; but be likewiſe deprived of their yearly Rents and Profits, unleſs they have procured a Diſpenſation from your Holineſs for ſome little time. For it is decreed by the ancient Canons, that no Biſhops ſhall be abſent from his Church and People above Three Weeks.

We may obſerve likewiſe that the greateſt part of the Cardinals live out of *Rome*, and perform nothing of that which is properly their Office. It's true we confeſs it proper enough, that ſome of them ſhould reſide in their reſpective Countries: For like the Roots and Branches of Trees, they carry both Support and Ornament to Religion along with them, and their being ſpread all over Chriſtendom, helps to keep People in order, and makes them more obſervant and dutiful to the Holy See: Yet it would be much better if your Holineſs would recall moſt of them to *Rome*; for this would give them an Opportunity of diſcharging their Office; and their Preſence would be both creditable and uſeful to the Court. A due Severity of Diſcipline is alſo very much wanting in the inflicting of Penalties and Cenſures: For thoſe who have tranſgreſſed, and deſerve to be puniſhed, find out a way to get themſelves exempted from the Juriſdiction of their Biſhop or other Ordinary; or if they cannot do this, they apply themſelves to the Penitentiary, and buy off their Puniſhment: Which is done moſt frequently by thoſe in Holy Orders, and is a very ſcandalous and offenſive Practice. And therefore we beſeech your Holineſs, by the Blood of Chriſt, who hath redeemed, waſhed, and ſanctified his Church, That there may be an effectual Courſe taken to prevent the granting ſuch licencious Favours as theſe. For if no State can continue in being without ſuppreſſing of Wickedneſs and Vice, how much ſtricter Proviſion ought we to make againſt all ſuch Diſorders in the Church? There are likewiſe a great many ill Examples among the Religious; and therefore we think it adviſable that thoſe Monks who are called *Conventuals*, ſhould have their Society diſſolv'd, not by any ſuddain Violence, but by degrees; refuſing to admit any Perſon into that Order for the future. By this Means they will decay by little and little, and others of more approved Converſations may be placed in their Rooms: And for preſent Remedy, all thoſe Youths who are not profeſſed and under Vow, ſhould be immediately removed from them. Moreover great Care ought to be taken in the Choice of Confeſſors: And here the Biſhops ought to be very circumſpect, eſpecially that no Eccleſiaſtical Affairs may be ſwayed by Money: For as we obſerved before, the Spiritual Power ought to be communicated *gratis*; which Duty relateth not only to your ſelf, but to all thoſe who are preferred to any Cures under your Holineſs. In Nunneries alſo, were Confeſſions and other Religious Offices are left to the Conduct of the Monks, a great deal of open and notorious Lewdneſs is committed, and a ſcandalous Example given for the Encouragement of Vice: The Monks therefore muſt be truſted with the Care of theſe Houſes no longer, but others placed in their ſtead, of leſs dangerous and ſuſpicious Converſation. Farther, in many Places, eſpecially in *Italy*, ſeveral ungodly Queſtions are freely bandied and diſputed, not only in Univerſities, but in Churches too; which Cuſtom is very much to be blamed. Therefore where there are publick Schools and Places of Education, the Biſhops ſhould be enjoined to give the Preachers warning, not to controvert any thing of this nature for the future, but to form the Minds of young People to a ſenſe of Piety and the Fear of God; and not to diſpute about Divinity before the People, but privately among themſelves. The ſame Care is to be taken of Printers and Booksellers; and Princes and other Magiſtrates muſt be cautioned not to ſuffer all ſorts of Books to be publiſhed. There is a Book commonly read in Schools, called *Eraſmus* his Colloquies, in which there are many things which may make a dangerous Impreſſion upon the Underſtandings of young and unwary People, and are apt to pervert a floating and unſetled Age, which wants a ſufficient Balaſt of Principles and Gravity to keep it ſteady. This Book therefore, and others of the ſame Tendency muſt be prohibited all Schools. The Liberty alſo which is allowed profeſſed Monks, to lay aſide their proper Habits, and appear in another, is, as we conceive, very unaccountable: For their Habit is a ſymbolical Repreſentation of their Religious Vow. Therefore if they refuſe to wear ſuch a Badge, let them not be permitted to perform the Offices of Clergymen, nor enjoy the Advantages of their Profeſſion. And to enlarge this Head of Abuſes farther; Thoſe *Religious*, who go ſtrowling about with the Relicks of St. *Anthony* and other Saints, ought, in our Opinion to be caſhier'd: For they draw the ignorant Vulgar into infinite Superſtitions and Miſtakes: And, in plain Terms, cheat them in to the Bargain,

Bargain. We obſerve likewiſe that thoſe who are in Holy Orders are frequently allowed to Marry: Now this ought to be granted to no body, except where the Reaſons for ſuch a Liberty are very weighty; namely, when a whole Family, and the Security of a Country depends upon the Iſſue of one particular Perſon. And here we are to inſiſt the more upon Rigour and Reſtraint, becauſe the *Lutherans* allow Marriage to all Perſons without Diſtinction. Neither ought thoſe to be permitted to marry (except the Motives to diſpenſe are very urgent) who are related, either by Conſanguinity or Affinity in the ſecond prohibited Degree; but where the Kindred is ſomewhat more remote there may be a greater Latitude given. Now all theſe Relaxations muſt be granted for nothing, except when the Marriage is firſt conſummated; for then it may be lawful to fine the Parties in a ſumm of Money, to be immediately ſpent upon good Uſes. 1537.

To proceed, That Sin which has its Name from *Simon Magus* is now grown ſo cuſtomary and reigning in the Church, that moſt People are not aſhamed of it; for they tranſgreſs without any manner of Modeſty, and then endeavour to purge away their Guilt by giving the Court Money; and yet hold their Livings notwithſtanding, which they have ſo wickedly procured for themſelves. Indeed we do not deny but that your Holineſs may remit the Penalty they have deſerved; yet, to prevent the Occaſion of Sinning, we think Severity neceſſary, and that the Puniſhment ought to be exacted; for what is more infamous, more pernicious in the Conſequence, than bartering at this rate for Church Preferments? Farther, Care muſt be taken, That Clergy-men may not give away any thing in Legacies, which is raiſed out of the Revenues of the Church, except upon great Occaſions; that thoſe who have no need may not be ſupplied (at the Diſadvantage of the Poor) with Materials for Extravagance and Luxury. Every one likewiſe hath the Liberty to have Divine Service in their private Houſes, and to chooſe what Prieſt they pleaſe to perform it: Now this ought not to be granted frequently, nor without particular Reaſons, for fear of making the Solemnities of Religion grow Contemptible, and more eſpecially the principal part of them, the Sacrament. Thoſe they call Indulgences, or Pardons of Sins, ought not to come about ſo often, but be diſtributed only once a year, and in great Towns. Vows ſhould not be altered inconſiderately, nor diſcharged in any other Performances, but thoſe which agree with the Deſign of ſuch a Religious Obligation. We obſerve likewiſe, That the laſt Will and Teſtament of thoſe Perſons who have happened to give a ſumm of Money for pious Uſes, is ſometimes unfulfilled, upon pretence of the Poverty of the Heirs or Legatees: But it's requiſite this Practice ſhould be narrowly enquired into, and not permitted but when this Poverty happens in ſuch a manner after the Death of the Teſtator, that in all probability, if he had been living, he would have altered his Will himſelf: For otherwiſe it's Wickedneſs to alter that which a Man is ſuppoſed to will, the laſt thing which he does in this World.

And now, having given an Account as far as our Memories would ſerve us, of what concerneth the Church in general, we ſhall add ſome few things more, which relate particularly to the Pope and Biſhop of *Rome*. And in regard this City and Church of *Rome* is the Parent and Miſtreſs of all Churches, She hath an extraordinary Obligation upon her to exceed all others in Religion and Decency of Living: But notwithſtanding, there are a great many ignorant and ſlovenly Prieſts belonging to the Cathedral of St. *Peter*, who are ſo meanly and ſcandalouſly habited, both in reſpect of their own Cloths, and the Veſtments of their Office, that it would be a very ill Sight for them to appear in that manner, if it were only in ordinary and private Houſes: And in this indecent Garb they perform Divine Service, to the great Diſſatisfaction of thoſe who are preſent. Therefore Order muſt be given to the Arch-Prieſt, or to the Penitentiary, That all ſuch offenſive Negligence may be removed out of the way, firſt in this Town, and afterwards in other places. But then what Complaint is ſharp enough againſt thoſe ſhameleſs Strumpets, who are ſuffered to appear in the ſame Dreſs and Figure with other Women of Vertue and Condition; who ride upon Mules through the moſt publick places of the Town at noon Day, and have part of the Retinue of Cardinals of the firſt Quality, and ſuch extraordinary Attendance to wait upon them. Truly we muſt needs ſay we never ſaw ſuch Marks of Diſſoluteneſs and Debauchery in any other Town but in that which ought to be, as it were, the Pattern and Original for all the World to draw after and imitate: And to make their Grandeur Uniform, theſe lewd Women are permitted to dwell in ſtately Houſes,

1537. Houſes, to the great Scandal of the place. There are likewiſe in this Town very great Feuds and Factions: Now 'tis your Holineſs's Concern to make up all theſe Breaches, and it would be very proper for you to put the Management of this Affair into the Hands of a certain number of Cardinals, who are likely to be moſt ſucceſsful; to the End that all Differences may be compoſed, and the Townſmen reconciled to one another. Laſtly, The Maintenance and Protection of the Poor and Widows, does in a more particular Manner belong to you.

Theſe, may it pleaſe your Holineſs, are the Diſorders which we conceive ought to be corrected: And though we were not ſufficiently qualified to perform the Task you have laid upon us; yet becauſe we have done our beſt, we are ſatisfied with the Diſcharge of our Conſciences, and your Government gives us great Hopes of an Effectual Reformation, and that we ſhall have the Satisfaction to ſee the Church regular in the Converſation of her Members, decent in her Adminiſtrations, and undiſturbed in her Communion; and your Holineſs's Memory immortaliz'd upon this Account. You have taken the Name of *Paul* upon you, and therefore we hope you will endeavour the Welfare of the Church, with the ſame generous Affection which he did. God choſe St. *Paul*, that he might make him a remarkable and extraordinary Inſtrument in publiſhing his Kingdom to the Gentiles. So alſo we hope you are choſen to recover the ancient Luſtre of Chriſtianity, which is ſomewhat Eclipſed at preſent; to heal the publick Diſtempers, to bring the Flock of Chriſt into one Fold, and to avert the Wrath of God; which hangs over us for our Sins.

1538. Thus this Reformation was drawn into a Scheme, but it was neither put in practice nor made publick. The Pope at laſt prorogued the Council again, from the firſt of *November* till the firſt of *May* following; and appoints *Vicenza* for the place, (which is a large City, and well ſerved with Proviſions, in the Territory of the *Venetians*) and diſpatched away three Cardinals, who were to open the Council, and receive thoſe who came thither.

The Pope prorogues the Council again.

The Pope, as was before obſerved, had a mind to carry the Buſineſs of the Reformation privately; but it was not long before it came to light: And as ſoon as an Account of it was brought into *Germany* *Luther* wrote againſt it in High Dutch, and *John Sturmius* in Latin, and addreſſed themſelves in their Anſwer to the Reformers. In *Luther*'s Book a Man needs only look upon the Cutt in the Frontiſpiece to underſtand his Argument: For the Pope is repreſented ſitting upon a high Throne, and ſeveral of the Cardinals placed about him, who, with Foxes Tails ty'd at the End of Poles, bruſh down all the Cobwebs both above and below.

Luther writes a Book againſt the Reformation of the Papiſts.

Nicholas, Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *Capua*; one who was violent againſt all Reformation, was in the Conſiſtory when this Matter was farther debated: This Man, who was certainly believed to be ſent thither on purpoſe by the Pope, beſtirred him mightily that nothing might be reform'd; and among other Arguments urged, That if his Advice was not taken, the *Lutherans* would brag, that they had, as it were, forced them to put things into better Order. This Cardinal was ſo prevalent, that the Pope and the Fathers were perſwaded at laſt not to make any Alterations: And yet this very Man, who hindred the Reformation, is ſaid to have ſent a Copy of it privately into *Germany*, to a Friend of his; which moſt People thought he did to expoſe the Pope and his Reformers. Others are of Opinion the Pope was not unwilling to let this Book come out, becauſe he might imagine it might ſhew him inclinable to correct the Abuſes in the Church, and this Men were to underſtand by the bye; as if he would have given them a larger Draught of Amendments if he had thought any thing of this nature would have been publiſhed.

Now concerning *Eraſmus* his Colloquies, which the Cardinals found fault with, the caſe ſtands thus: This Author amongſt many other Works, with which he wonderfully promoted the Advancement of Learning, wrote a little Book by way of Dialogue, for the uſe of young People; and when he underſtood it was very kindly received he afterwards enlarged it. And being a perſon of incomparable Sence and Elocution, he diverts his Reader with variety of Arguments drawn from Converſation, and ſuch familiar Subjects as all people are acquainted with: Where, with admirable Addreſs, and a moſt entertaining Stile, he intermixes moral and pious Diſcourſes; and ſometimes upon Occaſion, reflects upon the old overgrown Errors and Corruptions of the Church; which was the reaſon the Cardinals complained againſt him.

In

In *February* the French King makes *Anne Montmorency*, who was Lord Steward of his Houſehold, Maſter of the Horſe; they call it *Conſtalle* of *France*, which is the higheſt Honour the Subject is capable of. This Office had been kept void about Fifteen Years, ever ſince *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* enjoyed it: For the King was ſo extreamly offended with his Revolt, that he would not truſt any other Perſon with it till now. Beſides this Station hath been unfortunate to ſeveral others before, who by their irregular Management of ſo great a Power, have either provoked the King or the Nobility. 1538. *Montmorency* made Conſtable of *France*.

In the mean time, about the latter end of *May*, the Proteſtants meet at *Brunſwick*, where they treat of Matters relating to the League, and receive *Chriſtian*, King of *Denmark*, into it. He was Son to *Frederick*, and was converted to the Reformed Religion; and committed the Modelling and Government of his Churches to *John* of *Pomeren*, whom he had ſent for from *Wittenberg*, and was crowned by him. *John* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, Brother to *Joachim* the Elector, deſired the Duke of *Saxony* to move the Convention, that he might be admitted into the League: The Duke therefore had a Commiſſion to treat with him after he came home, upon certain Conditions, and to receive him in the Name of the whole Party. The ſame thing was deſired by *Albert*, Duke of *Pruſſia*, who was Six Years ſince out-lawed by the Imperial Chamber, which was the principal Reaſon why the Proteſtants did not admit him into their Society; however they all promiſed to be kind to him. When the Elector of *Saxony*, the Lantgrave, and their Friends, were upon their Journey to this Convention, *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* denied to give them a ſafe Conduct through his Territories: For now he was contriving a War againſt them, as will appear afterwards. In the Retinue of the Elector of *Saxony*, there was one *Maurice*, a young Gentleman of Seventeen Years of Age, Nephew to *George* Duke of *Saxony*, by *Henry* his Brother. This *Henry* was a Proteſtant, therefore the Elector took his Son *Maurice*, who was his Kinſman into his own Tuition. The King of *Denmark* alſo came himſelf to *Brunſwick*. The Proteſtants meet at *Brunſwick*.

In the Ninth Book I mentioned the Perſecution of the *Lutherans* in *France*, the Particulars of which will be tedious to relate; but this Year upon the Fifteenth Day of *April*, which was Nine Days before *Eaſter*, a young Gentleman of *Tholouſe*, about Twenty Years of Age, and a ſtudious Perſon, was burnt at *Paris* for eating Fleſh: It's true he was not burn'd perfectly alive, but hanged over a Fire; where the Gallows was ſo contrived, that he muſt in ſome meaſure feel the Flames which were kindled under him; which way of Execution was granted him as a cuſtomary Favour of that place, becauſe, before he came out of Priſon, he confeſſed he had done a wicked and irreligious Action; into which Confeſſion he was overawed by Judge *Morin*, who took ſome Pains with him to fright him: But this was all he got by his Submiſſion; for Repentance goes for no more there, than only to procure a Man ſome abatements of Torture in dying: But thoſe who continue firm, are executed with the utmoſt Severity, as hath been ſhown already. There was likewiſe Three *Low-country* Men in the ſame Danger, and upon the ſame Occaſion; but having notice of it given them by a Gentleman of the Parliament, a Man of great Sence and Learning, they ſecured themſelves by Flight. A young Gentleman of *Tholouſe* is burnt at *Paris*.

In *May* the Pope takes a Journey to *Nice de Provence*, a Port Town belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, whether the Emperor and the *French* King came alſo, chiefly at his Requeſt. The Emperor ſailed with his Fleet from *Spain*; but the King took his Progreſs up the Continent, having a Body of *Germans* among the reſt of his Attendance, commanded by *William* of *Furſtenburg*. After a long Debate, though they could not agree in the main, yet in *June* they concluded a Truce for Ten Years. And here *Margaret*, the Emperor's natural Daughter, was contracted to *Octavius*, the Pope's Grandchild, by his Son. This Lady was courted before by *Coſmo*, Duke of *Florence*, after the Death of *Alexander di Medici*. The Kings had not their Interview at this place, though the Pope deſired it very much: But ſome few days after he went away they met at *Aigues Mortes*, a Town in *Languedoc*, ſituate at the Mouth of the *Rhone*; the Ancients called it *Marius* his Ditch: Here the Emperor landed with his Fleet upon the Seventeenth Day of *July*, in his Return to *Spain*: But before he reached the Port, the *French* King ſent *Velius*, his Admiral, with ſeveral Galleys, to attend his Imperial Majeſty; who, when he had ſailed almoſt up to *Aigues*, the Conſtable of *France* came, and entreated him, That he would let his Fleet come An Interview of the Emperor and the *French* King at *Aigues Mortes*.

to

1538. to an Anchor in the Haven, for the King would be there within Two Hours, and wait upon him in his Galley. Accordingly the Emperor made the Port as ſoon as thoſe Ships came up which had loſt the Body of the Fleet, by reaſon of a Miſt which fell the Day before. Not long after the King came, and went in a Shallop to the Fleet, having in his Train *Anthony*, Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Cardinal his Brother. The Emperor came as far as the Ladder of the Galley to meet him, and there handed him in: Where it's not to be expreſſed what Embracings and Ceremony paſſed between them. After they were ſeated in the Stern, thoſe Noblemen who attended the Emperor, made very low and reſpectful Reverences to the *French* King: There the Emperor ordered *Granvell* to bring *Andrew Doria*, Prince of *Melfi*, his Admiral, into their Preſence, to pay his Reſpects to the *French* King, from whom he had revolted Ten Years ſince, as was obſerved in the Sixth Book: When he came the King ſaluted him by his Title, and told him, ſince he was a Friend and Servant of the Emperor's, and that it was his Pleaſure he ſhould ſee him, he would gratify his Majeſty in that point, whom he eſteemed as a Brother. After they had converſed about an Hour, in a familiar and obliging way, the King took his Leave. The next day, early in the Morning, the Emperor orders publick Notice to be given to all the Galleys, That no Man ſhould go aſhore; but himſelf, attended with ſeveral Noblemen, maketh up to Land, in order to dine with the King: As ſoon as he came to the Key, the King and Queen, and their two Sons receive him with all the Civility imaginable, and conduct him to their Palace: When it was Evening the Emperor ſent word to *Andrew Doria*, who ſtay'd on Board, That the King, and Queen his Siſter, had prevailed with him to lodge in Town that Night; and that he would return to his Galley the next Day, after Dinner: Which Notice he gave him, that he might not ſuſpect any foul Play: And accordingly the next Day the Emperor put to Sea again, being accompanied thither by the King and the whole Court: And after they had drank together for ſome time in the Galley, they took their Leaves, with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Friendſhip. When this Entertainment was known in *Paris*, and in other places of *France*, they went in Proceſſion to the Churches of the Saints, according to the uſual Cuſtom, and made publick Bonefires. The Pope had endeavoured to perſwade them at *Nice de Provence*, That now, ſince a Truce was concluded, they would go in Perſon to the Council at *Vicenza*, and ſend thoſe Prelates they had in their Train thither, and ſummon in thoſe who were abſent: But when they excuſed themſelves, and told him they could do neither; and his Cardinal Legates, whom he had ſent to *Vicenza* had acquainted him that there was no Company come thither, he prorogueth the Council again, till *Eaſter* following, and gives publick Notice of it by his Bulls upon the Nineteenth of *June*, when he was at *Genua*, in order to his Return to *Rome*. At their firſt Meeting the *French* King kiſſed the Pope's right Foot as he ſate in his Chair: Which Reſpect was likewiſe paid by moſt of the reſt of his Nobles; yet there were ſome in the King's Train who refuſed to ſubmit to this Ceremony, though the Conſtable put them in mind of it. Theſe Refuſers were *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Wirtenberg*, *William* Count *Furſtenburg*, *Germans*; *Marſhall la Marche*, a *French* Man; and *George Gluck*, Ambaſſador of the King of *Denmark*.

The Pope prorogues the Council.

Charles Count *Egmond* dies.

Juſt about this time *Charles* Count *Egmond*, Duke of *Guelderland* died. How he was outed of almoſt all his Dominions, I gave an Account in the laſt Book: And being reduced to this Extremity, when he fell ſick, he treated with the Duke of *Cleves*, his near Relation, and with the conſent of his Nobility and People bequeathed the Dutchy of *Guelderland* to him; with the Acceptance of which the Emperor was very much offended, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place.

Erard Biſhop of *Leige* his Death.

A little before this time *Erard* Count *Mark*, Cardinal and Biſhop of *Leige*, departed this Life; than whom, none was more ſevere againſt the Reformers. He ordered a very rich Tomb to be made for him a great many years before, in the Cathedral at *Leige*, and had thoſe funeral Dirges and Ceremonies which the Papiſts uſe for the Dead, performed anniverſarily for him; imagining that thoſe Services of the Prieſts, which they account Meritorious, and believe Eternal Life is due to them, would do him moſt Good when he was alive. But thoſe who pretended to know the Man more intimately, ſaid he did all this out of a Spirit of Vanity, becauſe his ambitious Humour was pleaſed with the Solemnity of the Office.

About

About this time there was an *Engliſh* Bible printed at *Paris*, which the King had ordered to be ſent to all the Churches in *England*: But when it was known it was prohibited, and the Printer was in ſome Danger about it. In *France* the Holy Scriptures are not commonly to be met with in the Language of the Country: It's enough there to make a man ſuſpected, if he happens to read the New Teſtament, or any thing of that Nature in *French*: For none but Divines, and ſuch ſort of People, are allowed ſo much as to meddle with, or enquire into the Scriptures: As for the generality of the Laity, they are altogether Ignorant: The Citizens Wives, when they go to Maſs, carry Latin Prayers to Church with them, and patter them over at their rate, but underſtand nothing of the matter; being verily perſwaded that this Way is much more acceptable to God than if they ſhould pray in *French*. This Notion thoſe Prieſts have inſinuated into them, who make their Advantage of the Ignorance of the People. 1538.

In the beginning of *Auguſt* the Pope returned to *Rome*, where the Citizens received him in the moſt triumphant and reſpectful Manner imaginable; for their Streets were hung and made fine every where, and there was plenty of panegyrical Papers and Inſcriptions to be ſeen, in which they magnified him at a very extraordinary rate, for ſetling Peace in the World again, and reconciling the Two great Monarchs.

This Year there was a College or School for young People opened at *Straſburg*; *James Sturmius*, a Senator of conſiderable Note, being the principal Contriver and Promoter of this Deſign; which, by the Care of thoſe who were appointed to govern and teach, gained ſuch a Reputation in a ſhort time, that not only the moſt remote *Germans*, but Foreigners alſo came thither in great Numbers. But the Management of the Students, the throwing them, as it were, into diſtinct Claſſes, and the whole Method of Teaching, was firſt reported to the Senate by *John Sturmius*, and afterwards publiſhed more at large by him in Print. And when a great many People were forced to leave *France*, and the *Netherlands*, upon the account of Religion, the Senate of *Strasburg* aſſigned a Church to thoſe who came thither, and gave them Leave to incorporate themſelves in a diſtinct Body: *John Calvin* of *Noyon* was Paſtor of this Church for ſome Years, and was ſucceeded by *Peter Brulius*, of whoſe Death I ſhall ſpeak afterwards.

Thomas of Canterbury.

Now to go for *England* a little while: *Thomas* of *Canterbury* had a mighty Veneration paid him by that Nation, which had continued for ſome Ages: His Body was laid in a magnificent Tomb, ineſtimably enriched with Gold and Jewels; but King *Henry* fetched him out this Year, and burned his Bones: This *Thomas*, Sirnamed *Beckett*, was formerly Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who, when by defending the Privileges of the Clergy with too much Vehemence, had very much diſpleaſed King *Henry* II. and was commanded to depart the Kingdom; he addreſſed himſelf to Pope *Alexander* III. who was then in *France*, upon the account of the Difference there was between him and *Frederick Barbaroſſa* the Emperor. At laſt, by the Interceſſion of this Pope, and the *French* King, *Lewis* VII. the King of *England* was reconciled to him, and permitted him to return home, after he had been baniſhed Seven Years. But upon his growing troubleſom to ſome of the Biſhops, and interdicting them for being of the King's Side in the Diſpute; the King was provoked again, and ſaid with ſome Paſſion, That he looked upon himſelf as a miſerable Perſon, otherwiſe it would not have been in the Power of one ſingle Prieſt to give him ſuch perpetual Diſturbance; and ſeemed to bewail the Unfortunateneſs of his Condition, that he had never a Subject that would rid him of this Plague. Theſe Words made a ſingular Impreſſion upon ſome of his Courtiers, who imagining it would not be unacceptable to the King, ſet forward to *Canterbury*, where they murthered *Thomas*, and plundered his Houſes. But the King, when he heard of it, pretended to be extraordinary ſorry, and diſpatched away Embaſſadors to *Rome*, to purge himſelf, who at laſt prevailed with the Pope to ſend ſome Perſons over into *England*, to enquire into the Murther: And when the Pope had ſent over Two Cardinals, with Authority to act in this Affair, and no Perſon upon Examination could be proved Guilty, the King clears himſelf by Oath; but becauſe of his former Diſpleaſure againſt the Archbiſhop, and ſome extraordinary Expreſſions let fall by him, it was thought he was to be a little ſuſpected and blamed, therefore his Peace was at laſt made upon theſe

1538. Terms, *viz.* That he ſhould ſhow the Clergy all manner of Favour for the future; that within Three Years he ſhould go in Perſon againſt the *Saracens*, and march his Army into *Syria*. This Murther was committed in the Year 1171. Not long after, *Thomas* (as they ſay) begun to work Miracles, and grew famous upon it; which when the Pope underſtood by his Legates, he had him Canonized.

The Elector of *Brandenburg* ſends an Ambaſſador to the Elector of *Saxony*.

At the time of the Interview at *Nice de Provence*, *Joachim* Elector of *Brandenburg*, and Son of *Joachim*, ſends *Euſtachius Sclebius* his Ambaſſador, to the Elector of *Saxony* in the beginning of *June*, with theſe Inſtructions: That *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, and *John Vaivod* King of *Hungary*, had acquainted him that the Turk was making very formidable Preparations to take in *Buda* and fortify it, that he may make another Deſcent upon *Germany* with the better Advantage; That the Sultan had ſignified thus much to the *Vaivod*. Now, in regard his Father was enjoined in the Diet of the Empire, to acquaint the reſt of the States with whatever he could learn concerning the Motions of the Turks, therefore he thought himſelf obliged in Duty to the Commonwealth, to give this Notice, and was very much troubled at the News, becauſe he was afraid it would prove a general Calamity to *Germany*. For this and other Reaſons he lately took a Journy into *Luſace*, to King *Ferdinand*, whom he found preacquainted with this Invaſion; and while he was there, his Majeſty received freſh Accounts of it, both by Letters and Expreſſes. Therefore if theſe Encroachments were not checked, they might be aſſured, That they who were in the Neighbourhood of the War, ſhould ſhortly ſee the barbarous Enemy in their own Country: For all the way from *Buda* to his Electoral Highneſs his Territories, and his own, there was neither Caſtle nor fortified Town, which was able to hold out againſt ſo great an Army; no River, no mountainous Marches, no Defiles or ſtraight Paſſages, to ſtop his Progreſs, excepting *Breſlaw* and *Lignite*: And what an open and fruitful Country *Moravia* and *Sileſia* is, his Highneſs knows too well to need any Information concerning the Quality and Situation of them. And notwithſtanding the Proſpect of the common Danger had made him promiſe his Aſſiſtance to King *Ferdinand* upon his Requeſt, yet it was plain ſuch a Supply as that would ſignify nothing: For the Oppoſition and Conſequences they have reaſon to expect, are ſo conſiderable, that they require no leſs than the united Forces and Contributions of the *whole Empire*. Now becauſe this cannot be had but in a publick Diet, and by bringing all the *Germans* to a good Underſtanding between themſelves; and the Danger is ſo far advanced upon us, that it will not bear any long Delay to Debate its Prevention; therefore he had importuned the King in his laſt Conference with him, that he would uſe his utmoſt Endeavours, that the Peace of the Empire might be eſtabliſhed within it ſelf upon a firm and legal Foundation. To this Requeſt King *Ferdinand*, who tenders the Good of the Commonwealth, and has an Eſteem for his Electoral Highneſs, gave an obliging Anſwer, and promiſed him his Intereſt; and that he would recommend the Propoſal to the Emperor, as ſoon as he underſtood what his Highneſs and the reſt of the Confederates deſired: And ſince the Caſe ſtands thus he entreats him to conſider it, and to acquaint him freely with thoſe Terms which he thinks it proper to *inſiſt upon* in the Treaty of Peace: And then he will undertake that *Ferdinand* ſhall intercede with the Emperor in his own Name; and does not queſtion but that thoſe Proceedings will be of great Advantage to the Commonwealth: Moreover at this time it was much eaſier to repel the Turkiſh Invaſion than formerly, becauſe the Difference between the *Vaivod* and *Ferdinand* was adjuſted; this the King had acquainted him with as a Secret, not being willing ſuch a Report ſhould be made publick, leaſt the Sultan ſhould know it. Hitherto a great part of *Hungary* hath been embroiled by the Chriſtians engaging in a civil War with each other; but now, ſeeing they ſtand upon good Terms, and all Diſcontents are removed, a very fair Opportunity for Action preſents it ſelf, which makes him the more importunate in his Entreaties with his Highneſs, whom he once again deſireth that he would join in the common Cauſe of the Empire. This *Joachim* was married to *Sigiſmund*, the King of *Poland* his Daughter, who was *John Vaivod* his Niece, by his Siſter. This Alliance was the occaſion of that intimate Friendſhip and Familiarity between them. The Elector alſo was of the *Lutheran* Religion, and publiſhed a Book concerning it; but he refuſed to come into the League, and was in other Reſpects entirely devoted to the Empe-

Emperor and *Ferdinand*. In his Reformation he retained ſome thing more than ordinary of the Ceremonies, and was of a reconciling Temper. The Elector of *Saxony* immediately gives the Lantgrave an account of this whole Matter in a Letter; and afterwards upon the Twelfth of *June*, they both of them write an Anſwer to the *Brandenburger*, to this effect; Although the preſent Affair is of ſuch importance that it ought to be communicated to their Confederates, yet they are very ſenſible of the Inconvenience of Delays, eſpecially ſeeing the *Turk* is as Enterprizing as ever; and that they have ſpent too much time already in debating the Meaſures for the Settlement of *Germany*, and oppoſing the Infidels with the whole ſtrength of the Empire. For as to their preparation for a Defence againſt ſo Savage an Enemy, which his Electoral Highneſs preſſed by his Ambaſſador, he was certainly in the right, the Intereſt of the State requiring no leſs: But their Circumſtances were ſuch, that a Peace among themſelves was abſolutely neceſſary for them; a Peace that was fair and honourable, likely to hold, and not drawn up in ambiguous Terms: For His Highneſs could not but ſee how unſafe and imprudent it muſt be for them to exhauſt themſelves upon the Turkiſh War, when their Neighbours had not laid down their Quarrels and Animoſities againſt them. As for them, they were very deſirous of Peace, but if they could not obtain it, and therefore did not detach any of their Forces for Foreign Service, while things looked ſo ſuſpiciouſly at Home, and the Empire ſhould receive any prejudice by ſuch a Conduct, the Fault could not in any meaſure be charged upon them, but wholly upon thoſe who refuſed to hearken to an Accommodation. Beſides, in their Opinion, its the Intereſt of King *Ferdinand* and thoſe other Princes who lie neareſt the *Turks*, to have theſe Propoſals reported to all the States. Neither is it for the Advantage of the Commonwealth that Diets ſhould be diſcontinued thus long; for though ſometimes a ſupply muſt be ſo ſuddenly raiſed, that a publick Decree cannot intervene, ſo that it's neceſſary to ſollicite for Contributions and Aid, in a private way; yet the *Turk* is ſo powerful a Prince, that he is able to carry on the War for many Years, and it's probable, will not deſiſt till he hath either gained his Point, or received ſome ſignal Defeat; therefore they conceive a Diet of the Empire is clearly neceſſary, both to ſettle the Peace of *Germany*, and make a ſtanding Proviſion for the Turkiſh War; which laſt Point is of ſuch Conſequence, that though all things were quiet in *Germany*, yet there ought to be a general Convention held. Neither is it any material Obſtruction, ſuppoſing King *Ferdinand*'s Affairs will not permit him to repreſent the Emperor at the Diet, provided proper Ambaſſadors are ſent thither with ſufficient power to Treat. Now if he can ſecure this Point, the Emperor and all *Germany* will be very much advantaged by it. Nevertheleſs, that they may not be behind hand in their Service to the Commonwealth, nor any ways obſtruct his Highneſs's Intereſt, they would take care to have their uſual proportion of ſupplies in a readineſs for this Occaſion. Neither did they doubt but that their Confederates would do the ſame, provided King *Ferdinand* would procure them a firm and unqueſtionable Peace with the Emperor, Signed by the reſt of the Princes of the Empire of the Roman Catholick Religion. If this was once done, and the proceſs of the Imperial Chamber ſtopped, their Contributions would be ready in a ſhort time. And if the Emperor hath not leiſure enough at preſent to perſwade all thoſe Princes to acquieſce in this propoſal, then let him bring theſe following at leaſt over to his own Opinion, *viz.* *William* and *Lewis* Dukes of *Bavaria*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, the Biſhops of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, *Triers*, *Saltzburg*, *Magdeburg*, *Bremen*, *Bamberg*, *Wurtzburg*, *Munſter*, *Auſburg* and *Aichſtet*. And if it ſhould happen that theſe could not be prevailed on neither, that then the Emperor and *Ferdinand* ſhould ratifie the Peace in their own Names, and conclude all their Subjects, promiſing likewiſe to uſe their endeavours to gain the aſſent of the other Princes; and if they refuſe to engage, yet their Majeſties ſhall be obliged to ſtand to their Articles, and Aſſemble a Diet at the firſt Opportunity, for the adjuſting of this and other Affairs. If this Satisfaction be granted, they hope their Allies will contribute their proportion to the War, as themſelves have reſolved to do, provided their Confederates are of the ſame Opinion; and that both thoſe who came into the League after the Treaty at *Nuremberg*, and thoſe who deſire to be admitted for the time to come, may be comprehended in the Pacification; and laſtly, that this Peace may not be limited to the Princes of the Empire, but extend alſo to the King of *Denmark*. And to ſhew how inclinable they were to Peace, in regard a Diet could not meet ſuddenly, they would appoint a Convention of

1537.

The Anſwer of the Elector of *Saxony* and the Lantgrave to the Elector of *Brandenburg*.

1538. their Confederates in the mean time, and give them notice to repair to *Eyſenach* upon the Twenty-fourth of *July*, with full power to Treat. Therefore his Highneſs will do very well, to endeavour that the Emperor's, King *Ferdinand*'s, and the Palſgrave's Ambaſſadors may be ſent thither together with his own. When they had ſent this Anſwer, they writ to their Confederates and deſire them to be upon the place at *Eyſenach*, a Town in *Thuringia*, at the time before mentioned. The Elector of *Brandenburg* had acquainted them by his Ambaſſador, that if they were willing to come upon a Treaty, he would take care that the Palsgrave, who was heartily concerned for the Publick, ſhould do them the beſt Service he could. When they wrote to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, they ſent him likewiſe the whole Debate which paſſed between *Eldo* and the Proteſtants at *Smalcald*, that he might have a perfect underſtanding of the matter. The *Brandenburger* as ſoon as he had received this Anſwer, intreats *Ferdinand* that he would expedite this Affair with the Emperor before he returned out of *Italy* into *Spain*. Afterwards he deſires the Palſgrave to join with him in the promoting this Accommodation: The Palſgrave anſwered, that he was not unwilling to aſſiſt in this Buſineſs, though none of the Proteſtants had deſired him to appear in it. But now thoſe perſons whom he uſed to conſult upon ſuch Occaſions were not at hand; however he puts his Highneſs in mind to ſend ſome of his Council thither by all means, and if there was any need of his being there, he promiſed not to be wanting to the Occaſion. Now as ſoon as they were convened, the Elector of *Brandenburg* ordered his Agents (for neither he nor the Palſgrave were preſent) to acquaint the Elector of *Saxony* firſt, then the Lantgrave, and afterwards all the reſt, with what he had heard and done: He alſo deſired that they would intreat the Palſgrave to take the Trouble of this Affair upon him, and aſſign a Day for another Meeting; and in the mean time the Emperor might be prevailed upon to aſſent to the expedient of a Treaty, and to order it to begin. Moreover he prayed them that they would ſhew themſelves fair and tractable, and yield as much as poſſibly they could with a ſafe Conſcience. As for *Ferdinand* he would omit nothing which might promote the Accommodation, neither did he queſtion, but that the Emperor's Inclinations alſo tended very much the ſame way. To this the Proteſtants at *Eyſenach* gave their Anſwer the Fifth of *Auguſt*, in which they acquaint him, That they were very deſirous to conferr about the eſtabliſhing a Peace, upon condition they had an Order from the Emperor to authorize and ſupport their Debate: They tell him likewiſe, That though they do not conceive it neceſſary to ſollicite the Palſgrave in this Caſe, who is already inclinable to aſſiſt them, and becauſe if the Emperor commands him to interpoſe, they are aſſured he will not deny his Majeſty, yet they are reſolved to write to him, and when they have received the Emperor's Order, the Day of the Convention for the managing of the Treaty ſhall be ſet, by the direction of the Palſgrave and his Electoral Highneſs. In this Convention *Elizabeth* the Lantgrave's Siſter, being a Widow, was received into the League, *Hall* and *Hailbrun* likewiſe deſired to be admitted; the diſpatching of which Affair was referred to the Agents of *Auſburg* and *Ulme*. Here every ones Complaints were heard and examined, particularly the Cauſe of the Burghers of *Goſlar*, who were very hardly uſed by *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*; therefore it was Decreed, That the Elector of *Brandenburg* ſhould be ſollicited, that *Ferdinand*, amongſt his other Requeſts to the Emperor, might procure his Order to oblige the Duke of *Brunſwick* to appear in Court and ſtand a Trial; for unleſs this was done, the Caſe of the *Goſlarians* would be ſo very ill, and their uſage was ſo unreaſonable, that they could not deſert them in ſuch an Extremity. At this place they received an account of the Truce between the Emperor and the *French* King, and upon the Ninth of *Auguſt* the Aſſembly broke up.

A Convention at *Eyſenach*.

The Riſe of the *Antinomians*.

This Year the Sect of the *Antinomians* began. Their Opinion is, That Repentance ought not to be urged from the conſideration of the breach of the Decalogue, and diſpute againſt thoſe who maintained that Men are not to have the Goſpel preached to them till their Minds are alarmed and worked into Compunction by the Doctrine of the Law. But they aſſert on the contrary, That let a Man's Life be never ſo Scandalous and Debauched, yet if he does but believe the promiſes of the Goſpel he ſhall be juſtified. *Johannes Iſlebius Agricola* was their Leading-Man; but this Hereſie was ſoon confuted at large by *Luther*, where he ſheweth, That the Law was not given that we might be juſtified by it, but to diſcover the nature and malignity of Sin, and to terrifie the Conſcience; and therefore

fore it is to be preſſed in the firſt place; afterwards the Goſpel is to be explained, which repreſents the Son of God to us as a Mediator, and Propitiation for the whole World. At laſt *Tiſebius* was better informed, and came over to *Luther*'s Opinion; having firſt received ſome private Inſtruction by him, and compared one place of Scripture with another: And after he had recovered himſelf, he made a publick Confeſſion of his Error in Print. 1538.

In the laſt Book I mentioned the Emperor's ſending *Eldo* his Embaſſador into *Germany*: This Gentleman not being pleaſed with the Anſwer he received at *Smalcald*, applied himſelf to moſt of the Princes; where, after he had reflected upon the Proteſtants (as if they would not be governed by any Rules of Juſtice or Law, and had refuſed a Peace which he offered them upon the moſt reaſonable Terms) he began to ſollicite them to enter into a League, which, he told them, was the Propoſal of the Emperor and *Ferdinand*; neither did he give over tampering till he had effected his Deſign with ſome of them: Thoſe who engaged were the Archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Saltzburg*, *William* and *Lewis* Dukes of *Bavaria*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, *Ericus* and *Henry* Dukes of *Brunſwick*. For the ſetling of this Affair, there was a Convention at *Nuremberg*, where the League was concluded, with this Condition in the Head of it, That if any Perſon was moleſted for profeſſing the *Roman*, or as they called it, the *Old Religion*, there ſhould be Supplies ready to aſſiſt him: Therefore they called it a *Holy League*, as if it had been made only for the Glory of God, and the Protection of the Church: They decreed likewiſe, it ſhould continue Eleven Years. The Papiſts *Holy League.*

The *French* King in his Return from *Nice de Provence*, had a Conference with *Mary* the Emperor's Siſter, at *Compiegne*, a Town in *Le Soiſſonois*. Some thought this Lady contrived her ſelf in his Way on purpoſe, that ſhe might take an Opportunity, now the Truce and friendly Interview at *Aigues Mortes* was juſt over, to alienate the King from *William* Duke of *Cleves*, who was poſſeſſed of *Guelderland*; and that the Colour of ſo great a Friendſhip gained by the Emperor, might make the Duke very fearful and concerned about his own Security. 1539. An Interview between the *French* King and *Mary* Regent of *Flanders.*

I have often mentioned the Proceedings of the Chamber of *Spire*. Now theſe Gentlemen were conſtant to their Humor, and would not make the leſt Abatement of the Rigour or Extent of their Court, of which they gave a late Inſtance, in *Proſcribing* (or Outlawing) *Minden*, for a Suit which the Clergy of that Town had commenced againſt the Burghers; which Sentence was publickly proclaimed abroad in open Air, according to the uſual Solemnity of that place. When this was known, the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Lantgrave, publiſhed a Remonſtrance in the Name of themſelves, and their Confederates, dated *November* the Fifteenth: In which they ſet forth, in order, what Regulations the Chamber had been under for ſome Years paſt (as I have already ſhown in ſeveral places.) But ſince they will not endure to be quiet, but go on at their old rate of Obſtinacy, notwithſtanding their Juriſdiction hath been unexceptionably demurred to, and have Proſcribed the Confederates of *Minden* in this manner; therefore they deſire all Princes and States to look upon their Sentence as unjuſt, and not ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported into any Act of Violence: For if things were otherwiſe carried, and there ſhould happen to be any Executions of the Sentence, they could not put up ſuch Injuries done to their Allies. *Minden* is proſcribed by the Chamber.

In the mean time the Emperor, at the Sollicitation of King *Ferdinand*, writes into *Germany*, to give them freſh Aſſurances of his Affection to the Empire, and how willing he was to take up the preſent Differences about Religion: And acquaints them that the *French* King had the ſame Inclinations; for he had lately treated with him concerning the common Intereſts of Chriſtendom: And receiving Advice ſome few Days ſince, That the Proteſtants are peaceably inclined, and very deſirous of a Treaty, provided they have his Order and Conſent to begin it: He therefore, who values nothing more than the publick Tranquillity, cannot but approve this Method; and accordingly hath conſtituted the Archbiſhop of *Lunden*, and *Matthias Eldo*, or either of them, his Embaſſadors, and given them full Power, acting in Conjunction with the Agents of his Brother, King *Ferdinand*, and the other Princes of the Mediation, to debate and conclude the whole Matter, and will oblige himſelf to ratify their Agreement. This Letter was dated at *Toledo*, *November* the Twenty fifth, and when it was delivered in *Germany*, the Twelfth of *February* was appointed for a general Convention at *Frankfort*.

1539. I have already mentioned the League concluded at *Nuremberg*, in which, *Lewis* Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, were the leading Men; which latter was very active to diſturb the Peace of the Empire, and made it his Buſineſs to get the War begun upon the Proteſtants. Now he having received a Letter lately from the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, returned him a ſhort Anſwer upon St. *Stephen*'s Day, entruſting *Stephen Faber* his Secretary with the reſt, whom he ſent to him with Inſtructions: But upon the Thirtieth of *December* the Lantgrave, as he was going a Hunting near *Caſſell*, lights upon him having none but a Young Man of *Mentz* with him, who carried his Letters. The Lantgrave, according to the Cuſtom of *Germany*, asketh the Young Man, who met him firſt, on purpoſe, Who he was? he told him he was a Servant to the Elector of *Brandenburg*. Who is the other? He is ſo too. When *Stephen* came up, the Lantgrave asked him who he was? He gave him the ſame Anſwer with the Young Man; Whither he was going? To *Spire*. How did the Duke do? Very well. Afterwards being asked whether he would vouch the Truth of what he had ſaid upon the word of an Honeſt Man? He told him Yes, and ſo was diſmiſſed: But the Lantgrave had rid but a very little way before one of his Servants comes and tells him, that this perſon was Secretary to *Henry* of *Brunſwick*, which being confirmed by another who had an Opportunity of knowing him, the Lantgrave orders the Man to be fetched back and carried to *Caſſell* till he came from Hunting. In the mean time *Stephen*, who was ſecured in a Stove, pulls out a Leathern Bag from under his Coat, and ſnatches ſome Letters out of it, and makes out of Doors as faſt as he could; this one of the Servants taking notice of, immediately gives a private hint of it to the Lord-Chamberlain of the Houſhold, who was there by chance, and looked down into the Court out of a Chamber-Window. *Stephen* therefore being examined about his Letters produced them, upon which the Lord Chamberlain took them into his Cuſtody, and delivered them to the Lantgrave at his return. Now there were two Letters taken from him; one for the Elector of *Mentz*, and the other for *Matthias Eldo*; theſe Letters had Notes or little Table Books tacked to them, in which he had ſet down the Heads of his Inſtructions. Theſe Circumſtances therefore raiſing a violent ſuſpicion of ſomething more than ordinary, eſpecially becauſe of the Notes, made the Lantgrave open them both; the Contents of that to the Elector of *Mentz* was, That he had received his Highneſſes Letter, and was glad that he was pleaſed to remember him upon all accounts; for his part he was entirely at his Highneſs's Service, and had now ſent his Secretary *Stephen*, a Perſon of approved Fidelity, to acquaint him with every thing material, particularly with the News out of *Bavaria*; therefore he deſires that he would give credit to him. Afterwards he gives the Elector and his Friends his good Wiſhes, but ſends the other party to the Devil. The Tenour of his Letter to *Eldo* was much the ſame, he told him, He had ſent *Stephen* to him again with nſtructions, and deſired he would receive him kindly and believe him as much as if he had ſpoke in Perſon, That he was reſolved to ſtick to the Emperor's Intereſt as long as he lived, not doubting but that his Majeſty's Conduct would be unexceptionable in all reſpects. The Purport of his private Inſtructions to the Elector of *Mentz* was to this Effect, That the Lantgrave was diſordered to that decree, that he could not ſleep, and ſo immoderately given to Hunting that he was almoſt crazed; for this reaſon their Buſineſs might be the more opportunely diſpatch'd, and that part of it was finiſhed already. As for the Lantgrave's Deſigns they were not carried ſo privately but that the *Bavarians* underſtood them, and it was certainly reported, that he intended either to invade his Electoral Highneſs or Himſelf. Therefore he deſires him that he would perſwade his Chapter to come into the League; that it is likewiſe adviſable for his Highneſs to reſign himſelf wholly to this Alliance, without any farther regard to thoſe who will deſert him one time or other to his great diſadvantage. The Duke of *Bavaria* and himſelf intend to conferr together ſhortly, and fix upon ſomething by common advice. The States of *Schwaben* had alſo been ſollicited to enter into the League, which Negotiation was now almoſt brought to a Point. His Notes to *Eldo* were theſe, *viz.* He hoped the Emperor would ſhortly return hither from *Spain*; and if his Majeſty continued firm to his Reſolution, all things were like to go well; for then he both hoped and believed that other Princes who had not yet declared themſelves would not be averſe to this Undertaking. If all the Confederates were as hearty and vigorous as himſelf they ſhould be ſufficiently prepared. But let them behave themſelves as they pleaſe, he is reſolved to ſtand to his preſent Engage-

The Lantgrave intercepts the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s Letters.

Engagement, and to be always at the Emperor's Service: Farther he thinks it proper that the Chamber ſhould command the Lantgrave to disband his Army; in the mean time the Duke of *Bavaria* and himſelf will be ready, and in caſe the other refuſeth to obey, then he would have the Chamber order him and *Bavaria* to take care there be no harm done; enjoining likewiſe the reſt of the Princes to ſend in their Supplies according to the Tenour of the Decree. 1539.

The Lantgrave underſtanding theſe things, and ſeeing himſelf in great danger, and that they were contriving a pretence for a Rupture; he immediately writes to his Father-in-law, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, and gives him an account of the whole matter of Fact upon which they grounded their ſuſpicion, and ſhewed how he had been miſrepreſented, and that he intended no ſuch thing as a War. At the ſame time *Matthias Eldo* poſted through *France* into *Spain* to the Emperor. Afterwards the *Lantgrave* wrote to King *Ferdinand* and his Siſter *Mary*, Regent of *Flanders*, to the Princes Electors, and the Dukes of *Bavaria*, in the ſame Apologizing way that he did before to his Father-in-law, *George* Duke of *Saxony*.

When the Duke of *Brunſwick* underſtood his Myſtery was diſcovered, and that the Lant grave had wrote Letters in his own Vindication, he anſwered him, That his taking his Secretary Priſoner was not the only Affront he had received from that Party; for he was ill uſed by the Elector of *Saxony* the laſt Year, when King *Ferdinand* commanded him in the Emperor's Name to make a viſit to *George* Duke of *Saxony*; and afterwards when he returned from concluding the League at *Nuremberg*, for then the Elector attempted to intercept him. To this the Elector of *Saxony* anſwered, That ſeeing himſelf and his Friends had been denied a ſafe Conduct by him (contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Empire) when they went to *Brunſwick*, he could thing him no leſs than an Enemy: Formerly he may remember that he has often paſſed through his own and his Brother's Dominions, *incognito*, with a ſmall Attendance, and diſguiſed in the Habit of a Servant; and though he had notice of all this, yet he never gave him any diſturbance: But afterwards when himſelf and his Allies were refuſed the Civility of Travelling through his Country, he does not underſtand why his Highneſs ſhould expect a greater Liberty from others than he is willing to grant. This gave them an occaſion to keep their Pens drawn upon one another, till at laſt they fell to downright railing, which ſingular Humour unpractiſed before by Princes was begun by *Brunſwick*, who charged the Elector with almoſt all imaginable Crimes in the moſt opprobrious Language, as the printed Papers ſufficiently ſhew. 1539.

The Duke of *Brunſwick* and the Elector of *Saxony* write againſt one another.

About this time *John* Duke of *Cleves* departed this Life, and was ſucceeded by his Son *William*, who from his Childhood had been bred to Learning and Vertue, by *Conrade Hereſbach*.

When the States were come to *Frankfort* in *February* according to appointment, they had a long diſpute upon ſeveral Points with vehemence enough; but at laſt upon the Nineteenth of *April* they concluded theſe following Articles, *viz.* The Emperor grants thoſe who are now Confederates of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion a Truce for Fifteen Months, that there may be a Conference of learned Men concerning Religion, and during that time commands all Perſons to forbear giving them any diſturbance, upon the account of their Perſwaſion. The Pacification at *Nuremberg*, and the Emperor's Edict at *Ratiſbone* are ſtill to continue in force. And if the differences about Religion are not adjuſted before the Truce expires, the Peace made at *Nuremberg* ſhall continue notwithſtanding till the next Diet; and if there happens to be a Meeting of the Empire within the Term of the Truce, the former Pacification ſhall hold good notwithſtanding till a ſecond Diet is convened. While the Truce laſts the Emperor will put a ſtop to all Suits commenced againſt the Proteſtants, particularly to the Proſcription of *Minden*, and commands all Proſecutions to the contrary to be void and null. The Proteſtants ſhall have no occaſion to make their uſual Objection for the future, as if they could not have a fair Hearing in the Court upon the account of their Religion, for they ſhall have Right and Juſtice done them without any manner of Exception. On the other ſide the Proteſtants are to moleſt no Body, nor admit any perſon into their League during the Ceſſation, neither ſhall any of their Party have any Violence offer'd them upon the ſcore of their Religion. The Emperor will likewiſe undertake that none ſhall be received into the Counter-League during this interval. The Proteſtants ſhall ſuffer the Eccleſiaſticks, whereſoever they live, to enjoy thoſe Revenues they are at preſent poſſeſſed of. The Firſt of *Auguſt* ſhall (if the Emperor conſents)

A Diet held at *Frankford*.

1539. conſents) be appointed for a Meeting of the Roman Catholicks and Proteſtants, whither candid and peaceable Men ſhall be ſent, who have nothing of Quarrelſomneſs or Obſtinacy in their Diſpoſition. Theſe Perſons ſhall chooſe a certain Number of Divines to argue the Caſe of Religion in a diſpaſſionate and amicable Way. Theſe Divines ſhall have others joined with them in the Conference, who, though they are not Clergy-men by Profeſſion, ſhall yet be Perſons of Underſtanding and Temper. The Emperor alſo, and King *Ferdinand*, ſhall, if they pleaſe, have their Embaſſadors preſent at this Debate; and whatever is decreed there by common Conſent, ſhall be reported to the States who are abſent, after whoſe Approbation, the Emperor's Embaſſadors ſhall confirm it: Or elſe the Emperor himſelf ſhall ratify it in the next Diet, and Pronounce it unalterable and inviolable. All Warlike Preparations ſhall ceaſe on both ſides; and whoſoever ſhall appear to attempt any thing of this Nature, ſhall give a publick Account in Court why he does ſo; yet with this Proviſo, That neceſſary Defence ſhall be denied to no Man: In all other Caſes the Laws of the Empire ſhall be obſerved on both Sides. The *Anabaptiſts* are not to be comprehended in this Truce, nor any others, whoſe Religion is different from the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*. The *Proteſtants* ſhall be obliged to have their Supplies for the Turkiſh War in a readineſs, that there may be no time loſt: And when the Electors, and ſome others of the moſt conſiderable Princes and States ſhall, by the Emperor's Order ſend their Embaſſadors to *Wormes*, upon the Eighteenth of *May*, the Proteſtants ſhall likewiſe ſend their Agents thither, to conclude upon a Method for the Raiſing Forces againſt the Turk upon a ſudden Occaſion: And whatever is there decreed by the Majority, ſhall be ſigned by the Proteſtants. And if the Turk happens to make War upon the Empire while the Truce laſteth, they ſhall be obliged to fight him with the reſt. All which Articles are to ſtand good, upon Condition the Emperor gives his Approbation within Six Months, computing from the beginning of *May*. And in the mean time, that which they have concluded about the Truce, and againſt enlarging the League, ſhall continue in Force: But if the Emperor does not declare his Mind within Six Months, yet the Pacification at *Nuremberg* ſhall be obſerved as formerly. *John* Archbiſhop of *Lunden* was the Emperor's Embaſſador at this Diet; for *Eldo* was gone into *Spain*, as I obſerved before: *Ferdinand* alſo ſent his Embaſſadors hither: There was likewiſe a great Appearance of the Proteſtants: The Elector of *Saxony* and the Lantgrave came in Perſon, and brought ſeveral Divines along with them: The Palſgrave and the *Brandenburger* mediated an Accommodation: The Elector of *Saxony*, among other remarkable things, made his Proteſt againſt *Ferdinand*'s Title of King of the *Romans*, and declared he would abide by the Articles of *Cadan* and *Vienna*. This Archbiſhop of *Lunden*, whom I mentioned, was a *German* by Birth, and Privy Councellor to the King of *Denmark*, but when that Prince was forced to fly his Country, the Archbiſhop was baniſhed, and deprived of his Juriſdiction; upon which he returned into *Germany*, and applied himſelf to the Emperor, and was afterwards made Biſhop of *Conſtance*.

Now while they were treating about an Accommodation at *Francfort*, a Party of Soldiers were got together in *Saxony*, and ordered by their Commanders to march into the Territories of the State of *Bremen*, of the Duke of *Lunenburg*, and of others of the reformed Religion, and to ſtay there till the Camp ſhould move: Who gave them their Commiſſion was kept very private at firſt, but afterwards it was certainly known that they were raiſed by *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and his Brother the Archbiſhop of *Bremen*. Thoſe who were damnified by theſe Soldiers applied themſelves to the Chamber for Juſtice, but to no purpoſe: The Proteſtants therefore, to prevent farther Miſchief, managed their Buſineſs ſo, as to gain them over to themſelves; though when they had them they did not imploy them to give their Neighbours any Diſturbance. *Stephen Faber*, whom I mentioned before, was diſmiſſed by the Lantgrave, at the Entreaty of the Princes of the Mediation, after he had given a convenient Security about his Behaviour: He promiſed of his own accord, not to return to his Maſter, becauſe he believed he would not truſt him any more; but after he was at Liberty he went directly to him. In this Convention *William* Duke of *Cleve* gave in a Memorial to the Proteſtants, by his Ambaſſadors, in which he explained his Title to *Guelderland*, and alſo deſired them to intercede with the Emperor on his Behalf, and to recommend his Cauſe to his Imperial Majeſty's Ambaſſador there preſent.

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The *French* King had by his Embaſſador acquainted *Ulrich* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, That he heard he intended, at the Inſtance of the Confederates, to make War upon ſome of the Biſhops in *Germany*. Now this was an Undertaking which he did not underſtand, and therefore out of Friendſhip and Reſpect to him, deſired him to forbear; for otherwiſe the Conſequence would be, that the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, with whom he had concluded an Agreement ſome few Years ſince, would be diſobliged, which would make him run a great Hazard in his whole Fortune. Duke *Ulrich* gave his Majeſty Thanks for his Caution, and told him, That he was wronged in this Relation; and believed the Dukes of *Bavaria* were the Authors of this Calumny, who had falſly ſpread ſuch a Report as this of him in *Germany*; therefore he deſires his Majeſty, that he would not give any Credit to it; for neither himſelf, nor any of his Allies intended to raiſe any Diſturbance, or do any Act of Hoſtility, unleſs they were forced to it in their own Defence; and he did not queſtion, but that they, when they heard of it, would purge themſelves. *As ſoon therefore as the Proteſtants at Francfort had received an Account of this Complaint from the Duke, the Elector of Saxony and the Lantgrave wrote an Anſwer to the French King, in the Name of all the Confederates, dated April the Nineteenth, in which they acquaint him, That they underſtood by the Duke of Wirtemberg what Reports had been made to his Majeſty concerning them; but all theſe Accuſations were nothing but Calumnies raiſed by Enmity and Ill-Will, for they were not about making any Preparations for War, but were very deſirous of Peace, as the Princes of the Mediation could teſtify: For though they had received ſeveral Provocations, though a confederate Town of theirs had been proſcribed, and a League claped up, by ſome of the other Party, to back their unjuſt Decrees; notwithſtanding their Adverſaries had raiſed Forces, and given them extraordinary Pay, who were now making hoſtile Depredations in the Territories of their Allies; yet they were contented to ſit ſtill all this while, without the leaſt Motion towards an Oppoſition; for the Love they had for their Country made them willing to forgive all manner of Injuries for the Sake of the Commonwealth: But their Adverſaries were of a violent and implacable Temper, and would not harken to any moderate Propoſals, nor ſubmit the Differences between them to a legal Determination, but were wholly bent to fill the Empire with the Blood and Slaughter of its own Subjects: And ſeeing the Caſe ſtands thus, they entreat his Majeſty not to believe any falſe Suggeſtions, but endeavour to promote the Intereſt of the Church, by Religious and defenſible Methods; for the Protection of Truth and Innocence is a Duty peculiarly incumbent upon Kings. As for their ſtanding up in the Defenſe of Religion, it was only to diſcharge their Conſcience, and not out of any ſiniſter and ſecular Deſign; neither did they queſtion but that their Doctrine was agreeable to the Word of God, which they had not the Liberty to depart from upon any Conſideration whatever.*

1539.

The Elector of *Saxony* and the Lantgrave write to the *French* King.

Upon the Twenty Fourth of *April*, at the breaking up of the Diet, *George* Duke of *Saxony* departed this Life, leaving no Iſſue behind him; for his Two Sons were already deceaſed without Children; one of which was married to *Elizabeth* the Lantgrave's Siſter, and the other to a Daughter of the Houſe of *Mansfield*: *George* therefore made his Brother *Henry* and his Sons *Morice* and *Auguſtus*, his Heirs by Will, upon Condition, That they ſhould not make any Alteration in the State of Religion: If this Condition was Unperformed, then he bequeaths all his Dominions to the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, till his Brother or his Nephews, or the next of the male Line of the Blood, ſhould fulfil what was enjoined. Now after he was grown old, and had but an ill Health, he acquainted the Nobility and Commonalty with his Will; and deſired them, That they would ratify it, and ſwear to ſtand by the Contents. But they being afraid that this would occaſion a War in the Family, prayed him to ſend to his Brother *Henry*, and treat with him about it, for they did not queſtion but that he would agree that no Change ſhould be made in Religion. Upon this Ambaſſadors are ſent, who, beſides ſeveral other Arguments to perſwade him, inſiſted principally, That there was a great deal of Money in the Exchequer, abundance of rich Furniture and Plate; all which would be his own, provided he complied with his Brother: To which he made this remarkable Anſwer immediately; Truly (ſays he) your Ambaſſy puts me in mind of that Paſſage in the new Teſtament, where the Devil promiſed our Saviour all the Kingdoms of the World, upon Condition he would fall down and worſhip him: Do you think that any

The Death of *George* Duke of *Saxony*.

1539. Temptation of Riches has ſuch an aſcendant over me, as to make me forſake a Religion which I know to be pure and Orthodox? I aſſure you you are much miſtaken in your Expectations. Now having received this Anſwer and had their Audience of Leave without effecting any part of their Negotiation. It ſo happen'd, That *George* their Maſter was dead before they returned Home, which when his Brother *Henry* underſtood, he immediately went to *Dreſden* and to the other great Towns, and made the People ſwear Allegiance to him, which they were the more inclinable to do, becauſe he was ſupported with the Intereſt of the League at *Smalcald*. The Elector of *Saxony* alſo, who knew how *George*'s Will ſtood, and what his deſigns were, as ſoon as he heard of his Death, made haſte Home, that he might be ready to aſſiſt *Henry* if need were.

This was a very conſiderable Addition to the Proteſtant Intereſt, and a great and unexpected diſappointment of the Roman Catholick Princes, who were extreamly troubled at it, eſpecially the Elector of *Mentz*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, as I ſhall have occaſion to mention afterwards. Thus *George* had an Heir and Succeſſor quite contrary to his Inclinations; and *Luther*, whom he hated above all Men living, was invited to *Leipſick*, by the New Prince; where he preached ſeveral Sermons, and began to enter upon a Reformation. This Year in *May* a Comet was ſeen, and juſt about the ſame time *Iſabella* the Emperor *Charles*'s Wife died; the *French* King, as ſoon as he heard of it, ſolemnized her Funeral at *Paris*, according to the uſual Ceremony among Princes. I have already mentioned the Council of *Vicenza*, which the Pope had Prorogued till *Eaſter* this Year; but the Company not appearing at the time upon the Tenth of *June*, he publiſhed another Bull, in which he did not Prorogue it to a certain day, but ſuſpended it during the pleaſure of the Conclave and himſelf.

Luther preaches at *Leipſick*.

The Death of *Iſabella* the Empreſs.

Some few Months ſince the King of *England* publiſhed another Paper concerning the Council of *Vicenza*, ſhewing how the Pope abus'd the World; for his laying the Fault upon the Duke of *Mantua* is a ridiculous Excuſe. For if he hath ſo great a Power as he pretends, why does he not force him to his Pleaſure; If he cannot do this, why does he ſummon people upon uncertainties to a place which he hath not the command of? And now though he hath pitched upon *Vicenza* for the ſame purpoſe, yet there is no queſtion but ſo wiſe a State as that of *Venice* is, will be of the Duke's Opinion, and not let their Town be filled with ſo great a multitude, without a Garriſon to ſecure it; ſo that upon this account, there will be as few people to open the Council as there was at *Mantua*. And ſince whatever he hath done is no better than Mockery, 'tis not fit he ſhould have ſuch an unreaſonable Liberty allowed him any longer. 'Tis true, Councils rightly conſtituted and managed, are the moſt proper and uſeful Expedients which can be tried; but when they are pack'd for private Intereſt and Advantage, and to eſtabliſh the Uſurpations of a Party, they are inconceivably miſchievous to the State of Chriſtendom. And now when the Name of a Council and the Church made ſo great a noiſe in the World, *Luther* undertook to write a Book in High Dutch upon both Arguments; where, in the firſt place, he treats of the Council of the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*, which is mentioned in the Fifteenth of the *Acts*. Then he ſheweth how the Fathers contradicted one another, more particularly St. *Auguſtin* and St. *Cyprian* about Baptiſm; where he takes occaſion to mention thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions which are commonly called the Apoſtles Canons, and proves them ſpurious by unqueſtionable Arguments, and that thoſe ought to be hanged who give them that name. From thence he proceeds to the firſt four General Councils which are of the moſt conſiderable Authority, and recites them in Order, the *Nicene*, the *Conſtantinopolitan*, the *Epheſine*, and that at *Chalcedon*; and gives an account of the Occaſion of their Meeting and what was Decreed there; afterwards he comes up to the main Queſtion, and ſheweth how far the Power of a Council reacheth: And here he maintaineth that a Council ought not to make any Article of Faith, nor enjoin any new Duty, nor tie the Conſciences of Men to Ceremonies which were not practiſed from the beginning, neither is it lawful for ſuch an Aſſembly to intermeddle in Civil Government, or to make any Canons to found their private Grandeur and Dominion upon. On the contrary their Office is to ſee that all Innovations in Doctrine repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, that ſuperſtitious or unprofitable Ceremonies may be condemned and removed, and always to make the Scripture their Rule to determine Controverſies by. Then he goes on to define the Church, and lays down the Notes to know her by, and running a Parellel between Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and the Pope; and ſhowing what a different Doctrine his Holineſs had ſettled in the Church, and at what a wicked Rate he had plundered Chriſtendom; he concludes, he ought to

The King of *England* publiſhes another Paper about the Council of *Vicenza*.

Luther writes a Book about Councils.

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be Excommunicated, and obliged to Reſtitution. Beſides many other Inſtances by which he demonſtrates in that Book what groſs Ignorance there was in the times of Popery, how much Religion was corrupted and debauched; he tells us, Things were come to that paſs, that even the bare Habit of a Monk was thought to contribute conſiderably towards the obtaining eternal Life, inſomuch, that not only the Vulgar, but many perſons of Quality would be buried in it. After-Ages poſſibly will not believe this Relation, but yet it is very true, and is chiefly practiſed in *Italy*, and in my time *Francis* the Second Marqueſs of *Mantua*, made expreſs Proviſion in his Will to be buried in the Habit of a *Franciſcan*, or Seraphick, as they call it. The ſame thing was done by *Albertus Pius*, Prince of *Carpi*, who died at *Paris*; and by *Chriſtopher Longolius*, a Low Country Man, who lieth at *Padua*. He was a very Learned Perſon, and a great Admirer of *Tully*. There is an Oration of his Extant againſt the *Lutherans*, as there is alſo one of *Albert*'s againſt *Eraſmus* of *Rotterdam*. After the Death of *George* Duke of *Saxony*, *Henry* of *Brunſwick* immediately ſet forward through *France* into *Spain*, to wait upon the Emperor. 1539.

Much about this time *Henry* King of *England* called a Parliament, where, beſides other ſecular Matters, he Enacts theſe following Articles concerning Religion, That the true and natural Body and Blood of Chriſt were under the Appearance of Bread and Wine, and that the Subſtance of Bread and Wine does not remain after Conſecration; That the receiving all the Lord's Supper is not neceſſary to Salvation, Chriſt being entirely contained under each kind; That it is not lawful for Prieſts to Marry; Vows of Chaſtity ought to be kept, and private Maſſes continued; Auricular and private Confeſſion of Sins is both profitable and neceſſary; Thoſe who teach and do any thing contrary to this Act are to ſuffer as Hereticks. And at the ſame time when this Law was made the King courted *Ann*, Siſter to *William* Duke of *Cleve*, a beautiful Maiden-Lady, who when ſhe was contracted to him, ſailed over into *England*, ſome few Months after. Some thought the Biſhops influenced the King to ſign this Act touching theſe Points, that they might have an Opportunity to ruine the Authority and Intereſt of *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas Cromwell*, who were both of them Well-wiſhers to the Reformation. A Parliament in *England*.

This Year in *Auguſt* the *Turkiſh* Admiral, *Barbaroſſa*, took *Caſtle-novo*, a Town in *Dalmatia*, in the Gulph of *Cataro*, by Storm, where all the Garriſon was put to the Sword, and ſome of the Burghers carried away into Slavery. The Emperor and his Confederates, the *Venetians*, took this place a Year before in *October*, but the Emperor garriſoned it himſelf with Four thouſand *Spaniards*, and made *Francis Sarmiento* the Governor. This was a ſurprize to the *Venetians*, who ſaid, a Town ſituated upon that Coaſt did rather belong to themſelves: Thus being diſguſted with the Emperor, and likewiſe foreſeeing that an Alliance with him would prove dangerous to their State; they apply themſelves not long after to the *Turk*, and upon their requeſt obtain a Truce of him. The *Turk* takes *Caſtle-novo*.

At this time there happened an Inſurrection at *Ghent*, the moſt conſiderable City for Strength and Intereſt in all thoſe Parts, and which has often conteſted very warmly for Liberty with the Earls of *Flanders*, under whoſe Juriſdiction it is. When the Emperor heard of this Commotion, he changed his deſign of going into *Germany* by the way of *Italy*, and reſolved to Travel through *France*, being earneſtly invited thither by the *French* King, who made him very obliging proffers of Security and Accommodation for his Journey. An Inſurrection at *Ghent*.

In the mean time the Palſgrave and the Elector of *Brandenburg* being Princes of the Mediation, wrote to the Emperor concerning the Pacification at *Francfort*, and deſired him to give leave there might be a Conference of Learned Men at *Nuremberg*. But his Imperial Majeſty told them, That the Death of his Empreſs, and ſome other Occurrences intervening, had hindred him from being at leiſure to attend that Affair. When the Princes of the Mediation had ſent a Copy of this Letter to the Elector of *Saxony* and the Lantgrave, without ſignifying whether the Emperor had confirmed the Truce for Fifteen Months; the Proteſtants appointed a Convention on the Nineteenth of *November* at *Arnſtet*, a Town in *Thuringia*. Here they conſulted about ſtrengthening their League with new Alliances, and how to prepare for a neceſſary defence, in caſe the Emperor would not allow the Treaty at *Francfort*. They likewiſe debated how the Church Revenues might be beſt diſpoſed of as alſo concerning the ſending an Ambaſſy into *England*, to mollifie the King upon the Point of the late Act of Parliament made in Relation to Religion; they reſolved likewiſe upon an Addreſs to the *French* King to entreat him not to Perſecute Innocent People for the ſake of Opinion, and alſo about diſpatching A Convention at *Arnſtet*.

1539. away their Ambaſſadors to the Emperor as ſoon as they had any certainty of his being in *Flanders*; for there was a report as if he were come thither already. And becauſe ſome of the Confederates were abſent, and others had no Authority to treat in ſeveral Caſes, they agreed to meet at *Smalcald* upon the Firſt of *March*, to conclude the remaining Buſineſs. At this Convention the Burghers of *Riga* a City of *Livonia* were received into the League: They had a difference with their Archbiſhop, which was the Caſe of a great many Towns in *Germany*, they were concerned in the Alliance no farther than to be defended by the common Advocates of the Proteſtants in the Chamber of *Spire*; and upon this account they paid the Confederates a Thouſand five hundred Crowns. *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, Brother of *George*, was admitted into the League Two Years without any Incumbrance charged upon him, becauſe his Fortune was but ſmall; but with this Proviſo, That whenever his Circumſtances were enlarged, he ſhould ſubmit to the ſame Condition with the reſt: Therefore ſince he had now ſuch a noble Inheritance fallen to him, they aſſeſſed him his proportion of the Charge in this Meeting, which ended upon the Tenth of *December*. The Princes were not here in perſon, but ſent their Agents. The Elector had alſo lately ſent *John Dulcius* and *Francis Burcart* his Vice-Chancellor into *England*, to be preſent at the Solemnity of the King's Marriage with *Ann* of *Cleve*, whoſe Siſter *Sibill* was his own Dutcheſs, as I obſerved in the Sixth Book. Theſe Ambaſſadors therefore having this occaſion were enjoined at *Arnſtet* to treat with the King in the Name of the Confederates, as was lately mentioned.

The Emperor paſſeth through *France*.

The Emperor having received a ſafe Conduct, ſet forward in *November* with a very ſmall Train; when he came to the Frontiers of *France* next to *Spain*, he found *Henry* and *Charles*, the King's Sons, there, who had Horſes laid to meet him the ſooner: The Conſtable likewiſe, who went a great way before the Princes, was there to wait on him with a great Attendance of Nobility. Being thus received, he was conveyed through the middle of *France*, and through the faireſt Cities; and when he came to *Loches* in the Dukedom of *Berry*, the King met him, who was ſcarce then recovered of a late Diſtemper: From thence he travelled to *Orleans* and came to *Paris* upon the Firſt of *January*, which he entered, being placed in the middle, between the King's Sons, the Conſtable carrying the Sword before them: Neither was there any ſort of feſtival Solemnity, or Reſpect omitted, with which its poſſible for the Mind of Man to be entertained. There came thither alſo Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe* the Pope's Legate, who with Cardinal *Bellay* the Archbiſhop of the Town, received the Emperor in *Noſtre-Dame*. His Imperial Majeſty, after a weeks ſtay, went for *Flanders*; the King accompanying him to St. *Quintins*, and his Sons, as far as *Valenciennes*, a Town in *Hanault*. The King at this time was almoſt ſure of recovering *Milan*, but it fell out quite otherwiſe, as will be ſhown afterwards. When the Emperor was with the *French* King, they both of them ſent a very ſplendid Ambaſſy to the *Venetians*; the Emperor ſent *Alphonſo Davalo*, Governor of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the *French* King, *Claude Hanebald*, Governor of *Piedmont*. Theſe Ambaſſadors made a long Harangue to the Senate, to perſwade them to concur with theſe Two powerful Monarchs, who were now united, and to bend all their Forces againſt the Turk. But the *Venetians*, after they had parted with the Ambaſſadors in a very reſpectful Manner, concluded upon a full Conſideration of the Caſe, That it was abſolutely their Intereſt to get the Turk, with whom they had a Truce already, throughly reconciled to them: At laſt therefore they came to a Treaty with him, and bought their Peace by the Delivery of *Napoli di Romania*, and *Malvaſia*, into his Hands. Some ſay the *French*, though in publick they preſſed the ſame Opinion with the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, yet they gave them private Caution to take care of their State; and not run themſelves upon ſo great Danger, to which they were more expoſed than others. Indeed the *French* King himſelf, in a certain Apology of his, chargeth the Emperor with ruining the State of *Venice*, which, he ſays, he had ſupported by his Aſſiſtance, and recovered by his Mediation. The *Venetian* Ambaſſador, *Aloiſius Baduarius*, who was ſent to the Port, to treat about a Peace with the Turk, was commanded to offer all his other Conditions firſt, reſerving the Two Towns for the laſt Neceſſity. But the Sultan, who had the Reſolution of the Senate betrayed to him, reprimanded the Ambaſſador for not ſufficiently explaining his Inſtructions, and would not conclude any-thing except thoſe Places were conſigned to him. *Baduarius* was amaz'd to ſee the Secrets of the State betrayed; but ſince the thing was out, he agreed to the Propoſi-

1540.

The Turk makes a Peace with the *Venetians*.

tion,

tion, though with regret; which poſſibly he muſt have made at laſt, of his own accord. When he came home, he gave an Account of the whole Matter: The Senate being wonderfully ſurprized at it, after a moſt diligent Enquiry, apprehended ſome Perſons, and upon their being found guilty beheaded them: One of the Criminals took Sanctuary as it were, in the Biſhop of *Montpellier*'s Lodgings, the *French* Ambaſſador, upon which Officers are ſent to ſearch the Houſe, but being denied Entrance, the Senate ordered ſome Engines to be brought out of the Arſenal, to batter down the Houſe: But the *French*, when they ſaw what Danger they were in, delivered up the Perſon. The Senate afterwards gave the King an Account of their Proceedings in a Letter, that he might not think his Ambaſſador affronted. 1540.

When the Emperor was come into *Flanders*, King *Ferdinand* took a Journey from *Auſtria* to meet him. And afterwards the Proteſtant Ambaſſadors came thither, as they had agreed it at *Arnſtet*: Theſe Gentlemen, after they had, in the beginning of their Speech, wiſhed the Emperor all Happineſs, and congratulated his Return into *Germany*, told him, They heard how they had been blacken'd by their Adverſaries, who charged them with Obſtinacy, and an Averſion to the ſupreme Magiſtrate; that they were of a reſtleſs and turbulent Spirit, and delighted in diſturbing the Commonwealth: They had often wiſhed (they ſaid) for an Opportunity to purge themſelves of theſe Crimes before his Majeſty, and were very glad it was now in their Power to do it. And firſt, ſince God was pleaſed to enlighten this Age, in a particular manner, with the Knowledge of his Goſpel, they were bound to ſubmit to the Diſcovery; which they did not with an Intention of diſobliging him, or any other Mortal whatever, but only that they might go to Heaven, and be made Happy for ever: For in all other things they had *de facto*, ſhown themſelves obedient to his Majeſty; and now their Inclinations are ſtill the ſame, as is evident from the laſt Treaty at *Francfort*: But about a Year ſince the Secretary of *Henry* of *Brunſwick*, happening to fall into the Lantgrave's Company near *Caſſell*, and being detained by him upon a violent Suſpicion, was the Occaſion of diſcovering ſome Mens Intrigues, whoſe Buſineſs it is to provoke their own Party to take up Arms, by perſwading them that the Proteſtants are preparing to begin with them already. Now this Report being brought to his Majeſty, was without queſtion the reaſon of his ſuffering the Counter-League to be made: And after their Adverſaries had concerted this League, they fell to raiſing of Forces, which at laſt themſelves were likewiſe obliged to do in their own Defence; inſomuch that a great deal of Danger would have followed if the Secretary had not been taken up by chance; and unleſs the Palſgrave and the Elector of *Brandenburg* had interpoſed with ſingular Integrity and Application. And now ſince the Diſloyalty and Odium of this Diſturbance is laid upon them without any manner of Ground, and that they abundantly juſtified themſelves in Print from ſuch Calumnies as theſe; they conceive, if his Majeſty had been throughly acquainted with the whole Matter, he would not have engaged in this new League, which is ſo much talked of at preſent: Therefore they humbly entreat his Majeſty not to give any Credit to thoſe Complaints which have been preferr'd againſt them; and if they happen to be accuſed of any Miſdemeanor for the future, that he would pleaſe to let them know it, that they may anſwer for themſelves. They alſo entreat his Majeſty to enquire into the Deſigns and Actions of *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and to concern himſelf ſo far, as to ſecure them from all ſuch Apprehenſions for the future. And whereas they are repreſented as if they were not ſollicitous about Religion and a juſt Reformation, this is nothing but Aſperſion and Untruth; for Religion is the main thing which they appear for, neither have they ever refuſed to referr their Cauſe to a fair Hearing: Of this reaſonable Propoſal they are able to make good proof, particularly it appears from the laſt Treaty at *Francfort*, and from the Lantgrave's Letter to King *Ferdinand* after that Diet was ended. In this Letter his Imperial Majeſty was deſired to order a Conference of Learned Men. This requeſt they now humbly renew to his Majeſty, deſiring him not to deal any otherwiſe with them, than with thoſe who are affectionately deſirous of Unity and Agreement in Religion, and of the Welfare of the Empire, and are likewiſe willing to ſerve his Majeſty in every thing as far as Conſcience and Equity will give them leave. About Four Years ago his Majeſty was pleaſed to declare when he wrote from *Italy*, that he would not make uſe of Arms and Violence, but of Arguments and Truth, to compoſe the Differences in Religion. His Majeſty had likewiſe lately expreſſed himſelf to the ſame Sence in his Letters to the Palſgrave and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in which

The Proteſtants ſend Ambaſſadors to the Emperor.

1540. which he gave his Reaſons why he could not then attend to the Affairs of Religion; this account was extreamly ſatisfactory to them, and their Prayers to God were, That he would fortifie his Majeſty in this Reſolution. Now at the late Diet at *Francfort* there were a great many things agreed upon, and a Truce concluded, provided his Majeſty approved it within Six Months; this he had not been pleas'd to do as yet, though the half Year had been expired a great while ſince; and beſides the Judges of the Chamber gave Sentence againſt them in Cauſes which were purely Spiritual, and executed the Proſcription of *Minden*, perfectly contrary to his own and King *Ferdinand*'s Order. Now how prejudicial this is to the Empire his Majeſty is certainly very ſenſible; therefore they beſeech him that he would interpoſe his Authority, for otherwiſe the meaſures for proſecuting the *Turkiſh* War cannot be adjuſted, nor the Conference of Learned Men begun, which hath been ſo often wiſhed for; for in order to the right ſettlement of the Government, a firm and laſting Peace ratified by all the States of the Empire, is abſolutely neceſſary. This Undertaking will be both very Honourable for his Majeſty who hath already gained the Title of a Pacifick Emperor, and alſo mightily for the Intereſt of all *Germany*.

The Proteſtants write to the *French* King.

They had their Audience of the Emperor upon the Twenty-fourth of *February* at *Ghent*, *Granvell* being preſent, where his Majeſty told them, He would take ſome time to conſider and then give them an Anſwer. Much about the ſame time that the Proteſtants ſent an Ambaſſy to the Emperor, they wrote likewiſe to the *French* King, acquainting him, That for ſome Years laſt paſt his Majeſty had declared his good Affection to them both in his Letters and by his Ambaſſadors, and had alſo a right Notion of a Council, namely, That Controverſies in Religion are not to be determined by Blows and Fighting, but by Reaſon and Truth. This his Majeſty's Inclination and Sence of things, was extreamly ſatisfactory to them, becauſe they ſaw he was in Love with Equity, and reſolved to protect it. And therefore by way of return they have always to their power endeavoured to ſhow their gratitude and reſpect, which makes them believe that he ſtill continues his kind Intentions and Opinion of them. Moreover that Friendſhip and good Underſtanding which was now between his Majeſty and their Emperor, was a bleſſing they were exceeding glad of; and congratulated the good Fortune of Chriſtendom upon ſeveral accounts; but more eſpecially, becauſe they hoped it would be remarkably inſtrumental in reconciling the Differences in the Church. Indeed the Death of the Empreſs has hitherto prevented his Imperial Majeſty from executing the Decree which was made the laſt Year at *Francfort*. But now ſince both their Majeſties are upon ſuch good Terms, they conceive the matter may be eaſily adjuſted, if he pleaſeth to ſecond the Emperor's Endeavours in it, and lendeth as it were his helping hand to the Cauſe, which they earneſtly deſire he would be pleas'd to do, that ſo the Church may have the advantage of thoſe Expedients which were agreed upon at *Francfort*. They confeſſed they were fully ſatisfied concerning the Emperor's Intentions, and excellent Temper, and had alſo ſent an Ambaſſy to him, of which they hoped to be able to give a good account. But their Adverſaries are almoſt always contriving one Deſign or other to hinder theſe publick Meaſures from taking effect; for the diſtruſt they have of their Cauſe makes them that they will not endure to have the Merits of it examined in a Regular way. Now the reaſon why they themſelves are ſo deſirous to have the matter Legally debated, is not becauſe they are afraid their Adverſaries would be too powerful for them in the Field; for as they deſign to hurt no Body, ſo if they are threatned with any Violence, they are, God be thanked, ſufficiently prepared to defend themſelves and their Right. Beſides they hope that he upon whoſe account they Engage will afford them his Aſſiſtance and Protection: Indeed, their Cauſe is ſo Honourable and Religious, that they ought to maintain it at their utmoſt Peril: But they are very much concerned for the ill Conſequences which will happen to the State this way. For though they deſerve to be corrected by God Almighty, yet becauſe a Civil War will occaſion a horrible deſolation in *Germany*, they deſire nothing more earneſtly than that the whole difference may be amicably accommodated, and that all future Ages may have a remarkable Inſtance of their good Inclinations and Honeſty tranſmitted to them; but their Adverſaries are implacably exaſperated and will not be brought to any reaſonable Terms, neither did they foreſee any other Iſſue of this Conteſt, than that it would occaſion the ſtrength of the Empire, which ought to be employed againſt the common Enemy the *Turk*, to be perfectly waſted and torn in pieces by the mutual Slaughter of its own Subjects; but theſe Conſequences

sequences ought not to be charged upon them. And whatever the Event may be there will come a time when the other Party, will be obliged to admit of thoſe Conditions which they now reject with ſo much Obſtinacy, for God will appear in the Vindication of his own Honour. 1540.

Upon the Firſt of *March* the Ambaſſadors of the Proteſtant Princes and Cities came to *Smalcald* according to appointment. There came alſo ſeveral Divines along with them, *viz.* *Jonas*, *Pomeran*, *Melanctbon*, *Cruciger* and *Bucer*, who were required to draw up a Scheme of Doctrine, upon which they were to treat with their Adverſaries about an Accommodation. In this Convention they debated thoſe Points which were left unconcluded at *Arnſtet*, as hath been mentioned already. In the mean time *Dulcius* and *Burcartus* returned from their Ambaſſy in *England*, and upon the Seventh of *March* they make a Report of the State of Religion in that Country, *viz.* That the Act of Parliament made the laſt Year was not Executed very ſtrictly; but yet *Hugh Latimer* and the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, who where Impriſoned upon the account of Religion were not yet ſet at Liberty; that *Cromwell* the firſt Miniſter of State endeavoured to mollifie the King, and abate the Rigour of his Opinion: And the King himſelf had in private Converſation told them his thoughts upon the Point, which were theſe, He conceived the Proteſtant Divines were not Orthodox in their Doctrine concerning the Marriage of Prieſts, the receiving the Lord's Supper, as they call it, in both Kinds, nor in that concerning private Maſſes; and therefore he deſires that they would write to him at large about theſe and other neceſſary Points, and ſet down the Reaſons of their Opinions, and he would take care that ſome Learned Perſons in his Kingdom ſhould give them an Anſwer, that ſo the way to Truth might be diſcovered. It was likewiſe the Opinion of *Cromwell* and of ſome others, that it would be proper for them to ſend an Honourable Ambaſſy to the King, and *Melanctbon* with the reſt; for if they could come to a tolerable Agreement in their Doctrine, the King would furniſh them with a vaſt Summ of Money towards the ſupporting the League; which he intended to make with them, not only in the Caſe of Religion, but for defence in general. Indeed his Majeſty very much wondered why they confined their Alliance to Religion, ſeeing it was likely they would be invaded upon a quite different account. Some few days after the Divines gave in a Writing to the Ambaſſadors. The ſumm of it was this, That they ought not to depart from the Contents of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion, nor of the Apology which was afterwards annex'd to it. This Opinion all the Divines who were abſent afterwards approved by their Letters to the Convention. About this time *Henry* Duke of *Bruniſwick* came to *Ghent*. Upon the Sixteenth of *March* the Emperor gave the Proteſtant Ambaſſadors his Anſwer by *Cornelius Scepperus*; the Subſtance was courteous enough, but withal ſo Ambiguouſly worded, that they could not tell whether he would ſecure them the Pacification or not. The Ambaſſadors therefore, with the Emperor's permiſſion, withdraw, and returning preſently after, they entreat him that he would command the Chamber to ceaſe their Proſecutions, and grant them a Peace: The Emperor replied, That at preſent he had nothing more to ſay to theſe Requeſts, but he would conſider the matter farther. This Anſwer was Reported at *Smalcald* Ten Days after; and upon *Eaſter Munday*, which was then the Twenty-ninth of *March*, the Princes came thither themſelves. There was at that time a great Emulation and miſunderſtanding between *Granvell* and *Eldo*, which at laſt occaſioned *Eldo*'s being removed from his Place; upon which he retired from Court and lived privately: For the other having the better Intereſt charged *Eldo* with Miſdemeanors, and rendered him odious, becauſe he had been too violent in his Councils and Treaties, and had like to have run the Emperor upon a War againſt his Will, when he thought nothing of it. Now *Granvell* giving pretty plain ſigns of his being deſirous to accommodate Matters, and to ſettle a good Correſpondence in the Empire, invited the Proteſtants to addreſs to him, and at their requeſt diſpoſed the Emperors Inclinations for Peace. And immediately after, and as it were in his own Name, he diſpatcheth away Two Ambaſſadors to *Smalcald* to mediate an Accommodation, *viz.* *Theodorick Manderſchitt*, *William Nuenarius*, Counts, Perſons of great Sence and Quality; though the firſt of theſe was ſeized with a dangerous Diſtemper, and forced to ſtop by the way. There demands were indeed moderate enough, but then they intimated that the Emperor was almoſt aſſured, that Religion was not the Proteſtants deſign, neither did they heartily deſire a Peace, but were wholly intent upon enriching themſelves with the Revenues of the Church: That his Majeſty had reaſon to ſuſpect they were glad to ſee the Empire embroiled; That they were diſ-

affected

A Convention at *Smalcald*.

The Emperor's Anſwer to the Proteſtant Ambaſſadors.

Eldo is removed from his Places and retires from Court.

Ambaſſadors ſent to *Smalcald* to mediate a Peace.

1540. affected to him, and rather inclinable to ſide with thoſe who were his open Enemies. This Information againſt them the Emperor received partly by their Adverſaries, and partly by the *French* as it's certainly reported. For when the Emperor travelled through *France* and all things ſeemed to promiſe a moſt intimate Alliance and Endearment, they ſay there were ſome Letters diſcovered to him which were written from the Convention at *Smalcald* to the *French* King. Some ſay this was done by the King himſelf, but others lay it upon the Conſtable, who was then the Chief Miniſter, and earneſtly deſirous to bring the Two Monarchs to a good Underſtanding, and beſides not very well affected to the Proteſtants, becauſe of their Religion.

The End of the Twelfth Book.

THE

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK XIII.

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The Proteſtants make Anſwer to the Emperor's Demands, and by many Arguments prove that they aim more at Piety and Religion in their Actions, than at appropriating to themſelves Church-lands and Poſſeſſions. They alſo refute the Arguments of the King of England. *The Emperor having puniſhed the City of* Ghent, *orders a Meeting of the Proteſtants, who anſwer his Letters. The Pope ſends his Legate* Farneſe, *the ſame who went with the Emperor from* Paris *to the* Netherlands. *He makes a long invective Speech againſt the Proteſtants. In the mean time the* French *King makes a League with the Duke of* Cleve, *to whom he gives his Siſters Daughter in Marriage. At this time the Pope was making War againſt the People of* Peruſia. *The King of* England *turns away* Ann *the Siſter of the Duke of* Cleve. *Some Points of Religion are accommodated in the Aſſembly of* Haguenaw: *The reſt are reprievd to the Convention at* Wormes, *appointed by King* Ferdinand; *whither* Granvell *came, and made a Speech.* Campeggio *the Popes Legate came after, who alſo makes a Speech. The Conference is broken off, and all the Negotiation put off till the Diet of* Ratisbone. Luther *makes a ſmart Anſwer to the Book of* Henry *Duke of* Brunſwick, *wherein Mention is made of the dear Pall which the Pope of* Rome *ſells. The Treaty commences at* Ratisbone. *The Emperor paſſes over into* Barbary. Granvell *preſents the Book called the* Interim *to the Conferrers. The Duke of* Cleve *marries the King of* Navarr's *Daughter.*

1540. The Proteſtants anſwer the Commiſſioners for Pacification.

TO theſe things the Proteſtants, *April* the Eleventh, make Anſwer; and in the firſt place, ſay they, we return our hearty Thanks to the *Heer Granvell*, who hath always adviſed the Emperor to Moderation in this Affair; a Virtue which deſerves the higheſt Commendation: And we pray God to confirm him in this ſo laudable a Reſolution; for what can be more glorious, than to allay publick Grievances by prudent and moderate Counſels, without Slaughter and Bloodſhed. Now we pray all Men in general, not to think that we delight in the Claſhings and Diſſenſions of Churches, that we propoſe to our ſelves any private Advantage; or that it is out of Frowardneſs that we have ſeparated from other Nations, contrary to the inveterate Cuſtom of many Ages. It was not out of Wantonneſs, Raſhneſs or Unadviſedneſs, that we have expoſed our ſelves to the implacable Hatred of our Adverſaries, that we have undergone ſo much Trouble and Toil, ſo great Charges and Loſſes, and the continual Dangers of ſo many Years: No, but when Diviſion in Doctrine broke out in the Church (which hath happened oftner than once of old) we could not in Conſcience reſiſt the Truth, for the Favour of Men, and far leſs approve the Actions of thoſe, who with great Cruelty perſecute the Innocent. Nay, on the contrary, for ſo many weighty Reaſons, for ſuch true and holy Cauſes, we are conſtrained to oppoſe them, and ſeparate from them: For it is manifeſtly known

1540. that they defend groſs and intolerable Errors, not only in Word, but by Violence and Force of Arms: Now it is the Duty of the Magiſtrate to protect his Subjects from unjuſt Force. And becauſe we hear, that we lie under Suſpicion, as if we only minded our own Profit and Advantage, and not the Glory of God, nor Reformation of the Church; we beſeech the *Heer Granvell*, that he would juſtify us in that Matter to the Emperor. We are ſenſible enough of the Calumnies of that Nature, which are diſperſed far and near by our Adverſaries, with intent to bring our Perſons and the true Religion we profeſs, into contempt and hatred: But in the Emperors honourable Council, whom God hath placed in ſo eminent a Sphere, Truth only ſhould be enquired into and regarded, and all falſe Informations diſcountenanced: For the Reaſon why they hunt about for Pretexts to load us with that Aſperſion, and publickly traduce us, is, becauſe they maintain a weak and unjuſt Cauſe, becauſe they ſee their own Errors blamed and condemned by all Men, and cannot withſtand the pure Light of the Goſpel. But it ſuits ill with the Character and Duty of Biſhops, ſo to urge and importune the Emperor about Lands and Revenues, as if the Chriſtian Religion ſtood or fell with them, when, in the mean time, they take not the leaſt Notice of thoſe many and enormous Errors and Vices, which they themſelves cannot diſſemble. It ought indeed, to be their firſt care, to ſee Religion and the purer Doctrine preſerved in their Churches: But now their Thoughts are wholly taken up, how they may defend their Wealth and Power, their Luxury and Splendor. They know well enough, that the Conteſt is not about Church-lands and Poſſeſſions; they themſelves know, that theſe are not the things we aim at; but they uſe that as a Cloak and Veil to cover their own wicked Counſels in reſiſting the Truth, that they may inflame the Minds of Kings and Princes to the Deſtruction of this Religion: For no Man of our Profeſſion hath invaded any part of Church Poſſeſſions, within the Territories and Dominion of another, nor deprived any Biſhop of ought that was his; but the Biſhops themſelves have ſlighted their Juriſdiction, when the Profits thereof began to fall; and, indeed, they know not how to adminiſter the ſame. Again, The Colleges of the Canons Regular, ſtill enjoy all they had; but they, on the other hand, have appropriated to themſelves the Revenues of many of our Churches, and diſcharge their People from paying us any yearly Rent: And whereas they were wont formerly to allow ſomewhat of their yearly Revenues to the Miniſters of the Church and Schoolmaſters; they are now ſo far from contributing anything that way, that the Cities are neceſſitated to be at all the Charges. And it is not like that theſe Cities, which both lie under heavy Burthens, and are expoſed to great Dangers, do eſpouſe and maintain this Cauſe, meerly for Covetouſneſs ſake: But our Enemies, eſpecially ſuch of them as hunt after Church Preferments, maliciouſly accuſe us ſo to the Emperor. We could heartily wiſh, that the Emperor were rightly informed of the preſent State of Monaſteries, why monaſtick Inſtitutions have been changed, and how theſe Goods are employed, partly for maintaining the Miniſters of the Church and Teachers of the People, and partly for other pious Uſes. We would the Emperor alſo underſtood, how our Adverſaries hook in to themſelves all Profits, and rob and ſpoil, not only Monaſteries, but other Churches alſo; ſo that within their Precincts many Churches are wholly ſlighted, and the People degenerate into *Paganiſm*. But before we ſpeak any more of that Matter, we beſeech *Granvell*, that in his own excellent Judgment, he would weigh theſe things with himſelf. For, grant we might from hence reap ſome Advantage, yet it may eaſily be imagined, that the Controverſie proceeds not from this, but from a far different and more conſiderable Cauſe, and that for ſo ſmall a Matter we would not expoſe our ſelves to ſo bitter Hatred, to ſo much Labour, Care and Danger. Beſides, waving all Dangers; if the daily Charges we are at in maintaining this Cauſe, were compared with the Rents of theſe Monaſteries, it will ſoon appear, how far the one comes ſhort of the other; and yet theſe Charges we have now born above Fifteen Years, whilſt our Dangers daily encreaſe with our Expences. Let any Man alſo but conſider the reſtleſs Endeavours, and implacable Hatred of our Adverſaries, and then what Prince in the World can be thought ſo ſilly and inconſiderate, as to put his whole Fortune to the risk for Goods of ſo ſmall a value? Wherefore we humbly beſeech the Emperor, not to entertain any ſuch Suſpicion of us; for we preferr his Friendſhip, and the publick Peace before all worldly Enjoyments. Thoſe of our Adverſaries, in like manner, who are acquainted with the State of our Dominions and Affairs, without doubt entertain no ſuch Suſpicion of us; for they know that the

the leaſt part of theſe Revenues accrue to us. Now the chief and only Cauſe, why, with ſo much Burthen and Danger, we profeſs this Doctrine, is, becauſe God requires it of us, that we ſhould profeſs the Name and Goſpel of his Son: For he commands us to fly from all falſe and idolatrous Worſhip, and by no means to approve the Cruelty of thoſe, who perſecute the true Religion. Now will we ſpeak of the Poſſeſſions of Monaſteries; Anſwer the Complaints of our Adverſaries, and give the Reaſon why the Houſes and Rents of *Monks* and *Friars* are converted into another Uſe. When the Light of the Goſpel began to ſhine in *Germany*, and the Vices and Errors of Men were detected and condemned, many, and eſpecially the more learned, of their own Accord, forſook that *Phariſaical* kind of Life; and ſome of them, that they might proſecute their Studies, and follow ſome other honeſt Courſe of Life, demanded ſome Allowance in Money. Now this Change happening not only amongſt us, but alſo in the Monaſteries of our Adverſaries; in all places where *Monks* and *Friars* remained we appointed good Men to inſpect and cenſure falſe Doctrine and Worſhip: For thoſe alſo, who choſe rather to ſtay than to remove, we provided neceſſary Suſtenance; and took particular Care, that the Aged and Sick ſhould want for nothing; there being ſtill ſome of theſe Monaſteries within our Territories. It was a Duty incumbent upon us, indeed, as Magiſtrates, when once we knew the Truth, to aboliſh falſe Religion, and to take care that theſe Revenues ſhould not be diſſipated, eſpecially when the *Monks* in all places fell away, and ſome of them had thoughts of appropriating the ſame to their own private Uſes. Beſides, there were none to be found in Monaſteries fit to labour the Land, or to mind domeſtick Affairs: So then, their State was changed, for we thought it not fit to ſend for *Monks* and *Friars* from other places, to put in their room, leaſt that might diſturb our Churches; and therefore we converted good part of their Revenues to pious Uſes; for maintenance of the Miniſters of the Church, free Schools, and thoſe that are afflicted with Poverty or Sickneſs. And upon theſe Accounts the Revenues of Monaſteries are ſomewhat impared; but what is over and above, is kept, to be diſtributed amongſt Prieſts, whoſe Living are too ſmall, and poor young Scholars. For the ſtate of the Time is ſuch now, that by all means, Ways ought to be thought on, for educating Youth, who may prove hereafter fit Inſtruments to ſerve both in Church and State. What more remains of theſe Goods, we are ready to aſſign them to pious and publick Uſes, according to the Determination of a lawful Council, when ſuch ſhall be, or of an Aſſembly of the Empire. For to this Uſe ought the Goods of the Church to be applied, as both the Holy Scripture, and the Ancient Canons and Councils do teſtify. Which being ſo, we reciprocally do deſire, That our Adverſaries will ſuffer thoſe Goods to be applied to the like Uſes. For now, in moſt Cities, the Stipends of the Miniſters of Pariſhes, are either none at all, or at leaſt, very inconſiderable; and yet, in the mean time, the Biſhops and other Prelates, who enjoy theſe Poſſeſſions, diſcharge no Office, neither in Churches nor Schools: Wherefore to the great Prejudice of the State, publick Schools run daily more and more into Decay. Therefore, as we ſaid before, ſome Remedy muſt be found to heal this Wound. God made Mankind, and appointed Magiſtrates for that end, that in ſuch Aſſemblies, Men ſhould learn the true Knowledge of himſelf: And therefore it is the part of Kings and Princes to take care that ſo neceſſary Duties ſhould be performed. We, for our parts, are ready to give Security, that within our Territories, theſe Poſſeſſions ſhall be applied to a right and lawful Uſe, provided our Adverſaries do the ſame; and that's but reaſon, ſince we ſee idle and debauched Men, that are of no uſe, but, indeed, a Burthen to the State, ſquandering away thoſe Revenues in Luxury and Riot. And would to God the Emperor knew all of our Adverſaries, how that in thoſe places within their Territories, where our Churches have yearly Revenues they receive them, and keep them for their own Uſe: And when we demand what belongs to us, and give them mutually Leave to receive the Rents of their Churches within our Bounds, they reject the Offer, and are therein ſupported by the Imperial Chamber: However it is a common Proverb, That *Equality is the Nurſe of Peace*; and if they laid to Heart the Peace and Tranquility of *Germany*, they would not, certainly, act in the manner they do. But the Truth is, they ſpare not their own Churches, impoſing and demanding new Dues of them? And becauſe they baniſh learned Preachers out of their Countries, many Pariſhes are deſtitute and ſolitary, and the Church Revenues ſquandered away. Again, they ſo exhauſt the Monaſteries, that in ſome places, it is a Proverb amongſt the *Monks*, 1540.

1540. *That there is nothing at all left to them but the Bells to Ring, and the Choire to Sing in*; which gives occaſion to Licentiouſneſs, and threatens Religion ſometime or other with a fatal blow. It would be really very acceptable to us, if the Emperor would examine the whole matter, and diligently inquire, Where it is that the Miniſters of the Church are moſt civilly and kindly uſed, Schools beſt ordered, the Functions and Miniſtry of the Church moſt decently performed, whether in our Territories or amongſt our Adverſaries? If the Emperor would give himſelf this trouble, we needed not make any Apology to juſtifie and defend the matter of Fact; for the thing it ſelf would ſpeak in our behalf, and move him to ſet about a true Reformation of the Church. But now that Cruelty is practiſed, that harmleſs Prieſts are put to Death, and that there are no limits ſet to Severity, it will come to paſs, that fit Men being removed out of the way, groſs Barbarity will enſue, and be propagated to poſterity. It is manifeſt then, that Covetouſneſs and deſire of Lucre is not to be Objected to us; when, beſides Trouble and Dangers, there comes nothing to our ſhare; and our Adverſaries, in the mean time, without any regard to the Pope, whom they uſually magnifie ſo much, make what booty they pleaſe of the Church Revenues; and beſides, beſtow great Rewards and Gifts upon ſome, that they may obſtinately Perſecute the true Religion. That we alſo ſubmit the reſt of Church-Poſſeſſions to the Determination of a Council, we hope will be ſufficient to juſtifie us in the Opinions of all Good Men. But that it ſhould be imputed to us by our Adverſaries, That we do but diſſemble and play the Hypocrites, as often as we ſpeak of Reconciliation, and as if that were only done that we may put a ſtop to the Emperor's Deſigns, pervert the matters, and hinder a lawful Trial, as a thing that does very much trouble and afflict us; for what can be more wicked and baſe, than to make a blind pretext of Piety and Religion? We therefore deſire, ſeeing that is a very heinous Accuſation, that the Emperor would patiently and attentively examine thoſe things which we are to ſay in our own defence. When Ten Years ago our Enemies made a great complaint to the Emperor in the Diet of *Auſburg*, concerning our Churches, and that we were enjoined to give an account of our Doctrine, Religion and Ceremonies, we acted nothing craftily, nor in hugger-mugger, but in plain Terms gave an open profeſſion of our Doctrine, that all might be convinced, that it agreed with the Doctrines of the Apoſtles; and we make no doubt but that was a means of bringing many to embrace our Religion, when they ſaw that we taught nothing contrary to the Form of the Ancient Church, but only ſhewed and detected the Errors which had ſlipp'd into the Church. For it cannot be denied, but that many and grievous Errors had crept in; the Doctrine of Repentance was frigid and perplexed; not a word preached of Grace received by Chriſt, and the Remiſſion of Sins; the Lord's Supper was in a horrid manner, and wholly corrupted and contaminated by the Popiſh Maſs; for it is known, that private Maſs is but a new thing, introduced partly through Ignorance, and partly out of Covetouſneſs; becauſe Marriage was denied to Prieſts, there was nothing to be heard but Inſtances of the fouleſt Incontinence; the Doctrine of the Keys and Power of the Church, was altogether ſlighted, and the Pope arrogated all that Power to himſelf, only for the Confirmation of his own Dominion and Rule, and loaded the minds of Men with almoſt infinite numbers of Precepts and Laws, which learned and judicious Men often bewailed; but no care was had of ſetting able Men over the Churches. What our Opinion was of thoſe many and neceſſary matters, we declared before the Emperor at *Auſburg*, and Books on that Subject, written by Men of our Profeſſion, are publickly extant. Many learned Men alſo of other Nations confeſs, That they had the Knowledge of the true Doctrine from theſe Books, ſo that then we ſhun not the Light. And when a Reconciliation was attempted at *Auſburg*, we acted not Fraudulently nor Craftily, but ſhewed our ſelves to be deſirous of agreement: and that if our Adverſaries would have received the Principal Doctrines, we ſhould not have been very ſcrupulous nor contentious about indifferent Things. And though the Ways then propos'd by us were moderate, yet our Treatment was neither too Friendly nor Impartial. Nay, would to God the Emperor knew how our Adverſaries, that were Commiſſionated, then behaved themſelves; for they often proteſted in the beginning of all Treaties, that they would not depart a Haifs breadth from their own Opinion and Doctrine, but that all they did was only to bring us over to their Judgment. Wherefore they began to ſpeak of *Doctrines*, of the Invocation of Saints, of Private Maſs and Satisfaction, affirming that there was no Error in them. That was not then a Conference, wherein the Truth was

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fifted by ſolid Arguments, and teſtimonies of Scripture; but it was a kind of haughty and pompous Confirmation of manifeſt Errors. And becauſe we did not then acquieſce to them, they now conſtrue that, as if we had only made a ſhew of Treating about Accommodation, not with any real and ſincere deſign of Succeſs, but only to ſhuffle with the Emperor, and elude a Trial: For ſo they underſtand the word *Reconciliation*, as if we ſhould abandon the Truth and approve their Cauſe. But after the Conference at *Auſburg* theſe things were no more debated, which nevertheleſs was not our fault; for it is our chief deſire that good and learned Men may conferr of all theſe matters, and freely give their Judgment concerning them. Wherefore we pray all Men not to give credit to this their Accuſation; for if we ſhunned the Light, or were aſhamed of our Cauſe, we might eaſily forſake it, and ingratiate our ſelves with them; but ſeeing we are convinced, that of all Cauſes this is the moſt pious and neceſſary, therefore we undergo all this Labour, ſubmit to all Loſſes and Dangers, and profeſs the Doctrine of Chriſt, which we deſire to retain and propagate, longing for a Reformation of the Church with Peace and Concord; and what a Year ſince we proteſted at *Francfort*, we now alſo profeſs, that we will not decline a Conference, nor treaty of Reconciliation. Which, that no Man may be miſtaken, we ſo underſtand, that following the Scripture as our Guide, Truth may be ſought after, Error aboliſhed, and true Doctrine take place in Churches. For otherwiſe all Labour and Pains will be in vain. Chriſt the Son of God made known to us his Will and Doctrine from the Boſom of the Father: He is to be heard, and only to be acknowledged for our Judge. Now all the Emperor's Edicts and Proclamations ſufficiently ſhow alſo, that this Affair ought to be orderly and lawfully debated; but we do not think that our Adverſaries method of proceeding at the Diet of *Auſburg*, has been made known unto him. But now what our mind is, and upon what Grounds we proceed, may be ſeen in the publick and printed Confeſſion of our Faith, which we are certain does agree with Holy Scripture, and therefore we cannot forſake it. Beſides this Doctrine, which is the chief and Foundation of all the reſt, there are ſome other mean, and, as it were, indifferent things; as concerning Ceremonies, Ordination of Prieſts, Juriſdiction, Viſiters, Church-Goods, matrimonial Cauſes, *&c.* all Controverſies, as to theſe, may, in our Judgment, be reconciled, if firſt there were an Agreement about thoſe neceſſary Points. For ſo long as our Adverſaries impugn the chief Matters, and go on in a way of Cruelty, the difference cannot be removed. How in that ſome endeavour to perſwade the Emperor, that our Doctrine is blended with many Hereſies and Errors, they do us an Injury; for if they have any thing of that nature to Object unto us, they may do it publickly, and they ſhall be anſwered: And if, perhaps, there be any thing in our Apology too briefly or not plainly enough expreſſed, we will explain it. Again, if it be convenient to alter any thing that hath been Printed and Publiſhed, we will not be Obſtinate, when once the Fault is detected. We know alſo that the weak and unlearned are offended, that the ſame Laws are not every where obſerved in all our Churches. And though there is no neceſſity of retaining the ſame Form every where, provided the Doctrine be the ſame; yet we do not refuſe but that may alſo be handled in ſome Aſſembly. Since therefore we have laid open our Thoughts and Intentions, we beſeech the *Heer Granvell* that he would adviſe and perſwade the Emperor to reform and ſettle Peace in the Church. For though manifeſt Vices and Errors may be defended by Power and Force, yet God will always ſtir up thoſe that ſhall confute and reprove them. How unjuſt and contrary to the Law of Nature it is alſo, to attempt by Force and Arms the Suppreſſion of the true Religion, is obvious enough to be underſtood. The Emperor *Conſtantine* gave the *Donatiſts* twice a publick Hearing, though they taught Doctrines manifeſtly falſe; and he himſelf was preſent at a Third Hearing they had, that nothing might be Decreed againſt them, till he had been exactly informed of the whole matter; a moſt excellent Example which ought to admoniſh us of Meekneſs and Moderation. And ſince at this time alſo, there are many moſt weighty Matters under debate, we hope the Emperor will attempt nothing by Arms, before a fair Hearing and Trial; and therefore we humbly Petition his Imperial Majeſty, that he would appoint a Conference, which by his Deputy he promiſed us at *Francfort*. For it properly belongs to his Charge, to conſult the Salvation of Men, eſpecially when Popes are inflamed with moſt bitter hatred, and have no other aim, than to incenſe Kings and Princes againſt Innocent People, that they may be dragg'd away

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1540. away to the Slaughter. The Emperor alſo deſerves high Applauſe and Commendation, which will be celebrated by Poſterity, that hitherto he hath not given way to thoſe ſanguinary Councils: And indeed, it is the Will and Command of God, That all Good-will and Protection ſhould be ſhown to the Miniſters of his Church. Now the Report that is ſpread Abroad, as if we enclined to the Emperor's Enemies, is a Calumny of the ſame nature, as the former. For it can be made out, that in time of the War, we ſupplied the Emperor's Generals both with Work-men and Powder; and that we enjoined our People to gratifie them in every thing they could. Conditions, it's true, were at that time offerred unto us, and thoſe neither inconſiderable nor inconvenient; but we rejected them all, upon no other conſideration, than that we might demonſtrate our Loyalty and Affection towards the Emperor. And if any one ſhould be informed againſt, as to that particular, and the thing done openly, we are of Opinion, that the Emperor would be ſatisfied with his Juſtification. Now it is our deſire that *Granvell* would weigh all theſe things with himſelf, and alſo repreſent them to the Emperor, recommending to his Majeſty, at the ſame time, our Duty and Services, with a publick Reconciliation. For unleſs a ſtop be put to that Perſecution of Holy Men, and ſuch extraordinary Cruelty, a horrid Deſolation in all Churches will certainly enſue; ſince the Popes and Biſhops had rather have no Religion at all, than admit of a Reformation. We alſo deſire, that he would preſent to the Emperor our Grievance concerning the Imperial Chamber: for many of our Aſſociates are moſt unjuſtly oppreſſed by them, contrary to Law, and the Emperor's Edicts, and for the ſmalleſt matters moſt grievous Suits are commenced againſt them, as is notoriouſly manifeſt in the Caſe of *Minden*: The Action was only for Threeſcore *Florins*, which the Senate applied to the uſe of a Pariſh; to which they really belonged, and had of ancient time been applied; but our Adverſaries had rather that that ſmall Revenue ſhould be filthily ſpent by uſeleſs and idle Drones. And though the Clergy of that City wallow in Riches, yet by no means will they ſuffer that ſmall Pittance of Money to be taken from them, and employed as it ought to be, in the Service of the Church. For this ſo inconſiderable a Trifle, the Judges of the Imperial Chamber have proſecuted the City of *Minden* with the utmoſt Rigour, and outlawed them. Now it is our Deſire, that this ſo great Inſolence of theirs may be in general reſtrained, and all thoſe Suits laid aſide, as it was agreed upon with the Mediators at *Francfort*; for this muſt of neceſſity be done, if the Emperor would ſee Peace in *Germany*. And, indeed, what elſe are theſe Sentences and Condemnations of theirs, but Alarms to make us prepare for War? Againſt which the very Law of Nature warrants us to defend our ſelves: For if the Emperor repreſs them not, and others in the mean time raiſe Forces, what can we judge, but that they are deſigned againſt us? Which may give occaſion to a great Combuſtion, though ſore againſt our Wills. We therefore pray the *Heer Granvell*, that he would ſupplicate the Emperor, in our Names, to grant us that Peace which has been ſo often begged and deſired.

What beſides was done in the Aſſembly of *Smalcald*.

When they had thus anſwered, on the Thirteenth of *April*, they put an end to their Deliberations, having enjoined their Divines to refute the Arguments of the King of *England*, concerning the Points of Doctrine we mentioned, and that the Book ſhould be afterwards ſent thither: To which, if the *Engliſh* Divines ſhould anſwer, and any Hopes appeared of a future Agreement, it was reſolved not to refuſe a Conference, but that they ſhould make a League with him upon any other account than that of Religion, no Man thought it convenient. A Decree was alſo made for making Interceſſion to the *French* King, for thoſe that ſuffered for Religion in *France*; but ſo, That firſt they ſhould be informed of the State of *France*, and of the King's Mind, and whether or not their Mediation would be well taken. Afterwards Decrees were made concerning Church-Lands, and the ſeveral Grievances. Thoſe of *Hailbrun* were alſo adviſed, to aboliſh the Popiſh Maſs in ſome Churches, which they had not as yet done, promiſing them Aid, if they ſhould chance to incur any Danger thereby. Laſtly, They enact what was to be done, if the Emperor ſhould either reject a Peace, or anſwer ambiguouſly; or if the Imperial Chamber ſhould proceed in their wonted way, or Forces ſhould be ſecretly raiſed.

The Emperor puniſhes the Rebels of *Ghent*.

During theſe Tranſactions the Emperor puniſhed the Men of *Ghent*, puting the Authors of the Sedition to Death, and diſarming the reſt: But that was not all, for he deprived them of their Privileges and Immunities, built a Caſtle, and put therein

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therein a Garriſon to curb them. It has been a common thing for that City to reſiſt their Princes, as we have obſerved before. Thus they ſerved *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, the Emperor's great Grandfather, *Philip* the Grandfather of *Charles*, *Lowis* Earl of *Flanders*, *Philip*'s great Grandfather by the Mother ſide, all whom the Emperor ſeemed now to have revenged; nor were they ever brought ſo under as at this time. Afterwards, on the Eighteenth of *April*, the Emperor wrote to the Elector of *Saxony* and Lantgrave, That he had diſcourſed his Brother *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, amongſt other things, about the State of *Germany*, but eſpecially the Difference concerning Religion, which he wiſhed were compoſed: For as he had omitted nothing in time paſt that might have effected that, ſo was he ſtill in the ſame Mind, provided they acknowledged this his Zeal, and abuſed it not; but made that deſire of Peace which they had long pretended in Words and Promiſes, appear now at length in Reality and Effect: That for many Years paſt he had had frequent, and very condeſcending Treaties with them; but hitherto without any Succeſs: That all things now ſeemed to tend to the diſſolution of the Government, and great Diſturbance of all the States of the Empire, if ſome healing Courſe were not ſpeedily taken: That however, though this was the preſent Caſe, yet of his wonted Goodneſs, he was willing to aſſign them another Diet, to be held at *Spire* the Sixth of *June*: Or if the Plague or Contagion did not allow it, at ſuch place as his Brother King *Ferdinand* ſhould appoint; there to treat of the Means how ſo great Danger as hung over *Germany*, might be prevented and wholly avoided: That, in the mean time, he hoped they and their Confederates would prize this Lenity of his ſomewhat more than hitherto they had done; and that they would ſo carry themſelves in all Conſultations and Debates, that he himſelf, his Brother King *Ferdinand*, and the other obedient Princes, might plainly ſee, that they were more inclined to Peace and Quietneſs than to Strife and Diſſention. That therefore they ſhould come in Perſon to the place appointed, by the Day prefix'd, and let nothing but Sickneſs hinder them; in which caſe they ſhould ſend ſome of their intimate Counſellors, Men that loved Peace, were fit for Buſineſs, and fully acquainted with their Minds: That they ſhould intimate the ſame to their Confederates, that they alſo might be preſent at the Day: That his Brother King *Ferdinand* would be there, from whom they might expect a more ample Declaration of his Will and Pleaſure; and of the Effect of the Ambaſſy they ſent to him: That therefore they ſhould ſo frame themſelves for the Preſervation both of themſelves and Country, that all matter of Diſſention being removed, they might to better Purpoſe conſult of the other Affairs of the Empire: That, after all, they needed not to fear any Danger; for that he aſſured them upon his Royal Word, and gave them the benefit of the Peace of *Nurimberg*; nor would he ſuffer any Man to act to the contrary, yet ſo, that they reciprocally ſhould not offend others. To theſe Letters they anſwer *May* the Ninth; That they return his Majeſty their hearty Thanks, for his good Inclinations to follow peaceful Counſels: That as to the Admonition he gives them that they ſhould acknowledge his Zeal, and not abuſe it; there was no Cauſe, ſaid they, that he ſhould entertain any other Thoughts of them or their Confederates, for that there was nothing dearer to them than Peace; but why no Reconciliation had been hitherto made, it was not to be imputed to them, but to the greatneſs of the Cauſe, and their Adverſaries, who would admit of no Explanation of their Doctrine: That now they were very willing to obey his Majeſty, and be preſent at the Day appointed: But becauſe they would not tire out the King with needleſs Labour and Toil, they thought fit to ſend their Mind in Writing; Which was, That his Majeſty knew, that from the very firſt Riſe of this Diſſention, after much Debate in the Diets of the Empire, it was looked upon by all, to be the only proper Expedient, that a lawful General Council ſhould be called, or a National Synod of *Germany*. But when, becauſe of the ſhortneſs of time, that way ſeemed not ſo convenient to others, a future Conference was moved at *Francfort*, and accordingly a Decree made, That ſince this Matter was difficult and weighty, whereon Mens Salvation did depend, it would not be ſoon diſpatched, if they would effectually ſet about it; and that therefore it would prove a hard Task, not only to King *Ferdinand*, but alſo to them and their Aſſociates, to attempt the Matter before a Conference were firſt had, and the way prepared for it: That upon this Conſideration, they thought it the beſt Courſe at preſent, which was liked of by all at *Francfort*, That if a National Council

The Emperor's Letters to the Duke of *Saxony* and Lantgrave.

The Diet of *Spire* called.

Saxony and the Lantgrave's Anſwer to the Emperor.

1540. Council of *Germany* could not be had, a Conference ſhould be appointed; for that in their Judgment, a better way than that could not be found; as they had alſo ſignified to the Count of *Nuenar*: But that for themſelves to come without the Advice and Conſent of their Confederates, they would not: That, again, the time aſſigned betwixt and that Day, was ſo ſhort, that hardly could their Confederates be called together, and conſult of the Matter: That thoſe who lived more remote could hardly, with much adoe be preſent, which therefore they acquainted him with, that he might know their Thoughts: That, though it was ſo, yet ſince his Majeſty aſſured them that King *Ferdinand* would be there, they would ſend thither their Deputies, and write to their Confederates to do the like: But on this Condition ſtill, that if nothing were done, That then they might be free to take their other Courſes; from which they could not depart without the Conſent of their Confederates: That they would alſo give Inſtructions to their Deputies, to direct all their Conſultations to a peaceable Reconciliation, as much as they could, without offending God and their own Conſciences, and to prepare the Way, as far as in them lay, to an entire Agreement: But that they hoped, his Majeſty would command that the Holy Scripture ſhould bear the greateſt Sway in all the Proceedings, and that when their Adverſaries deviated therefrom, they ſhould be made to ſtick to their Rule: That when Matters were brought under Agitation, if any Hopes of Succeſs appeared, they would not fail to come in Perſon: That, after all, they prayed that the ſafe Conduct his Majeſty promiſed, might be extended to their Divines as well as Deputies, ſince they were the Parties chiefly concerned in the Cauſes, and that he would be pleaſed to let them know what his Pleaſure was therein.

Cardinal *Farneſe*'s Speech againſt the Proteſtants, before the Emperor.

We mentioned Cardinal *Farneſe* before; He waited on the Emperor from *Paris* to *Flanders*, being a Youth hardly of Mans Years; and it was ſaid that the Emperor was diſpleaſed that the Pope had not ſent a grave Man of Age and Experience. When therefore the matter of Religion, and of the Turkiſh War, came under Deliberation, and *Granvell* had ſpoken his Mind; *Farneſe*, at length, in Preſence of the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, ſpoke to this purpoſe; That the Pope was very deſirous of Peace, and of the Concord of *Germany*; but of ſuch a Peace and Concord as might not be diſpleaſing to God: That it was his Deſire alſo, that all their Force might be imployed againſt the Turk: But that as to Religion and the Proteſtants, there had been many Treaties with them in order to a Reconciliation, eſpecially in the Diet of *Ausburg*, where they then preſented their Confeſſion of Faith; in which Writing, though there were many Errors to be found, yet they had in the mean time deviated from it: So that ſeeing they had nothing fixed or certain to which they adhered, but were like ſlippery Eeles, there was no more treating with them: That, in like manner, the King had laſt Year, at the deſire of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, appointed another Treaty with them; but that they had ſtumbled at the very Threſhold, as is commonly ſaid, and given Intimation plain enough, how far they were from any purpoſe of Agreement; for that having once ſhaken off their Duty and Obedience, they were now come to that, That it was not the Reformation of the Pope they aimed at, but his total Suppreſſion; not the removing of Faults, but the overturning of the Apoſtolical See, that ſo all eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction might fall to the Ground: And if they durſt do ſo the Year before, when the State of *Europe* was ſomewhat more peaceable and quiet, what would they not do in all probability, when Peace was not yet concluded with *France*, and the *Turk* again preparing to Invade *Hungary*? What, but even grow more froward by the Adverſity of the times; and it was in vain to think, that there could be any way of reclaiming them from their Deſigns for that, they did only controvert about a few things, but brought many chief Doctrines under debate: That again, it was, in a manner, uncertain how to come to any Agreement with them, ſince they differed among themſelves. That *Luther* taught one kind of Doctrine, and *Zuinglius* another; not to mention any thing of the other Sects: And that, granting there might be ſome hopes of an Accommodation, yet they would not obey the Church of *Rome*, unleſs they had many things allowed them, as the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both Kinds, the Marriage of the Clergy, and the like, which are not to be altered without a publick Decree of Council. That now, if it ſhould be ſaid, that for publick Peace ſake, theſe things might be granted them, and the conſent either of the Pope or Council be afterwards obtained, that would not be ill ſaid, indeed; but then they would preſently lay hold on that

Privilege

Privilege, and never want for a publick confirmation thereof. And that if ſo, 1540.
then would they lay aſide all care of a Council, which would occaſion great Diviſions all over Chriſtendom; when *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and other Provinces would differ from *Germany* in Rites and Cuſtoms. That, moreover, ſhould the Council, perhaps, condemn the Alteration made, and indulged for a time, and Decree the contrary, then would all hopes be loſt of reclaiming *Germany*, now hardened in their Opinions, and there would be danger, leaſt the Proteſtants, (the thing they chiefly drive at) ſhould move the reſt of the States to make Defection alſo. That the Emperor himſelf was not ignorant, how in former Years they had made a Decree in the Diet of the Empire, about calling a Council, without his conſent; and that therefore care was to be had that they ſhould not do the like hereafter: That he repreſented theſe things unto them both, that they might ſee what was to be expected from theſe private Treaties and Conferences: That a Peace had been treated with them at *Schweinfurt*, and a Truce afterwards made at *Nurimberg* under Penalty: But that they, without any regard to ſo great a Favour, had broken their Articles, and ſtrengthened their own League by the Acceſſion of many Cities and Princes, and eſpecially of the King of *Denmark*, and Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and had in many places changed the Religion contrary to their Oaths and Promiſes, ſo that it eaſily appeared what farther hopes were to be had of them, who by diverſe ways, partly by Favours, and partly by Force, drew Men over to their ſide. That the Heat and Zeal of Religion was now grown cold, and that Men were naturally prone to forſake the Rules of Auſterity, and to liſt themſelves under a more eaſie and laxe Diſcipline: But that they did not confine themſelves within thoſe bounds neither, nor was it enough for them to miſlead Men into Error, unleſs they committed Sacrilege alſo, caſt out Biſhops, and profaned all Religion with Impunity: Nay, that they were now advanced to that pitch of Licenciouſneſs, that they would overturn that moſt upright Judicature of the Imperial Chamber, to the intent, that it being removed, the Emperor's Authority in *Germany* might be weaken'd, and that they, without any Reſiſtance, might prey upon the Lives and Fortunes of all Men, after their own Pleaſure. That therefore no firm nor laſting Peace was to be expected from thoſe private Treaties: And that if any ſuch ſhould be, there was no doubt to be made, but that it would invalidate the Dignity of the Apoſtolical See, and all Eccleſiaſtical Polity: That many other things could be alledged in this place, but that for brevities ſake he waved them: That the next thing now was, to conſider how with the ſafety of Religion, Proviſions might be made for a *Turkiſh* War. That the moſt commodious way indeed would be, if the Proteſtants and other States did jointly contribute Aſſiſtances. But that ſince, perhaps, that could not be obtained, unleſs Religion were ſettled, and that the handling of religious Matters belonged not to private Aſſemblies, but to a General Council; it would be well done to have a Council called with all Expedition, and the whole cauſe of Religion referred to it; for that ſo he, the Emperor, would ſatisfie all others, and over-awe the Proteſtants; who when they ſaw the matter ſeriouſly ſet about, would become much more Obedient and Tractable, as perceiving a courſe taken to reduce them again into the right way, and to root all Hereſies out of *Germany*: For that ſince the Chriſtian Religion belonged to all Men in General, there was nothing to be altered or reformed therein, but with the common conſent of all, and that regard was not to be had to *Germany* alone, but to *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and other Nations alſo. For that if any Innovation ſhould be made in *Germany*, without conſulting them, it would expoſe many to cenſure, and be of pernicious Example: That, in like manner it would be a monſtrous like thing, if the Members of the Church anſwered not in proportion to their own Body: That it was an ancient Cuſtom, even as old as the Apoſtles themſelves, that all Controverſies ſhould be determined by the Authority of a Council: And that, ſeeing all were very ſollicitous for a Council, and that *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland* had lately ſent an Ambaſſador to the Pope to intercede for it; it would not be difficult to begin the ſame, eſpecially ſince they themſelves, in a League lately made, had promiſed upon Oath to uſe all their Endeavours to procure the calling of a Council: That now was the fit time for it, when there was a treaty of Peace with *France* on Foot, and many ſigns of mutual Benevolence appeared; ſo that the Biſhops of their Dominions might without danger repair to it. That, beſides, it would much conduce to the Peace of their own Minds and Conſciences, if they referred all things to

1540. a Council, and not make Decrees in private Conventions, which might offend God; for, that ſo, they would have nothing to anſwer for: That moreover, it would be uſeful alſo unto them, ſince all the Care being referred to the Council, they would have time and leiſure to mind other Affairs, as they ſhould think fit, and to enlarge their League alſo; which would produce this Effect, that the Proteſtants ſhould either ſubmit to the Decree of the Council, or be by the Catholick Confederates reduced to Duty; and ſo much for that. That now, as to the *Turk*, He did earneſtly exhort and beſeech, as he had often done already, that the Emperor would make Peace with the King of *France*; for that ſuch a Peace would be ſo Advantageous to Chriſtendom, that without it, it was to be doubted, whether the *Turk* would be reſiſted: That he had many times before ſhown the Benefits of that Peace, ſo that it was not needful now to repeat them; that the other States of the Empire might in the mean time be ſollicited for aid; and that, if after the League ſhould be enlarged and the Council Commenced, the Proteſtants might be perſwaded, upon Security given them, to come to the Council, it would not be difficult to obtain Aſſiſtance alſo from them againſt the *Turk*. But that, if there was no obtaining of that, but upon bad Conditions, pernicious to Religion; it was to be conſidered, of two Evils which was to be choſen, and whether it would be better to offend God, by betraying Religion, or to want the Subſidies of one Province againſt the *Turk*. That the Truth was, it could not eaſily be determined, which withſtood Chriſt moſt, the Proteſtants or the *Turks*; for that theſe exerciſed their Cruelty only upon the Bodies of Men, but that theſe drew their Souls into eternal Damnation: That therefore he thought it moſt expedient that a Council ſhould be ſpeedily called to Commence this Year; and that no Matters of Religion ſhould be handled in any Diets or Aſſemblies of *Germany*, but that the League ſhould be enlarged, were it only for this, that thereby the Proteſtants might be the more invited to concord. That Peace was alſo to be made with the *French* King, and in the mean time Aſſiſtance procured on all Hands againſt the *Turkiſh* Power, that next Year he might be attacked with all the Force that could be made. Cardinal *Farneſe* had joined with him *Marcello Cervino* Biſhop of *Necaſtro* to moderate his Councils, who in this ſame Legation was made Cardinal. When ſome Months after this Counſel of *Farneſe*'s came abroad; *John Calvin* cloathed it in a ſhort Commentary, leaſt any Man ſhould miſtake it, and therewith it was printed and publiſhed.

About this time the Duke of *Cleve*, now in poſſeſſion of *Guelderland*, came to the Emperor to make up the difference he had with him, but that proved in vain; wherefore returning Home, he began to join Counſels with the *French* King; who ſince he had left all Hopes of Recovering *Milan*, the Emperor having offered ſuch Conditions, as he little expected, he fell quite off from the Emperor's Friendſhip, though covertly, complaining that he had been abuſed; inſomuch, that the Conſtable, who had been his great Favorite before, began now to fall into his Diſgrace, becauſe he had adviſed him to let the Emperor paſs through *France*, and had thereupon filled him with great Hopes. Seeing then the King was caſting about underhand, how he might by any means annoy the Emperor, and that the Duke of *Cleve* was not able alone to ſtand it out againſt ſo powerful a Competitor, they began to think of mutual Engagements of Friendſhip. The *French* King had a Neece, *Jane* the Daughter of his Siſter *Margaret*, Queen of *Navarr*, a Young Lady of about Eleven Years of Age, the richeſt Fortune in *France*, and of ſingular Beauty both of Body and Mind; the King deſigned her in Marriage for the Duke of *Cleve*, and therefore ſollicited her Relations, and eſpecially the Queen his Siſter, for their Conſent, which at length he obtained; as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place.

The *French* King ſecretly diſpleaſed.

The Duke of *Cleve*'s Alliance with the *French* King.

At this time the Pope made War againſt the *Perugians* who refuſed to pay an additional Cuſtom impoſed by him upon Salt and other Commodities, and ſo reduced the City under his Obedience; having for the like Cauſe driven *Aſconio Colonna*, a very powerful Man, out of all his Territories.

The Pope's War with thoſe of *Perugia*.

Cardinal *Farneſe* finding no likelihood of any Succeſs in the Peace betwixt the Emperor and *French* King; which according to his Inſtructions he had propos'd, and that, unknown to him, a Day was aſſigned the Proteſtants to meet, and treat at *Haguenaw*, he departed, and about the Fifteenth of *May* came to *Paris*, where on *Whitſunday* in the Cathedral Church, he inveſted *Anthony* Uncle to Madam *d'Eſtampes* the King's Darling, Cardinal of *Mendon*, by the ceremony of putting

ting a purple Hat lately ſent from *Rome*, upon his Head, and then having ſaluted the King in paſſing, he made all ſpeed back again to *Rome*. 1540.

King *Ferdinand* afterwards leaving *Flanders*, ſet out upon his Journey to the Diet at *Haguenaw*; for becauſe of the Plague it could not be kept at *Spire*. The *French* King alſo, by the Emperor's Advice, ſent his Ambaſſador *Lazarus Baif* to that Diet; for both of them diſguiſed their Diſcontent, and as yet gave fair words to one another. The King likewiſe the Firſt Day of *June*, emitted a moſt ſevere Edict againſt the Broachers of the Hereſies and falſe Doctrine of *Luther* and his Followers, which Twelve Days after was proclaimed at *Paris*, and Printed according to Cuſtom. The Diet of *Haguenaw*. The *French* King's Edict againſt the *Lutherans*.

Much about this time the King of *England* ſtruck off the Head of *Thomas Cromwell* Earl of *Eſſex*, whom from a very low Degree he had raiſed to great Honour. He alſo put away his Queen *Ann* of *Cleve*, and married the Lady *Catharine Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Brother's Daughter. *Cromwell* had adviſed the King to the Match of *Cleve*; but he falling afterwards in Love with the Lady *Howard*, was thought to have been prevailed with by her, to cut off *Cromwell*, whom ſhe look'd upon as her Adverſary. Beſides, he was not very acceptable to the Nobility, and had fallen into a ſuſpicion of deſigning the Ruine of the Roman Catholicks. *Cromwell* Earl of *Eſſex* beheaded. The King of *England* having put away *Ann* of *Cleve*, marries the Lady *Catharine Howard*.

In the mean time *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* accuſed all the Proteſtants to the Emperor, and in particular *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, in that contrary to the Will of his Brother *George*, and the Condition expreſſed in his Teſtament, he had made an alteration in Religion; that he obſtructed the Jurisdiction of the Biſhop of *Merſburg* and *Miſen*, and that he kept to himſelf the ſumm of Threeſcore thouſand Florins left by his Brother for the uſe of the League. Wherefore he moved the Emperor to reduce him to Duty, and if he refuſed, to foreclose him from his Brother's Succeſſion, according to the tenour of his laſt Will and Teſtament. However he did not thus alone, but ſome others of the League joined with him, though he was the chief. The Duke of *Brunſwick* Accuſes the Proteſtants.

It is now time to ſpeak of the Aſſembly at *Haguenaw*. It was opened *June* the Twenty-fifth, King *Ferdinand* having been there a Month before. Some days before the Commencement the Proteſtants had made their Applications to the Electors *Palatines*, *Cologne* and *Treves*, to *Erick* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and the Biſhops of *Auſburg* and *Spire*, to all privately in their ſeveral Lodgings, that they would promote a Peace. King *Ferdinand* therefore having on the Day abovementioned, called the Proteſtants before him, declared unto them the Cauſe of the Aſſembly. And becauſe the Princes came not in Perſon, which the Emperor fully expected from them, he required their Deputies to ſhew him their Commiſſions and Inſtructions. After that he nominated Commiſſioners, *Lowis* Prince *Palatine*, *John* Archbiſhop of *Treves*, *Lowis* Duke of *Bavaria*, and *William* Biſhop of *Straſburg*, who being accepted by the Proteſtants, the Treaty began. A great many Proteſtant Divines came thither alſo, as *Juſtus Menius*, *Piſtorius*, *Urbanus Regius*, *Bucer*, *Brentius*, *Blaurerus*, *Oſiander*, *Schnepſius*, and many more; but *Melanchthon* fell dangerouſly ſick upon the Rode. Every one of theſe preached privately in their own Lodgings, as it was their Cuſtom, but then, eſpecially when all the Deputies met together to conſult about any matter. But this coming to King *Ferdinand*'s Knowledge he diſcharged them to preach any more; though, on the other hand the Deputies alledged, that they preached not publickly but privately, and that his Majeſty had no cauſe to be offended thereat. When the Conference ſhould begin, the Lantgrave and Duke of *Saxony* intended to be preſent, and were already on their own Frontiers, expecting the News of it, that ſo they might ſet out upon their Journey. The Commiſſioners Pacificators afterwards required the Proteſtants to deliver unto them the Heads of the controverted Doctrines drawn up in ſhort: They make anſwer to this, That the Confeſſion of their Faith and Apology had been preſented at *Auſburg* Ten Years before, to which they ſtill adhered, being ready to ſatisfie any that found fault with it; and ſince they knew not what it was that their Adverſaries chiefly cenſured in that Book, they had nothing to propound, but rather were to demand of them, what the Doctrines were that they thought contrary to the Word of God. That if they would do ſo, and bring the matter to a Conference, as had been thought fit at *Francfort*, they were ready to come to any fair Agreement. Some Days after the Commiſſioners make Report, That ſeeing they ſtuck to the Confeſſion of *Auſburg*, they had in the mean time read over that Book The Acts of the Aſſembly of *Haguenaw*.

1540. and all the Treaty of *Auſburg*, and find that ſome Points of Doctrine had been agreed upon there, and ſome not: That therefore they were ready to uſe all their Endeavours to accommodate theſe, and deſired them to tell them their Thoughts therein. To this the Proteſtants reply, That ſome Articles had been diſcourſed on, indeed, but nothing concluded therein, nor any Conciliation made there. The matter being thus toſſed to and fro; when the Proteſtants urged a Conference, and the others alledged, that they had Commands from the Emperor and King, to proceed according to the Treaty of *Auſburg*;

King *Ferdinand*'s Propoſals to the Proteſtants.

King *Ferdinand* calling them all together on the Sixteenth of *July*, told them, That ſince nothing could be then determined, and eſpecially becauſe the Duke of *Saxony* and the Lantgrave were abſent, another Day was to be appointed, when the Deputies of both Parties and learned Men ſhould meet in an equal number, and conferr among themſelves about the Points of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion; but ſo, that it ſhould be no derogation to the Decree of *Auſburg*: And that the Pope alſo, if he pleaſed, might ſend Commiſſioners thither. That again, ſince ſome complained, that the Proteſtants had turned them out of their Poſſeſſions, it was but juſt and reaſonable, that in the mean time whilſt the Controverſie about Religion depended, thoſe who were rejected, ſhould be reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of their Church Livings, or elſe be allowed to bring their Actions for them at Law. That, moreover, for avoiding all Commotions, a longer Truce ſhould be made, wherein thoſe ſhould be now comprehended, who were of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion before the Tranſaction of *Nurimberg*, ſo that the Proteſtants ſhould not reckon thoſe of their Number who had joined with them ſince, nor admit of any others neither for the future. Five days after, the Proteſtants declared what they had to except againſt in theſe Propoſals, That they highly approved of a Conference, and wiſhed that the Emperor himſelf in Perſon, and not his Deputies only, might be preſent at it; but that, as to the Pope's ſending Commiſſioners thither, they ſhould not preſcribe Laws to the Emperor. As to the Reſtitution of Church-Lands, and the Judicature of the Imperial Chamber, they made a long Anſwer as has been ſeveral times mentioned before, alledging that the Controverſie about Religion ought firſt to be determined; but that they ſhould exclude thoſe who had aſſociated with them ſince the Peace of *Nurimberg*, and admit of no others for the future, it was a thing, they ſaid, they could not do, and that they had no Inſtructions as to that particular. On the other hand King *Ferdinand* and the Commiſſioners Pacificators urge the Reſtitution of Church Livings, or at leaſt, that they ſhould be put under ſequeſtration until the Cauſe were determined: Beſides, King *Ferdinand* told them that he would not grant them Liberty to admit of more into their Society, and therefore adviſed them, to comply with the Conditions propoſed by him; for that though they did refuſe, yet by Authority from the Emperor he would make a Decree, and at the ſame time he appointed the next Convention to be held at *Wormes* the Twenty-eighth Day of *October*. They return an Anſwer to him, that they were ſatisfied with the time and place of the Conference, but that they had robbed no Man, and that the Queſtion it ſelf belonged to the Conference and future Treaty; that beſides no ſequeſtration could be made without great prejudice to the State and Conſtitution of the Church within their Dominions, and to the Schools and Poor: And that, ſince it was not long to the Time of the Conference, they craved that the whole matter might be put off till then; that there they would make it appear how much more ſollicitous they were for the Glory of God, and the Reformation of the Church, than for Church-Lands and Revenues; and that though they could preſently prove how ſome of their Adverſe Party appropriated to themſelves ſuch Poſſeſſions, yet they would defer it till then: At which time, when the matter ſhould come to be ſifted, it would plainly appear, which of the two converted thoſe Poſſeſſions more to their own private uſe, than to the Honour of God. Concerning their Aſſociates they anſwered as they did before, praying that it might alſo be put off till the next Conference, and that Peace might in the mean time be preſerved.

The Proteſtants Anſwer.

A Convention appointed to be at *Wormes*.

The Decree of *Haguenaw*.

King *Ferdinand* thereupon made a Decree *July* the Twenty-eighth, wherein having recited the whole Proceedings, he appointed a Conference at *Wormes*, as we ſaid before, but conditionally, if it pleaſed the Emperor. The Princes, Electors, as alſo the Biſhops of *Magdeburg*, *Saltſburg*, and *Straſburg*, *William* and *Lowis* Dukes of *Bavaria*, the Duke of *Cleve*, and the Proteſtants, are enjoined to ſend their Commiſſioners thither, ſo that there ſhould be Eleven on each ſide; the

the ſame number of Clerks were alſo appointed to be there, carefully to ſet down in Writing all the Proceedings in the Conference, which was decreed to be about the Doctrines propoſed at *Auſburg*, and the Emperor was prayed to call a Diet of the Empire. In the mean time, by Command and Authority from the Emperor, he charges all, under ſevere Penalties, to live in Peace, and abſtain from Violence: And whereas it was urged by the Proteſtants that the Imperial Chamber had no power to judge of the Peace of *Nurimberg*, he referred that to the Emperor's Cognizance. The Decree being read, the Proteſtants deſired a Copy of it: And becauſe the Emperor having written to him from *Bruſſels June* the Fifteenth, told him, That he would declare his Thoughts, as to the Imperial Chamber, they begg'd to know what he had been pleaſed to ſignifie in that matter, ſince there was no mention at all of that in the Decree; ſo that they knew not whether the Judges of the Chamber were diſcharged to proceed or not. To this King *Ferdinand* made Anſwer, That he had, indeed, Orders from the Emperor to acquaint them with his Reſolution, but it was upon Condition, That all Church-Lands and Goods were reſtored, or put under ſequeſtration, for that then all Proceedings were diſcharged; but ſince they refuſed both, he had no more to ſay, but would make a Report of all to the Emperor. Beſides the Princes whom I named, the Biſhop of *Trent* was preſent, and alſo *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, but he went Home before the concluſion of the Aſſembly. The Electors, *Palatine* and *Cologne*, and the Biſhop of *Straſburg* were very Inſtrumental here for continuing the Peace; for the reſt hatched far different Counſels, and urged the Decree of *Auſburg*, ſaying, That matters ſhould not be put off with Conferences and Debates, but that it ought to be taken into deliberation, how the Proteſtants attempts might be quaſhed and reſtrained. During this Aſſembly, *John* the *Vayvode* King of *Hungary* died, leaving behind him an Infant Son *Stephen*, of whom *Iſabell* the Daughter of *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland* had been lately brought to Bed. This was the Cauſe alſo that King *Ferdinand*, having notice ſent him of it, haſtened Home.

1540.

Vayvode King of *Hungary* dies, leaving a young Son *Stephen.*

About this time alſo many Fires happened in *Saxony*, and in Places about belonging to the Proteſtants for moſt part, which burnt down ſome Towns and Villages. The Duke of *Brunſwick* was reported to have been the Author of this horrid Villainy, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. *July* the Fifthteenth, one *Robert Barnes* Doctor of Divinity was burnt at *London*. He had been for ſometime baniſhed *England* for the Proteſtant Religion, but being afterward informed that King *Henry* applied himſelf to Piety and the Knowledge of the Truth, he returned Home; and was afterward employed in that Ambaſſy which was ſent to *Germany*, and was one of thoſe who, amongſt other things, treated with the Divines of *Wittemberg*, about the King's Divorce, as we told you in the Tenth Book. But the King changing his Mind, and in moſt things retaining the Popiſh Doctrine, this Man who continued conſtant to the laſt was this Day Executed, having at the Stake made a publick Profeſſion of his Faith. Other two of the ſame Religion were burnt with him; and the ſame Day Three others were burnt for maintaining the Pope's Supremacy, and the Validity of Queen *Catharine*'s Marriage.

Robert Barnes burnt at *London.*

Papiſts and Proteſtants burnt at the ſame time.

In the Month of *Auguſt* died at *Paris William Budey*, Maſter of the Requeſts, a Man of extraordinary Learning, and worthy to be Honoured by all Poſterity; were it only for this, that he and Cardinal *du Bellay*, Biſhop of *Paris*, were the Adviſers of King *Francis* to that Noble and Generous Act of ſettling competent Salaries on the Profeſſors of Languages, and liberal Arts at *Paris*; for it is hardly to be believed what plentiful Streams have flowed from this Fountain, and watered not only *France* but other Countries alſo. He ordered his Funeral to be made without any Pomp. This Year was memorable for extraordinary Heat and Drought, however the Wine was excellently good. The *French* King, in the mean time, about *Autumn*, ſent circulatory Letters to all his Biſhops, ordering Prayers and Supplications to be made in all Churches. For though he was at Peace with the Emperor, which he would not raſhly break; yet he was much afraid, that the old Enemy of Mankind, and hater of Peace, might by his Engines and Inſtruments lay a Train for kindling a new War. The Emperor being informed of all that paſſed by Letters from his Brother King *Ferdinand* and the Commiſſioners Pacificators, comfirmed the Decree of *Hagnenaw*, and by Letters dated at *Utrecht*, the Thirteenth of *Auguſt*, exhorted the Proteſtants that againſt the Day appointed they would ſend their Deputies and Divines to *Worms*, to

William Budey dies.

A moſt Hot and Dry Year.

The *French* King commands Prayers and Supplications to be made.

The Emperor confirms the Decree of *Hagnenaw*, and exhorts the Proteſtants to come to the Aſſembly at *Worms.*

1540. to all whom he granted a ſafe Conduct; and aſſured them, That ſince his Affairs would not ſuffer him to be there in Perſon, he would ſend in his place ſome perſon of eminent Quality about him; not doubting but that the Pope would ſend thither alſo for Reconciliation ſake. He promiſed likewiſe to call a Diet of the Empire, where he intended to be perſonally preſent, and to which Diet alſo the reſult of the Conference ought to be referred. By other Letters afterwards dated at *Bruſſels* the Fifteenth of *October*, he gives *Granvell* Commiſſion to act, and appoints him his Deputy at the future Conference. *Granvell* was at that time at *Beſanzon*, a Town in the *Franche Comte*, where he was Born; and being ſo taken up with Buſineſs, that he could not be there at the Day appointed, he wrote to the Elector of *Mentz* and the other Princes deſigned for the Conference, ſending before, on the Second of *November*, *John Naves* of *Luxemburg*, to excuſe his Delay, and crave their Patience. For after he had, upon ſome grudge, wormed out *Matthias Eldo*, as we ſaid before, he employed this Man in his place, as being more obſequious and agreeable to his Humour.

A Diet of the Empire called at *Ratisbone*.

In the mean time the Emperor called a Diet of the Empire to meet at *Ratiſbone* in the Month of *January*, where all ſhould be preſent. Afterwards *Granvell* himſelf came to *Wormes*, accompanied by the Biſhop of *Arras*, his Son, and ſome *Spaniſh* Divines, *Muſcoſa*, *Malvenda* and *Carobello*, where having produced his Commiſſion, and the Emperor's Inſtructions in the Aſſembly, he made a

Granvell's Speech in the Aſſembly at *Wormes*.

Speech on the Five and Twentieth Day of *November*. And excuſing the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, that they could not be preſent, he enlarged upon the paternal Care and Affection that the Emperor had for the publick; who deſired nothing more earneſtly, than that long and inveterate Diſſenſion might be removed, which was very pernicious both to Church and State: That he made no doubt, but they themſelves were ſenſible of the preſent Calamity; and thought it neceſſary that there ſhould be a Reformation in the Church: That nothing therefore, would more concern them in Duty, than to prevent the ſpreading of this Evil by their ſound and pious Counſels: For that, as when a Fire broke out in a City, it is the Inhabitants part to quench it; even ſo were they now to do, that Peace and Concord might be re-eſtabliſhed: That moreover they ſhould ponder with themſelves, and ſet before their Eyes what an Inundation of Evils had by this Diſſenſion broke in upon *Germany*: For that, not to mention the Blood and Slaughter, Religion was baniſhed, Charity quite exſtinguiſhed in the Hearts and Minds of Men, all the Beauty and Ornament of the ancient Catholick Church defaced; and that in ſhort, the Eloquence of no Mans Tongue was able to expreſs the greatneſs and extent of the miſery: That *Germany* had heretofore flouriſhed in Zeal for Religion, and in all kinds of Vertue; but that now it was ſadly degenerated, and looked upon as the Head and Source of all the Diſorders of Chriſtendom: That unleſs then a Remedy were applied to this Diſtemper, all things would grow worſe and worſe, and run to ruine: And that as the Emperor had appointed this Conference for examining the Truth, and advancing the Glory of God, ſo were they to bring along with them no ambitious nor covetous Minds, but pious and moderate Diſpoſitions, and look up only to Chriſt, who now with out-ſtretched Arms deſired the ſame of all of them: That that was alſo the chief deſire and wiſh of the Pope, the moſt Auguſt Emperor, and King *Ferdinand*; that therefore he adjured them by the Death and Sufferings of Chriſt, and all that was Holy and Sacred, that they would mend and make whole again the ſeamleſs Coat of our Lord, which was rent and torn all over; being therein mindful of the Name of Chriſtians, which they took upon them in their Holy Baptiſm, and being mindful alſo of the renowned Province of *Germany*, their common and native Country. For that unleſs they would be reconciled, all the Evils that might afterwards enſue from that Obſtinacy and Frowardneſs of Mind, would be imputed to them; but, and if they managed that weighty Affair with Soberneſs and Modeſty, they would do God moſt acceptable Service, and extreamly oblige the Emperor, who would make it his Endeavours that the whole matter ſhould be accompliſhed in the next Diet of the Empire.

The Son of the *Vayvode* is put under the Protection of the Turk.

After the Death of the *Vayvode*, the Guardians and other Nobles ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Grand Seignior*, and recommended the Child to his Protection. The Turk promiſed to defend him, and ſent him Preſents. King *Ferdinand* alſo,

Ferdinand prepares to Invade *Hungary*.

underſtanding this, ſent *Jerome a Laski*, who ſome Years before had Revolted from the *Vayvode*, from *Haguenaw* to *Conſtantinople*, as a fit perſon to make

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the Turk his Friend: Returning afterwards Home, he thought it beſt to begin a War before the Queen Dowager and the Guardians of the Child ſhould be in a readineſs: Which being known at *Conſtantinople*, *Solyman* committed *Alaski* to Priſon, as moſt privy to *Ferdinand*'s Deſigns, and at the ſame time ſent Aid, which being hindered by the Winter Weather came a little too late. 1540.

Alaski committed to Priſon by *Solyman*.

Next Day after *Granvell* had ſpoken, they began to treat of Clerks and Notaries, and on each Side Two were choſen, carefully to take Notes of all that paſs'd, and keep them. The Proteſtants appointed on their part, *Caſpar Cruciger* and *Wolfgang Muſculus*, both Divines. On the Eighth of *December* after, *Thomas Campeggio*, Biſhop of *Feltri*, the Popes Legate, made a Speech, and having promiſed ſome things concerning Peace, which Chriſt ſo much recommended to us, and lamented alſo the Condition of *Germany*; ſome Popes, ſaid he, and eſpecially *Paul* III. had already eſſayed all Means to have delivered it from this Calamity, and had therefore called a Council lately at *Vicenza*: But that when after ſome Months Expectation, none came to it, it had been, of neceſſity, put off to another time: That now the Emperor, the eldeſt and moſt obedient Son of the Church; the Protector alſo and Advocate of the ſame, had appointed this Conference, as a certain preparatory Prelude to the Proceedings of the future Diet at *Ratiſbone*: And that with his Will and Conſent, and by Command of the Pope, he was come thither, and earneſtly intreated them, that they would direct all their Counſels to Unity and Concord: For that the Pope would do any thing in order thereunto, that he could with Safety to Religion. The Preſidents and Moderators of the Aſſembly, made this Law at firſt, That the Acts of the Conference ſhould not be communicated to any Man, unleſs he were appointed to be one of the Number; and that they ſhould not be made publick neither, before a full Report of all were made to the Emperor. Then they required the Proteſtants to produce in Writing thoſe Heads of Doctrine which they were fully reſolved to ſtick to. There was a long Debate betwixt them about theſe things; as alſo concerning the Form of the Oath, the Number of the Collocutors, and the way of giving their Voices: For when the Catholicks perceived that the Deputies of the Elector *Palatine*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and Duke of *Cleve* favoured the Proteſtants, they were afraid they ſhould be out-voted, and therefore purpoſely drove off the Time from Day to Day, until they ſhould have other Orders from the Emperor, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. So then, on the Second of *January* they propounded new and ſtrange Conditions, as that Two Divines ſhould be choſen out of the whole Number, to reaſon about the Queſtion propoſed: That their Arguments and Diſcourſe being taken by the Clerks, ſhould be carried to the Preſidents: That the leſſer Number ſhould not be obliged to follow the Opinion of the greater, unleſs the Emperor and States of the Empire decreed it ſhould be ſo: That the Clerks ſhould not write down all the Diſcourſe of the Conferrers, but only their bare Opinions, whether reconciled or controverted: And that nevertheleſs the Decree of *Ausburg* and the like ſhould ſtill continue in Force. On the contrary, The Proteſtants demanded, that ſince on both ſides there were Twenty two appointed for the Conference, every one might have Leave to ſpeak their Minds: And that not only the bare Opinions, but alſo the Arguments and Reaſons, with the Explanations of the ſame, ſhould be taken in Writing: Affirming it to be an unreaſonable thing, in this moſt holy Cauſe, to follow the Opinion of any Party, and not rather the Rule of God's Word; or to force any Man to think or ſpeak contrary to it. Whilſt Time was in this manner ſpun out, the Proteſtants often complained of it, craving that the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion of Faith being laid before them, they might, according to the Decree of *Haguenaw* fall preſently to Buſineſs, eſpecially ſince it was to be a friendly, no captious and enſnaring Conference, to clear only the Way to Concord and Agreement. The Divines alſo urged the ſame, who were there in great Number, as *Melanchthon*, *Capito*, *Bucer*, *Oſiander*, *Brentius*, *Calvin*, *Aleſe* a Scot, ſent from the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and many others; to whom were added *Simon Griney*, and *John Sturmey*. At length, about the Thirteenth of *January*, the Catholicks choſe *John Eckius*, and the others *Philip Melanchthon* to begin the Conference: And in the firſt place, that they might proceed in order, *Original Sin* was the firſt Subject, of which they ſpake by Turns in the publick Aſſembly: But when all were intent on this, came Letters from the Emperor on the Third Day of the Conference, directed to *Granvell* and the other Deputies, whereby he put off all further Proceedings till the Diet of *Ratiſbone*,

The Speech of the Legate *Campeggio* in the Aſſembly of *Wormes*.

The Conditions of the Conference at *Wormes*.

1541.

The Emperor diſſolves the Conference.

1541. *bone*, whither he ordered the Proteſtants chiefly to repair, and recalled *Granvell* with all ſpeed. Theſe Letters being read in the Seſſion, which was *January* the Eighteenth, *Granvell* exhorted them to obey the Emperor, and come to *Ratiſbone*: For that his Majeſty was moſt deſirous of Peace; and that if any rough Word had perhaps eſcaped him in the heat of Conference, he prayed them not to take it ill from him, who was ready to do all Services to the Publick. Hereunto the Proteſtants made Anſwer; That they were very ſorry, that the Conference had not begun much ſooner, and that they could not now proceed any further therein: But that ſince the Emperor ſo commanded, it behooved them to obey: So that now they would return home, that they might make Report of all that had paſs'd, and doubted not but their Principals would be ready to gratify the Emperor: That nevertheleſs, if perhaps, they ſhould come or ſend their Deputies ſomewhat too late, it muſt be excuſed, becauſe of the ſhortneſs of Time. At this Aſſembly was alſo *Petro Paulo Vergerio*, Biſhop of *Cabo d'Iſtria*, in outward Appearance as for the *French* King, but in reality ſent from the Pope, who thought he might do him better Service there, if he went by the Character of another. He made a Speech here, of the Unity and Peace of the Church, which he printed and gave about, and therein inſiſted chiefly to ſhew that there was no Thoughts to be had of a National Council; for that Aſſembly looked ſomewhat like ſuch a thing, and ſeemed to make way for it. Now of all things the Pope could not endure that, and *Vergerio* was fully acquainted with his Thoughts. By the Means of this Man then, and other ſuch Inſtruments, the Conference was impeded, and at length diſſolved; for by drilling on the time, and raiſing Delays, they ſought to themſelves Starting-Holes and Evaſions. In the beginning of *January* the Emperor left *Flanders* and came to *Metz*, the chief City of *Lorrain*; from thence he took his Journey by *Spire* to *Ratisbone*, and wrote the Letter to *Granvell* we mentioned, upon the Rode: He then took his Way by *Nurimberg*, a City he had not ſeen before, and was there magnificently received.

Vergerius's Speech concerning the unity of the Church.

February the Eleventh, *Philip de Chabot-Brion* Admiral of *France*, a Man of great Honour, being brought into Suſpicion with the King, of Miſcarriages in the War of *Savoy*, which we mentioned before, was after a long and brisk Trial found Guilty of Bribery and Treaſon; and being deprived of all his great Honours and Dignities, without any Hope of Reſtitution, he was committed to Priſon in the Caſtle of *Vincennes*, not far from *Paris*. *William Poiet* Chancellor of *France*, pronounced this Sentence againſt him at *Melun*, all the chief Men, Judges and Lawyers of *France* being called to this Trial. And though Sentences ſo paſſed were uſually moſt firm and inviolable, yet not long after he was abſolved by the King's Authority, as ſhall be related hereafter. At this time alſo *Maurice* ſon of *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* married *Agnes*, Daughter to the Lantgrave. In the Month of *March* moſt of the Princes and States came to *Ratisbone*, where the Emperor had ſometime expected them. The Lantgrave came alſo towards the latter End of the Month, with a great Train, and the next Day went with his Guards to wait on the Emperor, who received him very graciouſly. The Duke of *Saxony* ſent thither a ſplendid Ambaſſy and Divines, amongſt whom was *Melancthon*. From the Pope came alſo *Caſparo Contarini*, a Cardinal of great Reputation: There were preſent alſo the Elector of *Brandenburg*, *Frederick* and *Otho Henry* Princes Palatine, *William* and *Lowis* Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, *George* Marqueſs of *Brandeburg*, *Philip* Duke of *Pomerania*, the Biſhops of *Mentz*, *Saltzburg*, *Bremen*, *Bamberg*, *Spire*, *Ausburg*, *Aichſtadt*, *Conſtance*, *Heildeſſeim*, *Brixen* and *Paſſaw*. About this time was publiſhed and brought to *Ratisbone*, *Martin Luther's* very invective Book, written in *High Dutch*, againſt *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*. In the former Book we took notice of Duke *Henry*'s railing Papers againſt the Elector of *Saxony* and the Lantgrave: And ſeeing, in a Libel lately publiſhed, he called the Duke of *Saxony* Heretick, Seditious, *Cain*, Monſter, Æſop, endued with no Vertue, neither of Body nor Mind; whom *Luther* himſelf (though he was his Idol, and, in a manner Second God) did but laugh at and deſpiſe: *Luther*, who thought his Reputation herein concern'd, wrote a moſt bitter Anſwer, and affirmed it to be a Calumnie: And becauſe the Adverſaries challenged to themſelves the Title of the Church, he proved by many Arguments that they had made Defection from the true Church; and having ſtated a Compariſon, maintained that the *Roman* Papacy, which had corrupted and defiled the true Doctrine of Chriſt, was

The Admiral of *France* condemned.

Duke *Maurice*'s Marriage with the Lantgrave's Daughter.

The Diet of *Ratisbone*.

Luther's Book againſt the Duke of *Brunſwick*.

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the Antichriſt, foretold by *Daniel* and the Apoſtles ſo many Ages before: Which being ſo, that the Revenues of the Church belonged not to them, and that it was a wicked thing in them to demand the Reſtitution of the ſame. Then he objected to them, That they ſhunned the Light. And why, ſaith he, do you now deſire, now promiſe, now put off, and now refuſe a Council? If your Church be ſo holy, why is it ſo much afraid of a Council? What need it be reformed? But if it need it, How came ye to call it Holy? Would you even reform your own Holineſs? For our Parts, we never demanded a Council for reforming our Churches; for God hath already ſanctified them by his Word, purged out of them all Popiſh Uncleanneſs, and reſtored to us his pure Doctrine: Our Lives, it's true, come not up to this our Profeſſion, nor do we perform ſo much indeed, as we ought and wiſh we did: But the ſame was alſo the Complaint of the Prophets and Apoſtles, whilſt they were in the Fleſh; and we ſhall enjoy that Happineſs at length, when being delivered from this ſinful Body as out of a Priſon, we ſhall be advanced to a State equal to the Angels. The thing we demand a Council for, is that our Churches Plea may be heard openly; that your Doctrine, contrary to Chriſt's Doctrine, may be condemned, and that Men being reclaimed from it, may know and embrace the true Worſhip of God. Now that you object to us the Crime of Sedition and Diſobedience, it is falſe, even by the Teſtimony of the States of the Empire: For our Princes have been both obedient to the Emperor, and ready alſo when called, to go either to War, or to the Diets of the Empire. But if you reproach us with that, becauſe we ſubmit not to the Emperor's Edicts, which condemn our Religion; we rejoice, and give God alſo Thanks, that therein we are not Obedient: For what belongs to God alone, is not to be given to *Cæſar*, who ought, and does hold all of God. God hath indeed, ſet the Emperor over Kingdoms and Provinces, but he alone will govern his Church by his own Word; nor does he allow any to ſhare with him in that Honour. The Emperor hath more than enough to do in governing the State, which is the Office God hath allotted him, and confined him within thoſe Limits: But if he ſtretches his Authority farther, he then invades God's Property and Juriſdiction. Amongſt other things, *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* alledged in his invective Papers, That *Luther* had raiſed this Tragedy of Religion at the Inſtigation of Duke *Frederick*, who was vexed that *Albert* the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, ſhould have the Biſhoprick of *Magdeburg*. *Luther* therefore anſwering that; This Calumny, ſaith he, was by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* ſuggeſted to Duke *Henry*; and becauſe he pretendeth not to know, what no Man knows better, I'll now lay open the Cauſe and Original of theſe Revolutions: In the Year of our Lord 1517. *John Tetzel*, a *Dominican*, carried about Indulgences to ſell in *Germany*: Now this ſame *Tetzel*, the Emperor *Maximilian* had once condemned to die, and at *Inſpruck* ordered him to be thrown into the River; but at the Interceſſion of Duke *Frederick*, who happened to be there at that time, he eſcaped. This Man, I ſay, amongſt other things, taught, that he had ſo great Power from the Pope, That if a Man had even defloured the Virgin *Mary*, and got her with Child, he could pardon the Crime for Money: Beſides, he pardoned not only Sins already committed, but ſuch alſo as ſhould be committed in time to come: And not long after came forth a Book, with the Arms of the Archbiſhop *Albert*, wherein the Collectors were enjoined moſt carefully to preach up to the People the Virtue and Efficacy of Indulgences; wherefore it came to be known, that *Tetzel* was hired by Archbiſhop *Albert*, to make ſuch Declamations; for he had been lately created Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, on Condition that he himſelf ſhould be at the Charges of procuring his *Pall* from *Rome*: For Three Biſhops of that City had died within a ſhort ſpace of Time, *Bertolde*, *James*, and *Uriel*, and it was too heavy a Burthen for the Chapter to be at ſo vaſt a Charge and ſo often: For that *Pall* is laid to coſt almoſt Thirty Thouſand *Florins* before it be brought Home, ſo well knows the Pope how to ſell his Cloth; and this Money was advanced by the Merchants of *Ausburg*: So that for Reimburſment of the ſame, *Albert* bethought himſelf of this Device, which was allowed by the Pope, on Condition that one half of the Money raiſed ſhould be ſent to *Rome*, for the building of St. *Peter*'s Church. But I was ignorant of all theſe things at that time, and therefore wrote a very ſubmiſſive Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, exhorting him to reſtrain thoſe Preachers; but he made no Anſwer: Having made Application alſo to the Biſhop of *Brandenburg*; he adviſed me to deſiſt, and not to run my ſelf into Danger. Afterwards I emitted ſome Poſitions contrary to the *Tetzelian* Doctrine, which within few

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The firſt Cauſe of the Troubles in *Germany*.

The Price of the *Pall* of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*.

For what end the Indulgences granted.

1541. Days flew all over *Germany*, and were greedily read by moſt Men: For the Indulgences were a common grievance, eſpecially thoſe that *Tetzel* taught. And Becauſe there was no Biſhop nor Doctor neither, that offered to oppoſe this Abuſe, ſince *Tetzel* frightned them with the Thunder of *Rome*: My Name began to be talked of, that there was one Man, at length, to be found in the World who durſt ſpeak againſt it. But I had rather have been without that Applauſe; nor, indeed, did I rightly underſtand at that time what the Name of Indulgences meant. This is the Original and firſt Cauſe of the Troubles which Duke *Frederick* did not raiſe, but the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, by means of *Tetzel* his Emiſſary and Hucſter. Wherefore he muſt e'en thank himſelf, if any thing grate him now. Another cauſe of the Commotions was given by the Holy Father *Leo* X. when he thundered out Curſes and Excommunication againſt me, and in all places Men ſo crowed over me, that the unlearnedeſt Dunce of 'em all was for whetting his Pen upon me. The truth is, I thought at firſt that the Pope would have abſolved me, and condemned *Tetzel*, becauſe the Canon Law was on my ſide, which plainly teaches, That Souls are not delivered out of Purgatory by Indulgences: But, Good God! whilſt I expected glad Tidings from *Rome*, I was ſtruck down with a Thunderbolt, and condemned as the wickedeſt of all Men living. Then I thought it time to defend what I had done, and publiſh ſeveral Books for that purpoſe; ſo that at long run the Matter came to be ſtated in the Diet of the Empire. Thus ye ſee how a ſingle Thread of an Archiepiſcopal Cloak hath drawn after it ſo much Diſturbance, and is now grown ſo great and twiſted ſo hard, that his Holineſs is in danger to be hanged with it. Which being ſo, let them e'en lay their Hand upon their Breaſt and blame themſelves, who have acted ſo impudently and ſaucily; for my part, I ſit ſtill and laugh in my ſleeve. For he that dwelleth in Heaven hath ſmitten them, and had them in deriſion, being unwilling that Ungodlineſs ſhould reign any longer, but that his People ſhould be brought out of that Egyptian Darkneſs into the clear Light, and joyful ſight of the Sun. Now this *Pall* that hath been once and again mentioned, is given only to Archbiſhops, and as a ſingular Favour to ſome few Biſhops, as to the Biſhop of *Bamberg* in *Germany* for one. This is the Ceremony of making it; On the day of the Virgin St. *Agnes*, which is the One and twentieth of *January*, when in the Maſs that is ſaid in St. *Agnes* Church in *Rome*, they come to the words, *Agnus Dei qui tollis*, *&c.* Two white Lambs are laid upon the Altar, which are afterwards given to Two Subdeacons of St. *Peter*'s Church, who put them out to Graſs, and in due time ſhear them; the Wool that comes from them being mingled with other Wool, is ſpun, and afterwards woven into theſe *Palls*, which are Three Fingers broad, and hang down from the Shoulders to the middle breaſt before, and to the Reins behind; at the end are thin Plates of Lead of the ſame breadth: When they are thus woven, they are carried to the Bodies of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and after ſome Prayers ſaid, are left there all night; next day after the Subdeacons receive them again, and decently lay them up and keep them, until an Archbiſhop that needs one of them, or his Proctor, come to demand it: Now it is delivered with many Ceremonies, and they who carry it are charged not to reſt above one night in a place, if poſſibly they can. This is neither a curious nor coſtly Commodity, and yet the Archbiſhops pay dear for it to the Pope. Nor is it lawful for any one to make uſe of his Predeceſſors *Pall*, but every one is obliged to purchaſe himſelf a new one at *Rome*: Beſides, if by exchange or any other way, a Patriarch or Metropolitan is removed to another Church, though he had purchaſed a *Pall* before, yet he muſt needs be at the charge of a new one. This kind of Fleecing gave occaſion at all times of murmuring and complaining, as hath been ſaid in the Fourth Book, eſpecially in *Germany*: And when, in the Year of Lord One thouſand five hundred and eighteen, *Leo* X. ſent Cardinal *Cajetan* to the Diet of *Auſburg*, to exhort the Emperor *Maximilian* and the Princes to a War againſt the Turk, and moved that all the States, and the Clergy too, ſhould contribute Money: The Anſwer that was given him, was, That there was no Hopes of obtaining that from the Prieſts, whoſe Rights and Revenues were by ſo many old and new Tricks and Divices, clogg'd and diverted by the Court of *Rome*; and that, as for the People, when any ſuch thing was impoſed upon them, they cried, That Money had been ſo often given upon that account, that they wondered how it was ſpent, or what became of thoſe vaſt Summs that were yearly raiſed in *Germany* from the *Annats* alone.

The Way and Ceremony of making the Archiepiſcopal Pall.

We

1540.

Incendiaries hired by the Party of the Duke of *Brunſwick*.

Who is accuſed thereof before Emperor.

The Acts of the Diet at *Ratisbone*.

We told you before of ſeveral Fires that happened in *Saxony*: Now many of the Malefactors being take in divers Places, and examined, they all generally confeſs'd, even with their laſt Breath, That they had been ſuborned and hired by the Officers and familiar Friends of *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and got Money from them to do that. Upon this account therefore, as for other things alſo, the Lantgrave and Deputies of *Saxony* accuſed the Duke of *Brunſwick* to the Emperor at *Ratiſbone*, and exhibited in writing the ſeveral Confeſſions of theſe Incendiaries. With theſe joined Duke *William* of *Brunſwick*, who alſo grievouſly Accuſed his own Brother Duke *Henry*, that had kept him many Years in Priſon. When moſt of thoſe who were expected to be at the Diet were now come, it was opened on the Fifth Day of *April* by an Harangue made to them in the Emperor's Name, according to Cuſtom; the Effect whereof was, That they all knew how Studious and Laborious he had always been, in endeavouring a right Conſtitution and Eſtabliſhment of all publick Affairs: But that when he perceived how Religion had torn and rent aſunder the Empire, and given occaſion to the Turk to pierce almoſt into the Bowels of *Germany*; it had been a great grief to him, and therefore for many Years paſt he had with their own conſents, been eſſaying ways of Pacification; and that all had judged a General Council to be the moſt proper and expedient remedy, which had been the Senſe and Reſolution of the laſt Diet at *Ratiſbone*; but that ſeeing the Turk had at the ſame time Invaded firſt *Hungary*, and then *Auſtria*, with a deſign to fall upon *Germany* next with all the Force he could make: He had made Head againſt him with an Army conſiſting of his own Forces, thoſe of his Brother King *Ferdinand*, and of the whole Empire; and not only ſo, but had ſent out a Fleet to Sea againſt him, which having advanced a great way towards *Conſtantinople*, had taken from him ſome Paſſes, Caſtles and Towns, that ſo his Force might be broken and diverted: So that when the Turk had retreated Home, he took a Progreſs into *Italy*, treated earneſtly with Pope *Clement* for a Council, and pacified *Italy*, that no Obſtacle might ariſe from thence: That he had afterwards returned to *Spain*, that having ordered all things there alſo, he might himſelf be preſent at the Council. That in his Opinion they were not ignorant of the Reaſon why the Council was not called, which the Pope had promiſed to open the Year after: But that ſeeing not long after the Turk had ſent his Admiral *Barbaroſſa*, who put to flight the King of *Tunis*; for preventing the publick danger he had croſſed over into *Barbary*, where, by God's Bleſſing, he had been Victorious, and driven him out of all that Country: That afterwards he had come to *Sicily*, *Naples*, and to *Rome* alſo, where he had treated with *Paul* III. about a Council, who was fully enclined to it; and that being reſolved to draw nearer to *Germany* to ſettle Affairs there. At the ſame time a War broke out againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, his Ally, and a Vaſſal of the Empire, who had a great part of his Country taken from him by force; ſo that he was obliged, as in Duty, to undertake his Defence at that time: That ſince that War had continued almoſt till Winter, and that there was no great Hopes of a Council, he had propoſed ſome Conditions proper for Peace, and ſo returned into *Spain*: That afterwards he came back again to the Country about *Genoa*, whither the Pope and *French* King came alſo: And that having made a Truce there, he went with his Fleet to *Aigues Mortes*, where he had had a Conference with the *French* King, as with the Pope before, about the Peace of Chriſtendom and the Turkiſh War: That having returned from thence into *Spain*, he had employed all his Thoughts about healing the Diviſions of Religion, and removing the Impediments of a Council; and that being reſolved afterwards to return into *Germany* through *Italy*, he had been moved and entreated by the *French* King to take his Journey through *France*, meerly to confirm their Friendſhip: That he came next to *Flanders*, where he found Affairs in a troubleſome State, but that he had applied a Remedy to the Diſtemper; and that though his weighty Affairs would not then ſuffer him to proceed into *Germany*, he had nevertheleſs appointed an Aſſembly at *Haguenaw*, where his Brother King *Ferdinand* was preſent: That it was freſh in the minds of all what had been done there, and alſo at the Conference of *Wormes*; and that he now mentioned theſe things, that they might ſee the Care and Zeal he had for the publick, and underſtand alſo the Reaſons why he came not ſooner into *Germany*; that what trouble, pains and charges he was at in ſupporting the Government of the Empire, he would in due time make it ſo plain to them, that all

1541. ſhould be convinced, that nothing was dearer unto him than the Welfare of *Germany*; nor would he mention neither what vaſt Expences he was put to daily, in maintaining a Fleet at Sea, to withſtand the Encroachments of the Turks: That he was come, and in great haſte too, to this Diet, though his Health and other Affairs had been a great hindrance unto him: That, beſides, he had moved the Pope to ſend a Legate hither; and that accordingly *Cardinal Contarini* was come, a Man of great Vertue, and a Lover of Peace: That therefore, ſince this Diet was called chiefly for ſettling the Affairs of Religion, and that nothing was yet determined therein, though it might be of dangerous conſequence, if an end were not put to theſe Diviſions; it was his earneſt deſire that a Reconciliation might be made, and that he would willingly contribute thereunto whatever lay in his Power: That he expected the like Will and Inclinations from them, and therefore was importunate with them, that they would conſult about meaſures for accommodating the Controverſies, and the manner of proceeding therein; and that they might perceive how much he loved Concord, it was his Advice (provided they knew of no better Expedient) that of the whole number a few good and learned Men, that were deſirous of Peace, and *Germans* Born, ſhould be choſen, to conferr amicably about the matters in Controverſie, and how they might be adjuſted, and then to make their Report to him, and their own States, that the thing being afterwards deliberated amongſt them, and communicated to the Popes Legate, a Decree might accordingly paſs: That this courſe had been looked upon as the moſt convenient, both at *Auſburg* heretofore, and lately at *Wormes*, but with this proviſo, That it be no derogation to the Decree of *Auſburg*.

The Proteſtants Anſwer to the Emperor's Propoſals.

To theſe things the Proteſtants anſwered *April* the Ninth, and having praiſed and extolled the Virtues and Goodneſs of the Emperor, they craved that the Conference of *Wormes* might be continued, as being transferred to this place: That to what his Majeſty offered of commiſſionating ſome new, they would give their Anſwer, they ſaid, when they ſhould learn from him who the Perſons were. But the other Princes and States having given their Anſwer *April* the Twelfth, throughly approve his Council, and mainly urge, That the Decree of *Auſburg* may continue in Force and Authority. Afterward the Emperor demanded of both, eſpecially of the Proteſtants, that they would referr the choice of the Perſons to him, and confide in him as to that particular, who would do nothing but what ſhould tend to the Peace and Welfare of the Country. When that was granted him, on the Thirteenth of *April* he cauſed *Frederick* Prince *Palatine* in his Name to appoint for the Conference, *Julius Pflug*, *John Eckius*, *John Gropper*, *Philip Melanchthon*, *Martin Bucer*, and *John Piſtorius*, that they ſhould handle the controverted Points of Doctrine, and then make a Report thereof to him and the Princes. He afterwards called them before him, *April* the Two and twentieth, and gave them a long and ſerious Admonition, that in handling of this matter they ſhould not be ſwayed by Paſſion nor Affection; but have regard only to the Glory of God. They all modeſtly excuſed themſelves, deſiring that other fitter perſons might be appointed, except *Eckius*, who ſaid, that he was prepared and ready; but when the Emperor urged it upon them, they ſubmitted, and at the ſame time entreated him, to add ſome more to their number who might be preſent, partly as Preſidents and Moderators, and partly as Witneſſes and Hearers of the Proceedings. He therefore named *Frederick* Prince *Palatine* and *Granvell* for Preſidents; and *Theodorick* Count *Manderſchitt*, *Eberhard Ruden*, *Henry Haſeu*, *Francis Burcart*, *John Fig*, and *James Sturmey* for Witneſſes. Now when they all met *April* the Twenty ſeventh, *Frederick* Prince *Palatine* made a Speech, and adviſed the Conferrers ſeriouſly to ſet about the matter, and conferr amicably. Then *Granvell* preſented to them a Book in Writing, which he ſaid had been delivered to the Emperor by ſome good and learned Men, as a proper means for a future Reconciliation: That it was therefore the Emperor's Pleaſure that they ſhould peruſe and weigh that Book as a lawful Argument and Matter to treat on, commend what all of them approved therein, and correct what was amiſs. That Book contained theſe Heads of Doctrine, Of the Creation of Man, and of the Uprightneſs of Nature before the Fall; Of free Will; Of the cauſe of Sin; Of original Sin; Of Man's Juſtification; Of the Church and the Marks and Authority thereof; Of the Mark of the Word; Of Repentance after the Fall; Of the Authority of the Church in diſcerning and interpreting Scripture; Of the Sacraments; Of Orders, Baptiſm, Confirmation, the

Perſons choſen by the Emperor for the Conference.

His Exhortation to them.

The Preſidents and Witneſſes of the Conference at *Ratisbone*.

Lord's

Lord's Supper, Penance and Abſolution, Matrimony, Extream Unction; Of the Bond of Charity; Of the Hierarchy of the Church, and its Authority in ſettling Diſcipline and Government; Of Images; Of the Maſs; Of the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and of the Diſcipline of the Church, both as to Miniſters and People. 1541.

The Proteſtants write to the *French* King, and intercede for their Suffering Brethren in *Provence*.

In the Month of *May* the Proteſtants wrote from *Ratiſbone* to the *French King*, interceding for thoſe of the Proteſtant Religion in *Provence*, who were partly in Priſon, partly baniſhed, and partly forced to abſcond and lead a miſerable Life for their Profeſſion; and becauſe ſome were received into Favour, if they would renounce their Religion; they deſired he would releaſe them from that condition, ſhewing what a grievous thing it was to force Mens Conſciences. This Perſecution proceeded from a Sentence pronounced the Year before againſt the Inhabitants of *Merindole*, a Village of *Provence*, by the Parliament of *Aix*, which being exceeding terrible and cruel, put the poor people into extream Terror and Apprehenſion: However the full Execution of it was put off to another time, and this Year's Perſecution was but a Play, in reſpect of that which followed four Years after, as ſhall be ſaid in the proper place.

The Duke of *Cleve*'s Treaty with the *French* King.

Whilſt theſe things are in agitation at *Ratisbone*, *William* Duke of *Cleve*, whoſe implacable Enemy the Emperor was, becauſe of his Poſſeſſion of *Guelderland*, went privily into *France*, having appointed a day and place for thoſe whom he deſigned to have with him, to come to him by ſeveral ways. When, about the end of *April* he arrived at *Paris*, he was received by the King's Officers, and being conducted by *Orleans*, on the Sixth of *May* he came to the King, who was then at *Amboiſe* a Town in *Turin* upon the *Loire*. The King embracing him as a Father would a Son, ſends preſently word to the King of *Navarre* and his Siſter, that they ſhould come to him as ſoon as poſſibly they could, and bring their Daughter with them; for they were at that time in *Guienne*. Upon their coming they began to treat of a Marriage; and though the Parents at that time were not altogether for it, and that the Young Lady was more averſe, not ſo much of her own Judgment, or that ſhe ſlighted the Perſon of the Man, as through the Whiſpers and Tattles of ſome who deſpiſed *Germany* as a wild and rude Country, in reſpect of the Pleaſantneſs and Deliciouſneſs of *France*; yet being over-ruled by the King's Authority, who look'd on that affinity as very advantageous to him, they yielded. Wherefore on the Fifteenth of *June* the Marriage was ſolemnized, the King leading the Bride his Neece to Church. The Cardinal of *Tournon* ſaid Maſs, and the King gave a moſt magnificent Wedding Feaſt; whereat were preſent the Pope's Nuncio, the Ambaſſadors of *England*, *Portugal*, *Venice* and *Saxony*; for the Emperor's Ambaſſador had excuſed himſelf. Some Days after the Duke of *Cleve* returned home, leaving his Young Wife in *France*, whom her Mother would have to be with her, until ſhe were grown up to maturity. Before the Duke of *Cleve* came into *France*, the King ordered the Admiral, whom we mentioned before, to be ſet at Liberty, to go Home; and then in the Month of *May* to come to his Majeſty, who moſt graciouſly received him, and reſtored him to his former Honour and Dignity; raiſed him, as it were, from Death to Life, and by a new and unprecedented Example, annulled the Sentence paſs'd againſt him by the Select and Chief Judges of the Kingdom; partly in ſpight of the Conſtable, as it was believed, and partly at the interceſſion of *Madam d' Eſtampes*, who had contracted a new Relation by Affinity with the Admiral. Wherefore the Conſtable *Montmorency*, who loved not the Admiral his equal, and was fallen much in the King's Favour, becauſe of the Emperor's Paſſage through *France*, as hath been ſaid, being beſides altogther ſlighted and deſpiſed at Court, went Home, and in an uncertain Condition led a private Life; whereas before he had had the King wholly to himſelf.

The Marriage of the Duke of *Cleve* with the Daughter of *Navarre*.

The Admiral reſtored.

The Conſtable of *France* in diſgrace.

The End of the Thirteenth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK XIV.

The CONTENTS.

In the Conference of Ratisbone *they treat of reforming the Eccleſiaſtical State, and Means are propoſed for accompliſhing of that: Diverſe Opinions and Anſwers are here related.* Eckius *loathing the Book offered by the Proteſtants, accuſes his Collegues. Upon the Report of the Approach of the Turk, the Emperor commands the Conference to be put off till the meeting of the Council.* Fregoſo *and* Rink, *the Ambaſſadors ſent from the* French *King to the Turk are taken and ſlain; and therefore the Baſtard Son of* Maximilian *is arreſted at* Lyons, *and committed to Priſon. The Turk makes his Entry into* Buda. *The Emperor comes to* Algiers. *The Plague rages in* Germany. Auſtria *ſorely afflicted. The Peers of* Auſtria *deſire Leave to profeſs and exerciſe the Proteſtant Religion; and are eluded by King* Ferdinand. *The Chriſtians being worſted in* Hungary, *the Emperor calls a Diet of the States of the Empire to meet at* Spire; *where* Oliver, *the* French *King's Ambaſſador, made a long Speech. The King of* England *cuts off his Queens Head, and marries a Sixth Wife.* Morono *the Pope's Legate, being ſent to* Spire, *declares the calling of a Council at* Trent. Luther *publiſhes a little Book, a Military or Camp-Sermon, wherein he compares the Papacy with the Turks. War breaking out again betwixt the Emperor and* French *King.* Longueville *and* Martin van Roſſem, *invade* Brabant. Perpignon *is beſieged. Edicts againſt the* Lutherans *are publiſhed at* Paris. Farel *preacheth at* Metz. *Locuſts overſpread* Germany *and* Italy. *An Imperial Diet held at* Nurimberg. Poiet *apprehended in the Night time, and committed to Priſon.* Otho, *Prince* Palatine, *embraces the Proteſtant Religion.*

1541. The Acts of the Conference at *Ratisbone.*

THE Conference commenced about the end of *April*, as we ſaid before: But *Eckius* grew impatient and moroſe; for he was ſick of the Book, diſliked his Collegues, and not long after fell into a Fever, ſo that he could not be preſent: However his Aſſociates went and conſulted him about all Matters. Some Places of the Book, indeed were by common Conſent corrected in the Conference, and ſome others they could not agree upon; as about the Church, and the Power thereof; the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt; the Confeſſion of Sins; Satisfaction; the Unity and Order of the Miniſters of the Church; Saints; the Maſs; the Sacrament to be received in both Kinds, and the ſingle Life of the Clergy. So the Book, as it was corrected, was delivered to the Emperor, and therewith the Sentiments of the Proteſtant Divines in Writing, concerning the controverted Points of Doctrine now mentioned; this was on the laſt Day of *May*. The Emperor commended their Zeal, and took it kindly, entreating them to ſhew the like Diligence and good Inclination, if at any time after the Caſe did ſo require. On the Eighth of *June* after, he made a Report of what was done, and how far they had proceeded in the Seſſion of the Princes and States: That the

the Conferrers had carefully handled the Matter, and reconciled many weighty Points of Doctrine; and that the Proteſtant Divines had declared their Thoughts touching the reſt, which were not as yet accommodated: Then he ſhewed them both the Writings, deſiring they would take them ſpeedily into Conſideration, give their Judgment of the ſame, and think of a way how both Church and State might be reformed: That for his part, he would not omit anything that might contribute thereunto, and doubted not, but that the Pope's Legate inclined that way too. The Senate of Princes conſiſts for moſt part of Biſhops; and therefore they who were for rejecting the Book offered by the Emperor, and all proceeding by Conference, carried it by majority of Voices, and gave their Reſolution accordingly in Writing, though in Terms ſomewhat too harſh: But ſeeing the Electors, and ſome other Princes, who tendered the Wellfare of the Publick, did not conſent to it, there was another Writing drawn up, and on the Second of *July* preſented to the Emperor; whom therein they adviſed, that as Advocate and Defender of the Church, he would communicate the whole Affair to the Pope's Legate, according to the Decree of *Haguenaw*; but particularly thoſe Heads which the Conferrers had agreed upon, that they might be carefully weighed, if there were any thing to be found in them, in Senſe or Words, inconſiſtent, either with the Doctrine of Holy Interpreters, or the Cuſtom and Practice of the Church: That, in the next place, what was ſaid more obſcurely might be explained, and that he himſelf would be pleaſed afterwards to acquaint the States with his Thoughts and Reſolution, as to the whole, and to deal with the Proteſtants; that they would ſuffer themſelves to be inſtructed in the remaining Points in Controverſie; or, if that could not be obtained, that then a General or National Council of *Germany* ſhould be called to determine all Matters in debate. Among the States there were ſome who made it their Buſineſs to obſtruct the Reformation of Religion; and they were the Inſtruments, as it was thought, of procuring the whole matter to be referred to the Pope's Legate. The Emperor gave his Anſwer to this on the Seventh of *July*; That he had thought they would have more fully and clearly declared their Opinion, eſpecially ſince for many Days they had had the Book in their Hands: But that ſince they perſiſted in it, he would do as they had adviſed, and know the mind of the Pope's Legate as to the whole matter; that he might not ſeem to neglect any thing that Duty required of him. The Proteſtants alſo preſented an Addreſs to the Emperor in Writing, wherein they declare their own Thoughts and more fully explain the Points Reconciled; ſhewing that it would be no difficult matter to adjuſt all the reſt alſo; and declaring that they ſtill adhered to the Confeſſion of *Auſburg*: Then for the third thing contained in the Emperor's Demands, the Reformation of the Civil Government, they gave their Opinion, That thoſe Laws which Eleven Years before had been made at *Auſburg*, ſhould be revived and put in Execution: That as to the Spiritual Government, it might, in their Judgment, be reſtored, if the Goſpel were purely taught; if according to the ancient Canons Paſtors were choſen with conſent of the People; if the Biſhops retained the Civil Adminiſtration, and entertained others to ſupply their Cures; ſince by an ancient and prevailing Cuſtom, they neither could nor would do it themſelves; if the Miniſters of the Church had free leave granted them to Marry; if that filthy Chaffering and Bargaining, which is of divers Kinds, and hath its Name from *Simon Magus*, were utterly aboliſhed; if Eccleſiaſtical Revenues were ſo diſtributed, as the Canons made long ſince did preſcribe; if Youth were brought up in Piety and Vertue, and in their tender Years taught the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion; if ſcandalous Offenders were excommunicated until they reformed their Lives, and the Civil Magiſtrate did his Duty therein, and aboliſhed all falſe Worſhip; and if Eccleſiaſtical Judicatures, and, as it were, publick Cenſors were appointed, to make diligent Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Miniſters and People, and into their Manners and Vices. The Emperor, as we ſaid before, conſulted the Pope's Legate about the whole matter, and urged a publick Reformation, but eſpecially of the Church. The Legate's Anſwer to all was, That ſince the Proteſtants did in ſome Tenets differ from the common conſent of the Church, and that yet there was Hopes that ſome time or other they would return into the right Way; upon ſerious conſideration of the whole matter, he thought it would be expedient to deſiſt from any farther determination of controverted Points, and to referr all to the Pope, who either by a General Council, or ſome other means ſuitable to the time, would certainly bring the Controverſie

1541.

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Some of the States who diſliked a Reformation procured all to be referred to the Pope's Legate.

The Proteſtants Addreſs to the Emperor.

The Anſwer of the Pope's Legate.

1541. Controverſie to ſuch an iſſue, as ſhould tend to the Benefit and advantage of the Publick, and eſpecially of *Germany*. In the next place, that he might alſo ſeem deſirous of a Reformation, he ſent for all the Biſhops to come to his Houſe, where he exhorted them ſo to behave themſelves, that they might not occaſion the leaſt ſuſpicion of any Covetouſneſs or Ambition; that they ſhould avoid Luxury, and all things that gave a bad Example; that they ſhould govern their own Families well, and accuſtom them to Modeſty and Temperance; that they ſhould take care of the Flock committed to their Charge, and live in the more populous Places, to prevent the contagion which already raged in *Germany*, from ſpreading farther by degrees, and to apply a timely Remedy to the growing Evil: That it would be very proper alſo, ſaid he, if in thoſe places where the Biſhops did not reſide, they entertained Faithful Officers and Emiſſaries, that might inform them of all things, and be ready to withſtand the Devil, if he ſhould attempt in any place to break in upon the Flock. He alſo admoniſhed them to viſit their ſeveral Provinces, imitating therein the Commanders of Armies, when any place is beſet or ſtreightened by the Enemy: Moreover that they ſhould rightly and duly perform Divine Service, and conferr Benefices upon fit and deſerving Men; that they ſhould likewiſe diſtribute the Revenues of the Church amongſt the Poor, and not ſquander them away riotouſly, or in ſuperfluous and immoderate Splendor; in like manner that they ſhould appoint good and learned Men to teach the People, not given to Contention or Brawling, but ſuch as might ſo rebuke their Adverſaries, as they might not ſeem to hate their Perſons, but to be deſirous of the Salvation of their Souls; for that the too great ſeverity and ſharpneſs of reprehenſion, did but harden them in their Obſtinacy: That they ſhould make it their care alſo to have the Youth rightly Educated in the Languages, and liberal Arts and Sciences; wherein the Proteſtants, for their parts, omitted no diligence; who made it their chief Study to employ learned Men to teach in their Schools; whereby it came to paſs, that Children flocked to them from all Parts, eſpecially the Sons of Perſons of Quality, who with their Learning drank in alſo their Errors, and being therewith corrupted, propagated afterward the Contagion to others: That therefore Schools were to be erected, and able Maſters, who were ſound in Religion, invited by honeſt Rewards. That it was likewiſe the Duty of the Biſhops to admoniſh Parents not to ſend their Children to thoſe places where they might be in danger of being infected with pernicious Doctrine; and that theſe were the matters which he had Inſtructions from the Pope to lay before them. This Speech he afterwards gave in Writing to the Biſhops who deſired it, as he did alſo to the Emperor; who on the Twelfth of *July* made a Report thereof to all the States, as being the Anſwer which the Legate had made. And becauſe there was no Appearance that any thing more could be done, as to Religion, in that Diet; and then again, ſeeing the Turk was making very great Preparations both by Sea and Land, to Invade Chriſtendom; he told them, That it ſeemed to him very neceſſary, that things ſhould be brought to a Concluſion, and that Decrees ſhould be made concerning Religion and Peace, and for ſudden and conſtant ſupplies againſt the Turk: That it had been his wiſh, indeed, that they would have declared their Minds as to all theſe things; but that ſeeing they had not given any poſitive Anſwer as yet, that the Affairs did not admit of longer delay, and that in the mean time there was a neceſſity of preparing to make defence againſt the Turks; he had thought it fit to propoſe this as the moſt proper ſubject of their Deliberations; and therefore he put the Queſtion to them, Whether or not they judged it expedient that thoſe Points which had been agreed upon in the Conference, ſhould be received until the meeting of a General Council, or another Diet of the Empire, that thereby the Controverſie about Religion, which for ſo many Years had occaſioned ſo much Labour and Toil, might be in ſome part leſſen'd, and the reſt, which were not as yet adjuſted, the more eaſily handled afterwards? For that he intended to go ſtreight to the Pope, that he might know for a certain what was to be expected, and as ſoon as he could afterwards come back into *Germany*, and mind the Affairs of the Government: That, in the mean time, all theſe things were to be underſtood, without prejudice to the Decree of *Auſburg*. When the Proteſtant Divines had read *Contarini*'s Two Papers before mentioned, with unanimous conſent they publiſhed an Anſwer; wherein they complained that they had injury done unto them; declaring withal, that conſidering his Learning, they had expected far better things at his Hands;

His Exhortation to the Biſhops.

The Legate's Speech being given to the Emperor, was afterwards communicated to the States.

The Anſwer of the Proteſtant Divines to the Papers of *Contarini*.

Hands: And whereas he excited the Princes to ſevere and cruel Courſes; they extreamly blamed him for it, aſſuring him, that he needed not to imagine, that they would ever approve thoſe Errors which they then condemned, or ever return to that Church which defended ſuch notorious Vices. 1541.

Contarini, in the mean time, hearing that that Anſwer of his, we mentioned, was variouſly taken; by the perſwaſion of ſome, ſent a third Paper to the States, telling them that he did not at all aſſent that ſome Doctrines ſhould be look'd upon as accorded, and be tolerated until the ſitting of the Council; but that all indifferently ſhould be referred to the Pope. The Legate's Third Paper to the States.

July the Fourteenth, the Princes Electors, in Anſwer to that which the Emperor had deſired their Judgment of, told his Majeſty, That they were content that the Articles agreed upon ſhould be received until the time of the Council; for that it would be a means to prevent Quarrellings for the future, and contribute very much to a farther Reconciliation: That if there were any Hopes that the reſt alſo might be accommodated in the ſame Diet, they prayed him graciouſly to promote it: But that if the exigency of the time would not allow of that, that then, he would be pleaſed, according to his own voluntary promiſe, to deal with the Pope and other Kings, that a General Council might with all Expedition be called and meet in ſome convenient place within *Germany*, or elſe a National Council to which his Holineſs ſhould conſent and ſend his Legate: And that if neither of the two could be obtained, according to their Hopes, that he himſelf would return into *Germany*, and ſhew the ſame care for the Country, which till then he had done, by ſettling Peace and Quietneſs therein. The Elector's Anſwer to the Emperor.

But the Proteſtants Petitioned the Emperor, that he would confirm the Heads of Doctrine already accorded, by a Law, and command them to be taught; for that ſo Truth would be more and more diſcovered, and a way made to the healing of the Wounds of the Church. That he would alſo utterly aboliſh, or, at leaſt, ſuperſede the Decree of *Auſburg*, as not at all conducing to Concord: That they had formerly declared their thoughts, as to the Council, how it ought to be conſtituted, and that neither the Pope, nor any that depended on him, ſhould have the Power of judging therein; and that they perſiſted in the ſame Opinion ſtill. But that if ſuch a Council could not be had, and that he ordered a Convention of States to be held in *Germany*, they would therein propoſe and maintain their Doctrine. The Proteſtants Anſwer.

The reſt of the Princes, amongſt whom the Biſhops held the chief Rank, and with them the Brothers Dukes of *Bavaria*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, gave the Emperor their Opinion ſeparately; to wit, that there was ſo great an inundation of Vices, Sects, Hereſies and Diſſentions, not only over all *Germany*, but in other places alſo, and, in a manner, all over Chriſtendom, that there was no redreſſing of them, but by a General Council: But that they could not give their conſent, that any Change or Alteration ſhould be now made in the Religion and Ceremonies, which had been in uſe for ſo many Years, or had been inſtituted of old; eſpecially ſeeing the Pope, by his Legate, promiſed a Council, and that his Majeſty intended in perſon to ſollicite his Holineſs thereunto: That it was their earneſt deſire the Pope would make that his Care, that ſo Errors being at length rooted out, the Wrath of God might be appeaſed, and Mankind kept in the right way of Salvation. That if a General Council could not be had, the next courſe muſt be a National Synod, or a Diet of the States of the Empire: That they however, for their parts, were reſolved to perſevere in the Ancient Religion, the Councils, and Doctrine of the Fathers, handed down from the Apoſtles to the preſent Age; and to obey the Decrees of the Empire, but eſpecially that of *Auſburg*; hoping alſo that they who had commended the Decree that was made at *Auſburg* would not recede from it, eſpecially ſince it had been lately reſolved on at *Haguenaw*, that if any thing were acted contrary thereunto, they ſhould ſtand to the defence of it, and that his Majeſty himſelf had always excepted the ſame in all Treaties. Now that the Reconciled Doctrines ſhould be received for a time, they did not approve on't; for that ſome of them were ſuperfluous and not controverted; to wit, the Firſt, Second and Third, and that that of Original Sin, had been handled in a different manner at *Wormes*: That, beſides, the thing it ſelf required, that there ſhould be a new Conference appointed; for that there were ſome words uſed in the Writings, contrary to the common Acceptation of the Church and Fathers: That ſome Sentences alſo were thruſt in which ought to be qualified and corrected: That, laſtly, the things which were accorded, were of no great moment; but that ſince the chief Points The Opinion of the Catholick Princes.

1541. were not agreed upon, that's to ſay, The Lord's Supper; The Adoration of the Hoaſt; Tranſubſtantiation; The Maſs; The Marriage of the Clergy; The receiving of the Sacrament in both Kinds; Confeſſion; Penance; Satisfaction, and other Points of that Nature; which were ſo impugned by the Proteſtants, that there had been no Hopes of Agreement: Beſides, ſince the Catholick Conferrers went too far, ſo that their Opinions deſerved a Cenſure: And that laſtly, ſince it tended to the Contempt of the Pope, his Majeſty himſelf, and the reſt of the States of the Empire: Upon all theſe Conſiderations it ſeemed moſt expedient to them, that the whole Affair of Religion ſhould be deferred till the meeting of a Council; eſpecially ſince the Pope's Legate was of the ſame Opinion.

The Complaint of the Catholick Cities, that they were excluded from the Deliberation of the Princes.

The other free Cities, which were not of the Number of the Proteſtants, as *Cologne*, *Metz*, *Spire*, *Wormes*, *Toul*, *Haguenaw*, *Ratiſbone*, *Schweinfurt*, *Colmar*, *Gemund*, *Rotenburg*, and many others, finding themſelves excluded from Deliberation, and that the Princes did not communicate to them a Copy of the Anſwer; complained of it to the Emperor, as they had done ſeveral times before, beſeeching his Majeſty, that they might not be baulked in their Right, and aſſuring him, that moſt of them were willing to receive the Doctrines agreed upon.

The Emperor refers the matter of Religion to the Council.

The Emperor having heard the Opinions of all, made a new Propoſition, and recapitulating what had been repreſented before; that the Cauſe could not be finally determined then, that there was preſent Danger threatned from the Turk in more Places than one, and that much Time was already ſpent, told them, That he would referr the Matter wholly to the Council, which both the Legate had put him in certain Hopes of, and he himſelf would ſollicite the Pope about: He alſo promiſed to return into *Germany*, and deſired the Proteſtants, that in the mean time, they would not attempt any thing more than what had been agreed upon by the Divines. Next he adviſed the Biſhops and other Prelates, to take ſuch Courſes in rectifying the Abuſes of their ſeveral Churches, as might prepare the Way for a publick Reformation. All generally praiſed the Emperor's good Intentions, and were of Opinion that the Pope's Legate alſo ſhould ſeriouſly enjoin the Biſhops to purge and reform their Churches. The Proteſtants promiſed to behave themſelves, both as to the reconciled Doctrines and every thing elſe, according to their Duty; deſiring that other Princes might have free Leave to propound thoſe Doctrines in their own Churches alſo.

Eckius's Letter to the Princes.

We have already told you, that *Eckius* was ſick, both of the Book produced by the Emperor, and of the Collocutors alſo: When therefore, after the Conference, it was returned to the Emperor, as has been mentioned, and the Matter brought into Debate in the Aſſembly of the Princes: He being ill of a Fever ſent a Letter to the Princes, to this effect; That he had never liked that inſipid Book, wherein he found ſo many Errors, and therefore ought not to be admitted; for that the Uſe and Cuſtom of the Fathers was therein ſlighted, and the Phraſe and Cant of *Melanchthon* to be found in it all over; That he had not ſeen the Book as it was corrected by his Collegues, and afterwards delivered back to the Emperor, but that only ſome of the *Lutheran* Doctrines had been read over to him as he lay ſick; That far leſs had he approved that Writing, which was preſented to the Emperor with the Book; nor, indeed, had he ever ſeen it.

Julius Pflug and *Gropper* juſtify themſelves from his Aſperſions.

When this came to the Knowledge of *Julius Pflug* and *John Gropper*, who thought their Reputation therein concerned, they prayed the Preſidents and Auditors of the Conference, as being Witneſſes of all the Proceedings, that they would do them right, and defend their good Name againſt the Calumnies of *Eckius*. Theſe inform the Emperor of the Matter; who afterwards, in a publick Paper, gave a fair and honourable Character of both, declaring that they had acted as it became good and honeſt Men.

Contarini's Letter to the States againſt a National Council.

The Cauſe of Religion, we told you before, was referred to a general or provincial Council of *Germany*: But when this came to the Knowledge of *Contarini*, he ſent a Letter to all the States, dated the Twenty ſixth of *July*, deſiring that the laſt might be daſhed out and cancelled; for that Controverſies about Religion ought not to be determined by ſuch Councils, but that they belonged to the Deciſion of the univerſal Church; That whatſoever alſo was determined privately by any one Nation, in Matters of that nature, was void and of no effect; That ſo they would much gratify the Pope, the Head of the Church and Council, if they would omit that; whereas it would be very troubleſom unto him if they did otherwiſe; for that it would give Occaſion to more and far greater Scandals, as well in other Provinces, as chiefly in *Germany*: And

that

that this was the thing he had to acquaint them with from the Pope, and in discharge of his own Duty. The Princes made Answer the same Day; That it lay in the Pope's Power to prevent any Scandals or Troubles upon that Account, by calling of a Council, which had now for so many Years been promised: That if he did not call it, and that speedily too, the State of *Germany* was such, that there was an absolute Necessity of taking some other Course to make up the Breaches of the Publick, which could not subsist longer with Safety, in so inveterate a Dissention; That therefore they earnestly desired the Pope would apply some Remedy, and that he himself, according to his Prudence and Candor, would promote the Matter. The Protestant Divines also, in a long Writing, refute the Letter of *Contarini*, proving it to belong to every particular Province, to establish the true Religion and Worship of God. These Things done, the Emperor made a Decree, and caused it to be read on the Eight and twentieth of *July*, wherein he referrs the Conference of the Doctors and the whole Affair to a Council, to an Assembly either of all *Germany*, or of the States of the Empire. In his Progress into *Italy*, he promises to intercede earnestly with the Pope for a Council; and that if neither a general nor national Council could be obtained, he assured them of an imperial Diet to be called within Eighteen Months, for settling the Differences about Religion; and that he would use his Endeavours to perswade the Pope to send a Legate to it. The Protestants he commanded not to attempt any new thing besides the Articles accommodated; and the Bishops also to reform the Vices and Abuses of their Churches. There were other Heads in the Decree, as, Of not demolishing Religious Houses; Of not misapplying Church Revenues; Of not tampering with one another to make them change their Religion; and, Of the Jurisdiction and Members of the Imperial Chamber: But the Protestants being somewhat dissatisfied with these things, the Emperor, in a private Paper, told them separately what his Intentions therein were: That he prescribed no Rule to them in the Points not as yet reconciled; That he would not, indeed, have Religious Houses demolished, but that the *Monks* and *Friars* should be brought to a pious Reformation; That Churchmen should in all Places be allowed to enjoy their yearly Revenues, without any Respect to the Diversity of Religion; That no Person of another Jurisdiction should be allured over to their Religion, and much less be defended upon that account; but that still they might admit of any Person who should willingly come over unto them; Moreover, that for Peace and Quietness Sake, he suspended the Decree of *Ausburg*, as far as it concerned Religion, and all Processes that were doubtful, whether they related to Religion or not; in like manner all Proscriptions, and namely that of *Goslar*, until the Matter should be determined in some Council or Diet: That no Man should be excluded from the Imperial Chamber for differing in Religion, but that Justice should be indifferently administred to all. When they had obtained this Grant from the Emperor under Hand and Seal, they promised Assistance against the Turk, of whose Approach there was fresh News daily brought; besides there were Ambassadors come both from *Hungary* and *Austria*, who earnestly begged for Aid; wherefore there was a present Supply of *Germans* sent into *Hungary*, under the Command of *Frederick* Count *Furstemberg*.

1541.

The Princes Answer to the Popes Legate,

And the Protestants also refute it.

The Decree of the Diet of *Ratisbone*.

A private Grant made by the Emperor to the Protestants.

Aid promised against the Turks.

In this Diet the Emperor, on the Third of *July*, made a heavy Complaint to all the States assembled, of *William* Duke of *Cleve*, for his seizing of *Guelderland*; and at the same time presented unto them a Book, which asserted his Right to that Province; telling them that he had summoned him to appear there, but that he had taken a Journey a quite contrary way, meaning thereby, into *France*, as we said before. There were Ambassadors from *Cleve* there present, who excused their Prince, and as they insisted in proving his Title, the Emperor arose and departed. On the One and twentieth of *July* all the Princes and States waited on the Emperor, to make Intercession for the Duke of *Cleve*, desiring that he might be taken into the Protection of the Empire, and the Controversy referred to a friendly Arbitration, wherein they promised their best Endeavours: But that if the Matter could not be accommodated, they humbly besought him to prosecute his Right by Law: Whereunto the Emperor sent this Answer by *John Naves*; That whereas in this Diet, which was called for the sake of the Publick, that Differences might be removed, and Peace setled in *Germany*, much time had been spent, and to his great Trouble and Prejudice to his other Affairs, nothing could be concluded because of the clashing of Opinions; he wondered

The Emperors complaint against the Duke of *Cleve*.

1541. dered very much to find them ſo unanimous in this Cauſe alone, which was properly his own: And ſo he diſmiſſed them not without Diſpleaſure. The Day following *Raymond* the *French* King's Ambaſſador, made a long Speech, wherein he reckoned up at large the Reaſons why his Maſter had driven out of his Country *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, who ſome days before had accuſed the *French* King thereof before the Emperor and States.

French Ambaſſador's to the Turk ſlain.

During this Diet the *French* King ſent *Cæſar Fregoſo* a *Genoeſe*, and *Anthony Rink*, a baniſhed *Spaniard*, Ambaſſadors to the Grand Seignior, who falling down the River of *Po*, on their Way to *Venice*, were about the Firſt of *July* taken and ſlain. *William de Bellay* of *Langey*, a Man of ſingular Sagacity and Induſtry, was then the *French* King's Lieutenant in *Piedmont*, who having Intelligence of the Fact, immediately acquainted the King therewith; and *July* the Fifth wrote alſo from *Turin* to *Alfonſo Davalo* Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, Governor of *Milan* for the Emperor, that he would procure the Releaſement of the King's Ambaſſadors, who were made Priſoners, as it was manifeſtly known by his Men; for that otherwiſe the Truce made Three Years before, by the Interceſſion of the Pope, would be broken. Now he deſired that they might be ſet at Liberty, either becauſe at firſt he knew not, or elſe pretended not to know what was become of them. The Marqueſs, to clear himſelf from Suſpicion, made as if he knew nothing at all of the Matter, and to purge himſelf, ſent Count *Franciſco Ladronio* Ambaſſador to the King. *Du Bellay* wrote another Letter to *Peſcara* on the Eleventh of *July*, wherein he briskly told him; I would not doubt, ſaid he, to ſpeak of Religious Matters in a general Council of the whole World, and that as pertinently too, as ever your Kinſman and Friend *Thomas Aquinas* of old did, provided I knew as much in Divinity, as ſome of your familiar Friends know of this Murther. For you muſt know that *Indico*, *Alfonſo*'s Grandfather by the Father ſide, the Son of *Rodorigo* a *Spaniard*, married a vaſt rich Fortune of the Family of *Aquinas*; And this *Alfonſo* was Couſin-Germain to *Ferdinando Davalo* of *Peſcara*, a moſt excellent Soldier and Commander. From *de Linieres*, a Town in *Berry*, the King, on the Twentieth of *July*, wrote an Anſwer to *Alfonſo*, telling him that he ſhould have Reſpect to his Honour and Reputation, and that he could not ſlight the Injury done to his Ambaſſadors, if they were not reſtored to Liberty. Many Letters paſs'd betwixt *du Bellay* and the Marqueſs about that Matter, but nothing elſe was done; the Marqueſs proteſting, that after diligent Enquiry he could not diſcover any thing; and perſiſting therein, the King complained alſo to the Emperor of the Injury, by his Ambaſſador at *Ratiſbone*; where having receiv'd an Anſwer not to his Mind, he gave ſufficient Intimation that it would prove the Cauſe of a War. *George* of *Auſtria*, the natural Son of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and Archbiſhop of *Valentia*, happened at that time to be upon his Return from *Spain* into the *Low-Countries*, who coming to *Lyons*, was apprehended and committed to Priſon, to revenge what had been done to *Fregoſo* and *Rink*. Much about this time *Francis* the Son of *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain*, married *Chriſtian* the Daughter of *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*, Dowager of *Milan*. The French King was vexed at this; and the more, that the Year before the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Daughter was married to *Renat* Prince of *Orange*, who was wholly at the Emperor's Devotion.

A Complaint thereof made by the *French* King to the Emperor.

Francis of *Lorrain* married to the Dowager of *Sforza*.

Buda beſieged by King *Ferdinand*.

At the ſame time that the Emperor held the Diet at *Ratiſbone*, King *Ferdinand* beſieged *Buda*, wherein was the Widow of the *Vayvode John*, with her young Son *Stephen*. Now the Guardians of the Child, and the Nobles of the Kingdom, had craved Aſſiſtance from the Turks; ſo that the Turk ſent a General with Forces, who in the Month of *July* came to *Buda*, whither he himſelf came alſo, not long after, with the reſt of the Army. By this means King *Ferdinand*'s Army, conſiſting of *Germans*, *Moravians* and *Bohemians*, were forced to raiſe the Siege, received a great Overthrow, and loſt *Peſt*, a Town overagainſt *Buda*, thoſe that remained, ſaving themſelves, as well as they could, by Flight. About the end of *Auguſt* the Grand Seignior ſent Preſents to the Child *Stephen*, Veſts of Cloth of Gold, with ſome ſtately Horſes, acquainting his Mother at the ſame time, that he had a deſire to ſee the Boy, and that ſhe ſhould ſend him out to him, to the Camp. She being much terrified hereat; but finding no other Courſe to be taken, and that the Nobles adviſed her to it, ſent out the poor Babe with his Nurſe, and a great Train of Nobility to accompany him. The Turk received them very courteouſly, but afterwards cauſed a Propoſal to be made to the Queen's Counſellors, that they would deliver up *Buda* to him; for

Who received a great Overthrow.

that

that they were not able to defend it againſt the Enemy; and for him to come back again with an Army when occaſion required, would be both troubleſom and chargeable, and that therefore it would be far better to let him have the keeping of the place, whilſt they being afraid of their own danger, had not a word to ſay; he preſently gave orders to the *Aga* of the *Janizaries* to ſeize the Town, and the Child was not ſent back to his Mother before the thing was done. Being then Maſters of the Town, and all the Citizens diſarmed, they demanded alſo the Caſtle, where the Queen then was. In the mean time the Turk ſent Meſſengers to comfort her, and bid her be of good Courage, and withal made over *Tranſilvania* to her and her Son. Thus all her Furniture and Goods being in haſte pack'd up, ſhe departed in a hurry under the Conduct and Convoy of ſome Turkiſh Officers and Souldiers; and then *September* the Second the Grand Seignior with his two Sons made his entry into *Buda*, where in the Cathedral Church, hallowed after their manner, he gave God Thanks for his good Succeſs, and then returned into the Camp; from whence, having put Garriſons into *Buda* and *Peſt*, he retreated homewards with the reſt of his Army, and upon his March ſet at Liberty *Alaſki* whom he had left Priſoner at *Belgrade*, becauſe of the Apprehenſion of *Fregoſo* and *Rink*. For the *French* King being exceedingly incenſed at that Fact, had by his Ambaſſador *Faulain*, acquainted *Solyman* with the whole matter.

1541.

By what means *Buda* fell into the Hands of the Turks.

Tranſilvania given to the *Vayvode* and his Mother.

When the Diet at *Ratiſbone* was over, the Emperor went immediately into *Italy*, and had an Interview with the Pope at *Luka* whilſt the Army he had raiſed of *Germans*, *Italians* and *Spaniards* were putting on Board the Ships. But becauſe Winter now approached, the Pope eſſayed to divert him from the expedition: Nevertheleſs, though he had notice of the overthrow in *Hungary*, he was reſolved to go, that he might give the Turk a Diverſion elſewhere; ſo that ſetting Sail from *Porto Venere*, he took his Courſe by *Corſica*, *Majorca*, and *Minorca*, and on the Twenty-third of *October* arrived before *Algiers*, a Sea-Port Town in *Barbary*. His Army conſiſted of Two and twenty thouſand Foot, and ſomewhat more than a Thouſand Horſe. The Van conſiſting of *Spaniards*, was commanded by *Ferrante Gonzaga*, Viceroy of *Sicily*; the main Body being *Germans*, by the Emperor himſelf; and the Reſerve who were *Italians* and Knights of *Rhodes*, by *Camillo Colonna*. That Day the Emperor arrived, and next Day after, the Weather was fair and the Sea calm; but on the Third Day a great Storm ariſing, with continual Rains, hindered all Action, ſo that the Emperor having loſt many Ships, his Guns and all his Ammunition and Proviſions, beſides ſome Thouſands of his Men, was forced to depart without effecting any thing, and to come again to *Spain* in the Month of *November*. Thus went our Affairs to wrack both by Sea and Land, in *Africa* as well as *Europe*. This was likewiſe a fatal Year to *Germany*, by reaſon of the Plague, which raged eſpecially along the *Rhine*; there died of it, amongſt others, at *Straſburg*, one *Capito*, and at *Baſile*, *Simon Gryney*, both Men of extraordinary Learning; the former by Profeſſion a Divine, and the other a Philoſopher, but a great Student alſo in Divinity. The Emperor upon his leaving of *Germany* employed *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, to Negotiate the Reſtitution of *Guelderland* with the Duke of *Cleve*, by the Mediation of the Princes Electors. Theſe ſent Agents to the Duke, to admoniſh him both of his own private danger, and of the publick Diſorders he might be the occaſion of, by ſtanding it out too ſtiffly. He, on the other hand alledged, That he was the next lawful Heir, and that he had entered by fair means into Poſſeſſion, but however was willing to ſubmit his Right and Title to a fair Trial at Law; and that therefore he earneſtly begg'd of them that they would perſwade the Emperor to Equity, and not ſuffer any Force or Violence to be uſed againſt him. Upon the Emperor's departure out of *Italy*, he left *Granvell* there, that he might both ſollicite the Pope about a Council, and ſettle the State of *Siena* which was all in fermentation with Factions and Sedition. When the News of the diſaſter in *Africa* was brought into *France* in *December* following, it occaſion'd open rejoicing; for moſt Men were vexed at the Murther of *Fregoſo* and *Rink*, and ſaid, That now was the time to revenge them.

The Emperors Expedition into *Barbary*.

His Fleet ſpoil'd and diſperſed by the Storm.

A Plague in *Germany*.

The States of the Empire treat with *Cleve* about the Reſtitution of *Guelderland* to the Emperor.

King *Ferdinand* after his bad Succeſs, called a Convention of his States at *Prague*, the chief City of *Bohemia*. There, at length, amongſt other things, the Nobility of *Auſtria*, on the Thirteenth of *December*, preſent a Petition to the King; and, in the firſt place, to inſinuate into his Favour, they offer to employ their Lives and Fortunes in defence of his Honour and Dignity. Then they deplore the ſad State of the publick, and their own Condition, who had the Turk

The Supplication of the Nobility of *Auſtria* to King *Ferdinand* for obtaining free Exerciſe of Religion.

1541. Turk a moſt cruel Enemy and a Conqueror too, ſo near them: Wherefore, ſaid they, it was high time to look out for Remedies, and eſpecially that the Wrath of God might be appeaſed, who being offended with the Sins of Men, plagued them with ſo great a Judgment. For that, in the whole Body politick, there was nothing pure nor ſound; that all Diſcipline both publick and private was laid aſide, which was the Scource of their common Evils; but that the contempt of the Word of God was the chief Cauſe, why he ſo ſcourged and afflicted them. For both Sacred and Profane Hiſtories inform us, ſay they, that God hath many times ſeverely puniſhed moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms, not for thoſe lighter Sins which ſprung from our Nature and Diſpoſitions; but for falſe Worſhip and the Contempt of his Word. The *Jewiſh* Nation was led away Captive into *Aſſyria* and *Babylon*, for deſpiſing the Prophets, and deviſing a new Religion and Worſhip to themſelves: At length they were utterly cut off, and *Jeruſalem* deſtroyed, for their Crucifying of the Son of God. Thoſe moſt flouriſhing Empires in former times, the *Babyloniſh*, *Perſian* and *Grecian*, now oppreſſed by the Turks, have for the ſame Cauſes, ſo loſt their Religion, Laws, Goverment and Dignity, that hardly any Print of them remains at this day; and whilſt partly they rejected and partly loathed the Bleſſings of God, they have fallen into horrible Darkneſs, and moſt ignominious Slavery. Nor did all this change come of a ſudden; for the Turks waged War for the ſpace of Six hundred Years and more, before they ſubdued *Greece*; which happened then at length; when after ſo many Invitations and Admonitions, they would not mend their Manners, but added Sin to Sin, and Tranſgreſſion to Tranſgreſſion. Now if a Man ſhould compare thoſe Kingdoms, formerly ſo ſplendid and powerful, wherein ſo many famous Wits flouriſhed, with that barbarous and brutiſh Monarchy of the Turks, he would find, that ſince the Flood, a ſadder Calamity never happened. But if ſuch powerful People were not able to reſiſt ſo weak a Nation, as the Turks were in the beginning (God being pleaſed ſo to puniſh their Sins:) What are we to expect who are in the ſame fault, indeed, but in a far worſe condition, ſince we have to do with an Enemy much more powerful than we? We ſee how God plagues us, eſpecially in theſe parts, with War, Peſtilence, and Famine: The moſt cruel Enemy hath lately ſeized *Buda*, the Capital City of the Realm: Fire hath raged through *Bohemia*, and what miſeries have we not ſuffered now theſe Sixteen Years? How much Blood hath there been ſpilt, and how many Thouſand Souls carried away into Slavery? Now is the Power of the Turk grown to ſuch an height, that he lifts up his Head above all other Kings and Potentates. And becauſe he obtainteh almoſt continual Victories over us, he looks upon himſelf as God's Scourge, and thinks none can eſcape his Vengeance. Since then our Tranſgreſſions are moſt grievous, what can we promiſe our ſelves, or how ſhall we be able to ſtand out againſt him? This is, certainly, the only remedy, That all things are in the Hands of God: It is God that giveth and taketh away Empires, that ſmiteth and healeth again, who invites us to Repentance, by offering unto us the knowledge of his Word, which he always does before he afflicts. So ſent he before, the Prophet *Jonas* to the *Ninevites*, and pardoned them when they Repented; ſo was he favourable to *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Aſſyria*, when he followed the Counſel of *Daniel*. We truly know no other Medicine, moſt dread Sovereign, than that the Word of God be purely taught, and the People ſtirred up to amendment of Life, that in confidence thereof they may withſtand the Violence of the Turks; for in the true worſhipping of God all our ſafety conſiſts. Many Errors have crept into the Church, (it cannot be denied) which being in this our time diſcovered, have occaſioned great Diſſenſions: But in the late Diet of the Empire, many Points of Religion have been agreed upon, and for a certain time, Peace given to Religion: Beſides, the Biſhops have been enjoined to reform the Abuſes of their Churches. Now if that accommodation be denied to us, and if any one incurr danger for following thoſe Heads of Doctrine which have been accorded, it is obvious enough to think how grievous a thing that will be. Wherefore we humbly beſeech your Majeſty to give command that the Goſpel may be purely taught, eſpecially that Point of Doctrine which relates to Juſtification; to wit, That our Sins are pardoned through *Chriſt* alone: In the next place, that Men be exhorted to the practice of Charity and good Works, which are, as it were, the Fruit and Signs of Faith: Let them alſo be made afraid of Sin, and accuſtomed to give God Thanks, that, through his Mercy, we are by Jeſus Chriſt delivered from Sin, Death and Hell, and made Inheriters of

the

the Kingdom of Heaven: In like manner that they who deſire it, may have the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper given them according to the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church: That Injunctions be alſo laid upon the Biſhops, that according to the late Decree of the Empire, they reform what is amiſs in the Church; that they appoint able Miniſters to inſtruct the People, and not turn out ſound Preachers, as they have always done hitherto. And though, becauſe of the inveterate corruption, this Reformation cannot be brought about of a ſudden; yet the pure Adminiſtration of Doctrine and the Sacraments, ought to take place in Churches, becauſe our Salvation dependeth thereupon, and it is neceſſary it ſhould be ſo, that the People, who are now ignorant and under no Diſcipline, and has ſcarcely any tincture of the knowledge of God, may be brought again into the right way, for there are very many Churches altogether deſtitute; whence it comes to paſs that the common ſort of People wholly degenerate into Paganiſm, ſo that, with much ado, they can be reſtrained from it, which with great grief and ſorrow we now mention; and therefore we pray your Majeſty that in ſo pious and neceſſary a Mark you would not be wanting to us. And let not your Majeſty think that we ſo importunately beg this, that we may thereby have greater Liberty, or that we are given to Changes: For we acknowledge that our Salvation reſts only upon Chriſt, that the knowledge of the Goſpel is to be adorned by Holineſs of Living, and we own our ſelves to obey and ſerve you with our Lives and Fortunes. Now ſeeing it is ſo, we humbly pray, that we may have the benefit of the Decree lately made, and that they who ſhall follow the form of Doctrine mentioned by us before, may not be moleſted in their Religion; for by that means Miniſters will be found for the Churches, and your People will have greater courage to Fight againſt that moſt cruel Enemy, who for our Impiety and Ingratitude hath by God's permiſſion hitherto been ſo often Victorious, and hath ſo many times triumphed over us. This Petition was preſented in the Name of the Nobility and States of *Auſtria*, by Four and twenty Noblemen, and Ten Cities, amongſt which was *Vienna*, beſides their Neighbours of *Stiria* and *Carniola*, who therein joined with them. 1541.

To theſe things King *Ferdinand* made Anſwer, That he was extreamly grieved for the Calamities they mentioned, not doubting but they were the Judgments of God, for the Sins and Wickedneſs of the People; and that he had many times enjoined the Miniſters of the Church, diligently to exhort Men to the Amendment of Life: But that it increaſed his Sorrow, to find that his Endeavours had met with ſo little Fruit; which was the Reaſon, why lately, before he departed from *Lintz*, he had renewed the ſame Commands, as was well known unto them: That he never was againſt it neither, but that the Word of God ſhould be rightly taught, according to the Tradition of the Apoſtles and Interpreters, received and approved by the Church: That he was ſtill in the ſame Mind, and never, to the beſt of his Knowledge, puniſhed any Perſon for following this Form: That at preſent alſo he would command the Churchmen, that according to the laſt Decree of the Empire, they would endeavour to baniſh Vice, reform their Churches, and employ able Doctors to teach the People: That they themſelves knew how zealouſly and painfully he had beſtirred himſelf in endeavouring to quiet and compoſe this Difference about Religion: That the ſame was now his chief Deſire, and that he had good Hopes, that either in a General or National Council of *Germany*, or elſe in a Diet of the Empire, the whole Matter might be determined and brought to a Period; and that therefore he promiſed himſelf the ſame thing of them, That they would ſubmiſſively wait for that Reconciliation, and without attempting any Change or Innovation, follow the Footſteps of their Forefathers, walking in the old way of their Religion as well as of their Duty and Obedience; and that they ſhould not think the Decree of *Ratiſbone* any way concerned them, the Intent whereof was only, that the Catholicks ſhould continue in the old Religion; and the Proteſtants in that which they followed at the time of the Accommodation, untill the meeting of either of the Two Councils, or the Diet of the Empire, to be called within eighteen Months: That ſince it was ſo, he could not allow his People to act any thing to the contrary. They again petition to the ſame Purpoſe, but in few Words, praying that the pure Worſhip of God may be eſtabliſhed, and the true Miniſters of the Church brought into no Danger: For that otherwiſe it was in vain for them to expect any Victory or good Succeſs againſt the Turks. King *Ferdinand*'s Anſwer.

The *Auſtrians* renew their Supplications.

A little

1541. A little after this died the Biſhop of *Naumburg*, and *Julius Pflug*, whom we mentioned, was by the Chapter choſen to ſucceed in his place; but the Elector of *Saxony* pretended that the Chapter had no Right to do ſo, without his Conſent; and therefore, in excluſion to *Pflug*, he ſubſtituted *Nicholas Amſtorff*, a Divine of *Wittemberg*, of a noble Family, in his place; whom in the Month of *January*, *Luther* inſtalled; and afterwards publiſhed a Book in the vulgar Tongue, wherein he aſſerted, That the Flock of Chriſt was not to be committed to *Pflug*, as being an Enemy to the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel. *Pflug* being in this manner rejected, made a publick Appeal to the States of the Empire, wherein he juſtified his Right, and complained of the Wrong that was done him. The Elector on the other hand, anſwered the Writing of *Pflug*, and having enlarged much upon the Right of the Houſe of *Saxony*, which he proved by ancient Precedents, amongſt other Reaſons, why he could not admit of him as Biſhop, he alledged this alſo, That he openly oppoſed the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion. After the Overthrow in *Hungary*, which we mentioned before, a Diet was called by King *Ferdinand* in the Emperor's Name, to begin at *Spire* in the Month of *January*; wherein the Emperor appointed his Brother King *Ferdinand* to preſide in his Name, and gave him for Aſſiſtants *Hugh* Count of *Monfort*, and *John Naves*: The Princes who appeared there, were the Elector of *Brandenburg*, *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, *Albert* Duke of *Meckleburg*, *Erneſt* Marqueſs of *Baden*, the Biſhops of *Mentz*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, *Conſtance*, and *Heildeſſeim*: The reſt ſent Deputies thither. When they came to a Seſſion, which was the Ninth Day of *February*, King *Ferdinand*, in the Emperor's Abſence, opened the Diet, by a Speech, as is cuſtomary; telling them, That it was known to all, how great Diligence and Care the Emperor had uſed, both that Religion might be ſetled, and the Government entirely eſtabliſhed: But that when Differences would not be wholly adjuſted in the former Diet, his imperial Majeſty, for weighty Reaſons, went from *Germany* into *Italy*, where having treated with the Pope about a Council and the *Turkiſh* War, he prevailed ſo far at length, that his Holineſs had promiſed to ſend a Legate to this Diet; that he went afterwards with a Fleet into *Barbary*; that having taken *Algiers*, which was in the Enemies Hands, and which did great damage to *Spain* and his other Provinces, he might obtain a competent aid from his Subjects againſt the Turk, after he had removed the Danger, and ſecured the Sea Coaſt; but that being by a Storm prevented from effecting what he had propoſed, he returned to *Spain*, that he might again prepare himſelf to make War againſt the Turk both by Sea and Land. And that becauſe the Turk had lately made himſelf Maſter of *Buda*, the chief City of *Hungary*, and of the Town of *Peſt* over againſt it, into which he had put Garriſons; he had called this Diet to adviſe what was fitting to be done. That ſeeing the Turk had left in thoſe two places all the great Guns which he had either brought with him, or taken from the Chriſtians; there was no doubt, but he would come back again in the Summer time, that he might not only take the remaining part of *Hungary*, but alſo invade all the Provinces bordering upon *Germany*. For that ſince *Buda* was taken, and all other Paſſes laid open, there was nothing now that could ſtop or divert him. That therefore theſe were weighty and neceſſary Matters to be now conſulted about; at which Conſultations the Emperor would willingly have been preſent, but that being hindred by time, he had committed that care to him; who, though the State of his own Religion did chiefly require his Preſence, yet was reſolved not to deſert the publick at ſuch a Pinch. Having made this preamble, he declared to them what the *Auſtrians*, *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, and the Neighbouring People; nay, and what the Church Men of his Dominions would contribute to this War; praying and exhorting them to do the like; for that the Danger ſtared all Men in the Face; and the condition of Affairs was now ſuch, that either the Enemy was to be driven out of *Hungary*, or all were to expect, and ſoon after undergo the extremity of Miſeries. After the Diet of *Ratiſbone*, *John Gropper*, Deputy from the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, being returned Home, mightily commended *Bucer*, ſaying, That of all Men he was the fitteſt to be intruſted with the Reformation of Religion; for that he was both very Learned, a lover of Peace, and of a good and upright Life. Wherefore the Biſhop, who knew *Bucer* before, and had thoughts of employing him, ſent him word that he had a deſire to ſpeak with him. *Bucer* therefore going this Year, in the Month of *February*, to *Cologne*, was moſt courteouſly received, and particularly by *Gropper*, who had prevailed with him

A Quarrel betwixt the Elector of *Saxony* and Canons of *Naumburg* about the Biſhop.

1542. *Luther* writes againſt the Biſhop.

A Diet at *Spire*.

King *Ferdinand*'s Speech in the Diet.

Gropper recommends *Bucer* to the Arch-biſhop of *Cologne*.

Who thereupon comes to *Cologne*.

him to come thither from *Bonn*. So after ſome converſation with the Biſhop, he gave him leave to be gone, upon condition, that when he ſhould be ſent for at another time, he would come back again, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. About this time alſo King *Henry* of *England* cut off the Head of his Queen *Catharine Howard*, for that having Married her for a Virgin, he found that ſhe had been defloured before. He that defloured her had got ſome place in *Ireland*, but being recalled by her, when ſhe was Queen, and taken into her Family, he was alſo Beheaded after her, as ſome others were, partly for the ſame Crime, and partly for concealing it. When ſhe was out of the way, the King married a Sixth Wife, the Lady *Catharine Parr*.

1542.

The Lady *Catharine Howard* Queen of *England* Beheaded.

King *Henry*'s Sixth Wife.

The *French* King ſent an Ambaſſy to the Diet at *Spire*, and *Francis Oliver* Chancellor of *Alenzon* was the chief perſon in it; who in a full Aſſembly of all the States, when they were conſulting about the Turkiſh War, *February* the Fourteenth, ſpoke to this purpoſe; That he needed not uſe many words to plead for a favourable hearing at their Hands, ſince all underſtood how well affected the King his Maſter ſtood, towards the Intereſts and Welfare of *Germany*; that what he had to ſay alſo, was of ſo great moment, that he doubted not but they would willingly liſten to the King's Counſel and Propoſals: Seeing that when the Diet of *Ratiſbone* was buſie in Accommodating the Difference of Religion, News being brought, That the Turk was preparing to Invade *Hungary* with a vaſt Army; the King had forthwith ſent Ambaſſadors to the Grand Seignior, to avert, if he could, the War from *Hungary*, for the ſake of *Germany* which lay next to it; but that his Ambaſſadors had been apprehended by the Emperor's Soldiers, and that it was as yet uncertain, whether they had been kill'd, or were ſtill alive; whereby not only the Truce, but the Law of Nations was alſo violated: Now that they were ſent for that Cauſe, the King would make it out, by the very Letters and Inſtructions which were then intercepted by the Imperialiſts: That afterward a falſe Report had been ſpread abroad, as if the King had called in the Turk, when it was publickly known, that they who were ſtraitly Beſieged in *Buda*, had implored Aid from the Port: That not long after the taking of the Ambaſſadors, the overthrow of *Hungary* came to be divulged, at which News the King was extreamly troubled; and being informed that Reſolutions were to be taken in this Diet of ſending Succours into *Hungary*, and for curbing the Fury of the Turks, his Majeſty could not but declare his thoughts to them in ſo weighty a concern: That therefore, if his Diſcourſe ſhould prove ſomewhat long, he begg'd their patience; for that all which was of the cauſe, would not be briefly comprehended in any Speech though never ſo Eloquent and Elaborate. That the firſt point to be conſidered then, was, Whether or not it would be profitable not only to *Germany*, but to all Chriſtendom alſo, that they ſhould make War againſt the Turk; for the better underſtanding whereof, he would take notice of the Arguments of thoſe who did adviſe the War: And that the Reaſons moſt commonly alledged were, That the *Germans* had always been and were ſtill accounted valiant Defenders, not only of their own Liberty, but of that of their Neighbours alſo: And that therefore it was not to be ſuffered that the barbarous and cruel Turk, the common and perpetual Enemy of all Chriſtendom, being drunk with Proſperity and Succeſs, ſhould make himſelf Maſter of *Hungary*, a moſt flouriſhing Kingdom and the comport of *Germany*; but that he was to be attacked with all their Force and Courage, not doubting of Victory, ſince by baſe and wicked ways, and not by lawful Succeſſion nor Right, he had ſo far inlarged his Empire: And that though his Dominions were of a vaſt extent, yet he might be overcome, and was not ſo Invincible as many did believe; which was apparent enough, not only by thoſe great Exploits which *John Hunniades*, *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, *Scanderbeg* Prince of *Epirus*, and *Tamberlain* Emperor of the *Tartars*, had ſucceſsfully atchieved againſt him; but alſo by what they themſelves of late years had done, when they drove him away, and made him raiſe the Siege of *Vienna*. That the *Turks* differed from the *Germans* in their way of making War; for that theſe by Robbing, and like a flying Flame, waſted and deſtroyed Countries where-ever they came; whereas the *Germans* either by fighting couragiouſly put the Enemy to flight, or by Blood and Wounds procured to themſelves an honourable Death: That therefore ſince the Enemy was at the very Door of *Germany*, a War was neceſſarily be to undertaken, and no longer delay made. That theſe and the like were the Reaſons urged by thoſe who promoted a War; but that they did not rightly

The *French* Ambaſſador's Speech at *Spire*.

1542. conſider the State of *Germany*, when they ſpoke and urged ſo, as if *Germany* were united at Home, when, in the mean time, it was full of Diviſions and Animoſities, and nothing but Hatred, Enmity and Diſſenſion amongſt the Princes: That it ought, then, to be conſidered, what *Germany* was able to bear, how great and dangerous a War that was like to prove, againſt an Enemy, who in all the World, could not be matched for Power, nor the neceſſary Materials of War: For that a Battle or two would not put an end to the Quarrel, but there would be need of freſh Supplies of Soldiers, with a vaſt and conſtant Charge to continue the War. That though the Forces of *Germany* were, indeed, very great, and its ſtrength almoſt incredible, yet ſo great Wealth and Power was not raſhly to be ſquandered away; but rather that they ought to wait for a better Occaſion, and delay, till Princes agreeing among themſelves the Power of Chriſtendom might be enlarged, and ſtrengthened with more Recruits: That the Battle fought by the Emperor *Sigiſmund* at *Nigeboli*, and many other overthrows received to the preſent times, ought to be a warning to them not to undertake any thing unadviſedly: That no War, wherein he was not the Aggreſſor, had ever hitherto ſucceeded: That, without doubt, *Buda* and *Peſt* were ſo well provided of all things neceſſary, that unleſs the Garriſons ſhould be ſtarved out, there was no Hopes of recovering them; but that theſe were uncertain Hopes too; and that, beſides, the *Turk* would every Foot bring a new Army and freſh Forces, and ſo Harraſs and break the *German* Soldiers, already tired out and weakened by a long Siege, as that he might eaſily put in Proviſions into the place: That again, if they ſhould bring it to a deciding Battle, and he get the better of the Day, it would be very hard for the *Germans* to reinforce their Army; nor could that be ſo ſoon done neither, but that he would advance into the very Heart of *Germany*, and carry all before him: That *Germany* alſo being by frequent Wars drained of its Soldiery, had need of Peace and Quietneſs to recruit and recover ſtrength again; and that all Men knew what ſtreſs was to be laid upon the *Hungarians*; for who were more fickle and inconſtant than they? Who made nothing of changing their Maſters, and entertained ſuch rancour in their minds againſt the *Germans*, that they preferred the *Turkiſh* Government far before theirs: That therefore it would be much better to Fortifie it out of Hand, and put ſtrong Garriſons into the Frontier Caſtles and Towns that lie betwixt *Auſtria* and *Hungary*: That the ſame ſhould be done in *Bohemia*, and every where elſe, where there was occaſion: That it was ſafer to do ſo, than without any ſtrong hold behind their Backs to carry on a War, and endeavour to take from the *Turk* the places he held; in attempting whereof the leaſt miſcarriage would prove an infinite prejudice to Chriſtendom. But that if he ſhould begin and make War againſt *Germany* firſt, that then their whole Forces ſhould be drawn out into the Field: For that it was the ancient and peculiar Glory of *Germany*, that as they never enlarged their Borders by doing wrong to others, ſo likewiſe they valiantly beat off the danger, and ſtoutly defended their own Liberty: That this praiſe was, by all means, to be tranſmitted to their Poſterity, an invading Enemy was manfully to be withſtood, and not raſhly believed, if (after declaring of War) he ſhould perchance offer Conditions of Peace: For that it was natural to thoſe who propoſed to themſelves Rule and Dominion, that they knew not how to ſet bounds to their Ambition: That therefore, when matters ſhould begin to look as if Force and Hoſtility were threatened, then, with all diligence, preparations ſhould be made for a defence; for that ſo it would come to paſs, that either he would deſiſt; or, if he proceeded, learn to his own loſs, how much it was eaſier and more honeſt, to maintain ones own Liberty, than wrongfully to invade another's Dominion; but that becauſe it would be very difficult for them to make Head againſt ſuch an Enemy, whether they were upon the offenſive or defenſive part, nothing could be more requiſite, than that the domeſtick Grudges and Diſſenſions of *Germany* ſhould be removed. That they had lately at *Ratiſbone* accorded ſome chief Articles, as concerning Juſtification, Faith and Works, which were fundamental Points of Religion; that they ſhould therefore follow that Doctrine, live friendly one with another, and not be too apt to jangle and contend for the future: That the Apoſtles firſt, and afterwards the Council of *Nice* had left us a Symbol of Faith, which all profeſſed; and that ſince it was ſo, there ought to be no place for Diſſenſions, neither ought one to ſlight or reproach another; for that all Men had not received the ſame Gift from God. That without

without concord the State of the Empire could not be ſafe nor laſting, eſpecially whilſt the *Turk* hovered over them; that the *Romans*, became Maſters of the World, not ſo much by ſtrength and Arms, as by a certain fetch of Craft and Subtlety, when they made it their Buſineſs to raiſe and foment Strife and Diviſions amongſt a Nation whom they intended to ſubdue, and to defend and ſupport one Faction againſt another, until they oppreſſed both together: That by theſe Arts they had over-reached the *Carthaginians*, *Aſians*, *Gauls*, and the *Greeks*, a People natrually fickle and mutable. So alſo were the *Germans* deluded by *Tiberius*, when they were making War in *Italy*; that the *Britains* only had avoided that yoke, becauſe they underſtood their Arts, and in common danger emptied all their inteſtine choler and hatred upon the Enemy of their Country: That this art brought the *Romans* themſelves to nothing at laſt: That by the ſame cunning *Philip* of *Macedon* ſubdued all *Greece*, having ſet the *Athenians*, *Corinthians*, *Theſſalonians*, *&c.* together by the Ears: That *Ottoman* the firſt Emperor of this *Turkiſh* Race, had taken *Bithynia*, whilſt Chriſtian Princes were at variance among themſelves: That upon the ſame occaſion, the *Turk* had at length invaded *Europe*, conquered *Thrace*, all *Greece*, and the *Morea*; nay, and for Three hundred Years paſt had carried all before him, either through the diſcord or treachery of the Chriſtians: That at the ſame time *Conſtantinople* was taken, *Italy* was all in Combuſtion by the Factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, the Names of the Emperor's and Pope's Parties: That it was to no purpoſe to mention what had lately happened to *Rhodes* and *Hungary*, and upon what occaſion: That thus the *Turks*, a mean, obſcure, and barbarous People, creeping out of the Holes of *Scythia*, had grown upon the Diviſions of Chriſtians, and reared their vaſt Empire, whilſt either the *Greeks* opened to them the Door of *Europe*; or the faithleſs *Genoeſe* wafted them over the *Helleſpont*; or the Brother-Princes of the *Morea* Quarrelling one with another, called them in, to their own Deſtruction; or thoſe of *Epirus* aſſiſted them; or the *Servians* and *Bulgarians* combined with them; or, in ſhort, whilſt the *Hungarians* voluntarily invited them to come: That for the ſake of common Liberty then, ways of Concord and Agreement muſt be taken; nor muſt they think that if they either ſate ſtill, or were divided, Foreign Nations would do their work for them: That this was the King's Advice and Counſel, which he entreated they would take in good part, and expect from him all ſteady Friendſhip and Affection. 1542.

The Speech of the Pope's Legate in the Diet of *Spire*.

The Pope had ſent his Legate thither, *John Morono* Biſhop of *Modena*; who being deſired by King *Ferdinand*, and the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, to acquaint them with the Pope's Mind, on the Twenty third of *March* ſpoke to this Effect: That when the Emperor, the Year before, paſs'd through *Italy* in his Expedition to *Barbary*, he had conferred with the Pope about the Turkiſh War and a Council; but that it being a weighty and difficult Matter, and the Emperor ſtreightened with time, nothing had been concluded; but that *Granvell* remained behind in *Italy*, with whom ſomewhat more had been treated: That his Holineſs indeed, had always deſired a Turkiſh War, and had for that Reaſon uſed his Endeavours, that all might live together in Peace: That now alſo it was his chief Care, that the Truce betwixt the Emperor and *French* King might be obſerved; and that ſince there were diverſe Reports of the Turks Preparations, and that it was not certainly known to what they tended, His Holineſs would furniſh Five thouſand Foot, provided the Emperor would command the Army in Perſon; but if not, half the Number, and that ſo he had agreed with *Granvell*; unleſs the State of his own private Affairs ſhould be reduced to ſuch Streights, as that he ſhould be obliged to demand Aſſiſtance from them: That otherwiſe he would be ready to do all that lay in his Power, having deſigned all he had for that Uſe: That it had always been, and ſtill was the Intention of his Holineſs, that a Council ſhould be held; but that he had hitherto delayed the calling of it with the Advice and Conſent both of the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, becauſe it was thought ſome way of Agreement might, in the mean time, offer in *Germany*: But that ſince that had been endeavoured in vain, he had returned to his former Reſolution; however that it ſhould be held in *Germany*, neither his Age, the diſtance of Place, nor the Change of Air, would ſuffer him to be preſent, who both intended and ought to be there: That beſides, *Germany* did not ſeem to all People to be a convenient Place; and it was to be feared too, leaſt Matters might be carried diſorderly there: That therefore he liked better *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Bolonia*, or *Piacenza*, which were all very large and commodious Cities: That ne-

1542. vertheleſs, if theſe did not pleaſe, he did not refuſe to have it held at *Trent*, a City upon the Confines of *Germany*: That he had intended it ſhould have commenced at *Whitſuntide*, but that by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of the time, he had put it off to the Thirteenth of *Auguſt*; and prayed, that laying aſide all Grudges, they would ſeriouſly prepare for it. King *Ferdinand*, and the other Catholick Princes, with the Emperor's Deputies, return their Thanks, and if a more proper Place could not be found in *Germany*, as *Ratisbone* or *Cologne*, they profeſs themſelves ſatisfied with *Trent*. But the Proteſtants approved neither the Pope's Counſel, nor the Place; nor that it ſhould be mentioned in the Decree, and openly proteſted againſt it. When the *French* Ambaſſadors found they were not like to prevail, that the States were inclinable to a *Turkiſh* War, and that their Preſence was ungrateful and ſuſpicious to the Imperialiſts, they departed in ſome Diſpleaſure before the end of the Diet. *Trent* is a Town in the *Alpes*, upon the River *Etch* or *Aidge*, under the Dominion of King *Ferdinand*; three Days Journey from *Venice*, and not two Days from *Verona*.

The Catholick Princes and States conſent to the Council offered by the Pope at *Trent*; But the Proteſtants proteſt againſt it.

So ſoon as the *French* Ambaſſadors were returned home, the King began to think of War: And though he had, in effect, already reſtored the Admiral, and converſed familiarly with him, as we ſaid before; yet leaſt ſome time or other it might be prejudicial to him or his Children, he granted him his Letters Patents, wherein he reſtored him to his Poſſeſſions, Honour and Fame, declaring that he had never been Guilty either of Treaſon or Treachery, and remitting him his Fine of Seven hundred thouſand Crowns; and theſe Letters he ordered to be entered upon Record, both in *Paris* and other places. This was done the twelfth of *March*. The King being at this time in the Caſtle of *Vincennes* near to *Paris*, News was brought to him in the night time of a ſudden Tumult, as if the Enemy out of the Emperor's Territories, was about to make an Irruption into the Country of *Vermandois* in *Picardie*: Wherefore the Princes who were preſent at Court, were inſtantly diſpatched thither, to wit, the Dukes of *Vendoſme*, *Guiſe*, *Aumale*, *Nivern*, and many others, with a great number of Gentlemen; but when they came there all was hush'd, no Man living ſtirring. Now ſome ſaid that this was a Rumour purpoſely raiſed, to perſwade the People, that the Emperor ſought for a War, which the King would not ſeem to be Author of, though he had already fully reſolved it, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. For as much as the State of *Germany* was ſuch, as hath been before related, Aid was voted and an Army ordered to be levied, which being augmented and reinforced by King *Ferdinand*'s Forces, might be able to make Head againſt the *Turk*, and recover what had been loſt. *Joachim* Elector of *Brandenburg*, was by common Conſent, and the Will of the Emperor, made *Generaliſſimo*, who immediately leaving *Spire*, prepared himſelf for the Expedition. For this War there was a Poll raiſed all over *Germany*, and Leave granted to Magiſtrates to impoſe a Tax on their People upon this Account: It was alſo reſolved that Aſſiſtance ſhould be craved from the *Switzers*, and other Kings, eſpecially the King of *Denmark* and the *Italians*: Moreover a Decree was made, that all ſhould live in Peace within the Confines of the Empire, and not attempt any Stirs or Commotions: And ſo the Diet was diſſolved on the Eleventh of *April*.

The *French* King prepares for War.

An Expedition againſt the *Turk*, under the Conduct of the Elector of *Brandenburg*.

About the ſame time a great Quarrel broke out in *Saxony*, betwixt the Prince Elector and Duke *Maurice*, who now ſucceeded to his Father *Henry* lately deceaſed: The Diſpute was about their Limits and a certain Town; though Duke *Maurice* alſo plainly eſpouſed the Intereſt of *Pflug*, who was recommended to him by his Relations. The Matter was, in all probability, like to have come to a Civil War, for both muſtered their Men; but by the Mediation of the Lantgrave it was accommodated. This was the beginning of a Rancour betwixt them, which encreaſing afterwards with the time, gave a ſad Blow to *Germany*, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter: And many, indeed, wondered at Duke *Maurice*, that he ſhould have hatched ſuch violent and fierce Deſigns, againſt him, to whom both he and his Father owed, in a manner all their Fortune: Some of his Counſellors were thought to have contributed, not a little thereunto; who being very familiar with Prince *George*, had no great Kindneſs neither for the Religion nor the Elector.

A Quarrel betwixt the Elector and Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony*.

The War being now reſolved upon, and all preparing for the Expedition, *Luther* publiſhed a little Book in the vulgar Tongue, being a Military or Camp-Sermon. Let us trace the Matter a little farther back: In his younger Years, he had amongſt other things written, That to war againſt the *Turk*, was down-right

Luther's Camp-Sermon.

fighting

fighting againſt God, who ſmote us by him as with a Scourge. This Tenet of his was, with the reſt, condemned by *Leo* X. and his other Adverſaries alſo cried that he diſſwaded People from making War againſt the *Turk*: Wherefore afterwards, either of his own Head, or being put upon it by others, he undertook the handling of that Subject, and in the Year 1528. publiſhed a little Book, which he dedicated to *Philip* the Lantgrave, giving the Reaſon of his Poſition, and why he wrote ſo at that time. For in thoſe Times of Darkneſs, ſaith he, no Man inſtructed People aright, concerning the civil Magiſtrate; whence he derived his Power, or what his Duty was. Moſt People, and ſome learned Men alſo, looked upon that Office as Profane, and dangerous to the Conſcience too: Nay, Kings and Princes themſelves were ſo much perſwaded of this by the Prieſts and Monks, that they ſought to themſelves new Means of Salvation, whereof this was the chief and main Prop; That they ſhould not only hear Maſſes, but alſo ſettle large Fonds for having them ſaid to the Worlds End: For ſeeing they thought that the Life they lead was not very acceptable to God, they ſought to better their Condition by thoſe Aſſiſtances. The Princes who then lived can teſtify the Truth of this; for not to mention others, when I publiſhed a Book concerning the Magiſtrate, Prince *Frederick* was much rejoiced therewith, and hugg'd it as his Delight; becauſe it gave him ſome Light as to his own State and Condition. The Pope alone and his Miniſters reigned every where, and was a kind of God upon Earth: But the Magiſtrate lay neglected and grovelling in Darkneſs, wholly ignorant of that noble Teſtimony and Promiſe which he had from God. The Pope would needs be eſteemed a Chriſtian, and in the mean time he incited People to War againſt the *Turks*: Then aroſe a Controverſy betwixt us; for I made it my whole Buſineſs to prove what was the Duty of a Chriſtian Man, and becauſe I had not then as yet wrote any thing of the civil Function, the Papiſts cried, I flattered the Magiſtrate. Now, again, that I have commented on that Subject, they give out that it is Seditious; when, nevertheleſs, no Man, perhaps ſince the Age of the Apoſtles, if you only except St. *Auſtin*, hath treated that matter more clearly or fully. Amongſt other things which I taught then, I explained that ſaying of Chriſt's, Of giving thy Coat with thy Cloak, and, of ſuffering Injuries; which place the Pope and all his School had wholly depraved, affirming it moſt erroneouſly, to be a Concord, but not Precept. When therefore they took to themſelves the Name of Chriſtians, and that too above all others; and nevertheleſs would ſuffer no Injury, but muſt fight againſt the *Turk*, I oppoſed it, and following that ſaying of our Saviour, made it out, that a Chriſtian ought not to reſiſt Evil, but ſuffer all patiently: And then it was that I publiſhed that Poſition, which *Leo*, amongſt others, condemned; and I did it the rather, that I might detect the Knavery and Cheats of the Court of *Rome*; for the Popes were not in earneſt about the War, but made uſe of it as a Colour and Pretext, whenever they had a mind to ſqueeze Money from *Germany*: Wherefore they damned that Poſition of mine, not becauſe it diſſwaded from the War, but becauſe it barricadoed the Way by which our Money and Wealth was carried to *Rome*. Again, I did not approve it then neither, that they continually edg'd on our Princes to War, when in the mean time there was no Reformation of Life and Manners to be ſeen among us: But chiefly, that they called that War a Chriſtian War, as if we fought againſt the *Turks* for being the Enemies of Chriſt; which nevertheleſs ſuits neither with the Doctrine nor Name of Chriſt: Not with his Doctrine, becauſe he forbids us to reſiſt Evil, or to revenge a Wrong; nor with his Name neither, becauſe in ſo great Armies, there is hardly, perhaps, Five true Chriſtians to be found, moſt of them being worſe than the *Turks* themſelves; whilſt in the mean time all take to themſelves that Name, which, indeed, is an Affront and Injury done to Chriſt, when his Name is in this manner defamed and vilified, and would be far more, if the Pope and Biſhops carried Arms alſo, and marched out into the Field with the reſt. For ſince it is their peculiar Office, to reſiſt the Devil by the Word of God and Prayer, it is very undecent that they ſhould leave that Station, and make uſe of Sword and Piſtol, that ought to be the Care of the civil Magiſtrate, and the Offices are diſtinct: But it is now long ſince the Popes invented thoſe things, though they be forbid to do it by the Laws and Canons of our Anceſtors. How unſucceſsful have Wars hitherto been, for wrongfully arrogating the Name of Chriſt, the thing it ſelf makes it manifeſt, ſince *Rhodes* and the beſt part of *Hungary* being now loſt, we have the *Turk* at our very Doors: And how unlucky it is to have the

1542.

His Poſition condemned by the Pope.

The Explication of that Poſition.

1542. the Confederacy of Papiſts in a War, may be ſeen by the Battle of *Varna*, and the Overthrow of King *Ladiſlaus*, who was perſwaded by Cardinal *Julian* to engage the Enemy: It may be ſeen alſo by the late Overthrow received Two Years ſince, when King *Lowis* miſerably periſhed.

Having made this Preface, he came to the Matter it ſelf, ſaying, That God was in the firſt to be reconciled, and enjoining the Miniſters of the Church to exhort Men to Repentance: Afterwards he lays open the Religion and Impiety of the *Turks*, and ſays, That it properly belongs to the Emperor to make War againſt them; not for Revenge, Vain-glory, or Profit, but out of Duty, that he may defend his Subjects from Injury: That the Emperor was not to be excited to this War neither, as being the Head of Chriſtendom, Protector of the Church, and Defender of the Faith, ſince theſe were falſe and vain-glorious Titles, and injurious to Chriſt, who alone defends his own Church: And that the Injury was the greater, in that moſt part of Kings and Princes were ſworn Enemies to the true Religion: That therefore the *Turk* was to be fought againſt, and reſiſted, not becauſe he is of different Religion, but becauſe he Robs and Spoils, carries on a moſt unjuſt War, and brings along with him the Examples of a moſt foul and ſhameful Life. Then, comparing both together, he affirms that the *Roman* Papacy is no better than *Turciſm*; and that as the *Turk*, by his *Alcoran*, ſo the Pope, by his Decretals, hath extinguiſhed the Light of the Goſpel: That what he does by open Force, the Pope does the ſame by his Curſe and Excommunication: That both lay a Reproach upon Marriage, and are puniſhed, ſaith he, for the Contempt of the Law of God, which inſtitutes Matrimony; when being wholly rejected of God, they burn in filthy Luſts, and moſt flagitiouſly invert the Order of Nature. Laſtly, ſpeaking of the Power of the *Turks*, he adviſes them not to be ſecure, but war circumſpectly, as knowing that they had to do with the crueleſt of Enemies.

Luther's other Military-Sermon.

Theſe, and the like Points of Doctrine, were the Subject of that Book we mentioned: But now, when at the Perſwaſion of the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, the States of the Empire had decreed a War againſt the *Turk*, he publiſhed another Treatiſe, a Military-Sermon, as I ſaid, that the Miniſters of the Church, who followed the Camp, as is common, might have ſome Form ſet before them, of Teaching and Exhorting. The firſt thing then, ſaith he, is that Men underſtand what they are to think of the *Turk*: For the Scripture propheſieth of Two cruel Tyrants, who are to lay waſt and plague the Chriſtian World, before the laſt Day of Judgment; the one by falſe Doctrine, of whom *Daniel*, and after him St. *Paul* ſpeaks, and this is the Pope of *Rome*: And the other by Force and Arms, to wit, the *Turk*, of whom *Daniel* ſpeaks in his Seventh Chapter. Let thoſe therefore who will be Chriſtians, put on Reſolution, and expect no Peace, no quiet Life for the future; for that time of Trouble and Miſery which he foretold, is now come. But let us comfort our ſelves with the Hopes of Chriſt's coming, and our future Deliverance, which will appear preſently after theſe Afflictions; and let us know for a certain, that all the Rage and Malice of the Devil is fully poured out upon us by the *Turk*; for no Tyrant hitherto ever raged as he doth. Then he expounds the Seventh Chapter of *Daniel*, about the Four Beaſts coming out of the Sea; and proves the *Turkiſh* Empire to be ſignified thereby: For this is that little Horn, ſays he, which ſprang up amongſt thoſe Ten Horns of the Fourth Beaſt: And though it be grown to a great bigneſs, yet it can never reach to the Power of the *Roman* Empire; for the Prophet there deſcribes only Four Empires, which were to ſucceed in order; that the laſt of them was the *Roman* Monarchy: Therefore there ſhall never be another that can compare with the *Roman* in greatneſs. And becauſe *Daniel* aſſigns it only Three Horns, which it is to pluck out from among thoſe Ten, its Force and Power will not proceed much farther: For thoſe Three Horns are long ſince pluck'd off, being *Greece*, *Aſia*, and *Ægypt*; which three vaſt Provinces of the Empire, the *Turk* now poſſeſſes; and is by the Prophet confined within thoſe Limits; ſo that it is to be hoped, that he'll not hereafter make himſelf Maſter of any other Province of the Empire. But now that he makes a Buſtle in *Hungary*, and is ready to invade *Germany*, it is the laſt Act of the Tragedy: He may poſſibly, indeed, get ſome Footing in thoſe Provinces, but it is not to be thought, that he can peaceably enjoy them, as he doth *Aſia*, *Greece*, and *Ægypt*; for the Prophecy is manifeſt and plain. After this he handleth all the other parts; inviteth all chiefly to Repentance, and readily to obey the Magiſtrate, who calls for

for their Service in this War againſt the *Turk*, exhorting them not only to venture their Fortunes, but even their Lives and Perſons upon that account; he uſes alſo many Arguments to comfort the Slaves who were already under the Power of the *Turks*, or might be taken by them thereafter; and admoniſhes them to have a ſpecial Care they be not allured by that ſpecious and painted Religion of the *Turks*: For that he was told many Chriſtians of their own accord made Defection to that Religion, becauſe it had a kind of ſhew of Probity and Holineſs: That they ſhould patiently bear their Bondage, and faithfully ſerve their Maſters, though Wicked and Profane, not running away from them, nor putting Hand on themſelves, through Impatience for the Irkſomneſs of their Condition: But that they ſhould always have in their Thoughts what St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* wrote of the Duty of Bondmen: That, however, when they make War againſt Chriſtians, they ſhould rather hazard their Lives than ſerve them, for that they were Robbers, made War againſt the Saints, as *Daniel* ſaith, and ſhed innocent Blood: That therefore it ſhould be their chief Care not to be partakers with them in ſo great a Crime and Wickedneſs. Unto this Diſcourſe he ſubjoins a Form of Prayer againſt the Fury of the *Turks*; and towards the end, enlarging upon the Vices of the Times, which reigned amongſt all Ranks and Degrees of Men; he concluded, that *Germany* which was ſo wholly corrupted and defiled, could not continue long in Safety. Now this is the Form of Prayer which he preſcribes; 1542.

Luther's Prayer againſt the Fury of the *Turks*.

O Eternal Father, we have, indeed, deſerved to be puniſhed, but do thou thy ſelf puniſh us, not in thy Wrath and Diſpleaſure, but according to thy great Mercy, ſeeing it is far better for us to fall into thy Hands, than into the Hands of Men and Enemies; for thy Mercy is infinite and above all thy Works. We have ſinned againſt thee, O Lord, and broken thy Commandments; yet thou knoweſt, O Heavenly Father, that the Devil, the Pope, and the *Turk*, have no Right nor Cauſe to afflict us, for we have not wronged them; but thou uſeſt them as a Rod to correct us with, who have many Ways provoked thee all our Life time: They, I ſay, have nothing to charge us with; but would rather, that, after their Example, we ſhould for ever grievouſly offend thee; that we ſhould ſin againſt thy Divine Majeſty, by Idolatry and falſe Doctrine; by Lying and Deceiving; by Theft, Robbery and Rapine, and by Adultery, Fornication and Sorcery: That's the thing they moſt deſire. But becauſe we worſhip thee, God the Father, and thy Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, with thy Holy Spirit, one God everlaſting, that is our Crime and Wickedneſs, for which they ſo hate and perſecute us. Should we make Defection from thee, and renounce this Faith, we needed not to expect any Hurt from them. Look graciouſly towards us then, O Father, and help us, for they are more thine Enemies than ours; when they ſmite us, they ſmite thee; for the Doctrine we profeſs is not ours but thine: The Devil, indeed, cannot endure it, but would be worſhipped in thy place, and force Lyes upon us inſtead of thy Word: And the *Turk* alſo would place his *Mahomet* in the room of thy Son Jeſus Chriſt. Now if it be a Sin to profeſs thee, Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, to be the only true God; then certainly thou art a Sinner who teacheſt us ſo to do, and requireſt this Duty at our Hands: And when for this Cauſe they perſecute us, they hate and afflict thee. Awake then, O my God, and avenge thy Holy Name, which they pollute and profane; ſuffer not this Injury at their Hands, who puniſh us, not for our Sins and Treſpaſſes, but endeavour to extinguiſh the Light of thy Word amongſt us, and to deſtroy thy Kingdom, that thou ſhouldeſt not have a People to worſhip and adore thy Name.

Now as to the Origin and Growth of the *Turks*, ſince ſo many have writen of it, it is to no purpoſe to diſcourſe here: Their Riſe hath been as great as their Beginning was ſmall; and the firſt of their Emperors is reckoned *Ottoman*, who reigned about the Year of our Lord 1300. After him ſucceeded in order *Orchanes*, *Amurath*, who firſt croſſed the *Helleſpont*, and brought an Army into *Europe*, invading *Thrace*; *Bajazet*, *Cyriſcelebes*, *Moſes*, *Mahomet*, *Amurath*, *Mahomet*, *Bajazet*, *Selim*, *Solyman*.

Of the Original of the *Turks* and of their Kings.

Much about this time *Alfonſo Davalo* Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, whom we mentioned before, publiſhed a Declaration addreſſed to the Princes of *Germany*, wherein he Accuſes and Blames the *French* King, that in ſuch troubleſome Times, he ſhould plot and contrive new deſigns, on purpoſe to fruſtrate and hinder the honeſt Endeavours of the Emperor and all the States, pretending a very ſlight and trivial Reaſon for it; to wit, the intercepting of *Anthony Rink*, and *Cæſar Fregoſo*, after whom he had made moſt diligent Inquiry, but could not learn what was

The Marqueſs of *Peſcara* accuſes the *French* King.

1542. was become of them. This coming to the *French* King's Knowledge, he declared that he had a great Injury done him, in that his Ambaſſadors had been ſo barbarouſly uſed: That he had ſeveral times complained of it both to the Pope and Emperor, and deſired Satisfaction; but all in vain: And that therefore if he ſhould let ſo unworthy an Act paſs it would be to his diſhonour, and the greateſt ſtain imaginable to his Reputation.

The King purges himſelf.

Prayers appointed at *Paris* for the Succeſs of the War.

Afterwards on the Second of *May* he wrote to the Parliament of *Paris*, to this Effect; To the end, ſaid he, that God may illuminate our Hearts, and grant us Conſtancy in our Faith, bring thoſe that go aſtray (if any ſuch be) into the right Way of Salvation again, and ſend us Peace, by means of Satisfaction for the Injuries we have received by Uſurpation of our Right, and Violence done to our Ambaſſadors; or, if in diſpair of Peace, there be a neceſſity of going to War, that he may grant us Victory; our Will is, that Proceſſions be made, and Prayers in all Churches, and that able Preachers be employed to give the People an account of the Cauſe hereof: Moreover we Charge and Commard, that if there be any who entertain ſiniſtrous Thoughts of our Faith and Religion, and do not promiſe amendment, that they be publickly puniſhed for their Crime. Not long after, he ſent the Duke of *Longueville* to the Duke of *Cleve*, who having raiſed Men againſt the Summer, under the Conduct of *Martin Van Roſſem*, waited for an opportunity of Action.

The Pope, in the mean time, on the Firſt of *June*, calls a Council, and by way of preamble gives a large account how he had often before called a Council, and laſt of all ſuſpended its ſitting till a more convenient time; wherefore he clears himſelf of all the Blame, and profeſſes he could delay no longer, though the Affairs of Chriſtendom were ſtill in a doubtful State. So then he appointed it to be held at *Trent*, on the Firſt of *November*, whither he Summoned to appear all Patriarchs, Biſhops, Abbots and others, who had Right and Privilege to ſit and Vote in Councils. He exhorted alſo the Emperor and *French* King, that they would either come themſelves or ſend Ambaſſadors, and command their Biſhops to repair to it: But before all others he invited the *German* Biſhops, becauſe for their cauſe and at their deſire chiefly all that pains was taken. In the Month of *July* the *French* King declared War againſt the Emperor in a very cutting Stile of Language, giving his Subjects free Liberty, by publick Proclamation, to uſe all manner of Hoſtilities againſt him and his Countries, both by Sea and Land. *Longueville* and *Van Roſſem* had a little before made an Incurſion into *Brabant*, where they put the People, who were unprovided into great Terror and Conſternation, and were very like to have taken *Antwerp* and *Lovain*, but wanting Ammunition and other things neceſſary for the Artillery, they could not batter the places; however, where-ever they went they ravaged and plundered all, and having extorted a great deal of Money, forced their way through, and in the Month of *Auguſt* joined *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* the King's Son, who was then making War in the Dutchy of *Luxemburg*. There were Four hundred Horſe in this Service, ſent by the King of *Denmark*: And beſides, *Damvilliers*, *Virton* and *Yvoix*, *Luxemberg* the Chief City of the Province was taken by the *French*. The King himſelf carried on the War on the other ſide, and beſieged *Perpignan* a Town of *Rouſſillon* by the *Pyrenean* Hills: He alſo ordered *William* of *Langey* to act in *Piedmont*, whilſt the Duke of *Vendoſme* invaded *Artois* and *Flanders*: So that he attacked the Enemy in Five ſeveral places at once; but many thought it would have been better to have fallen into any one Province with his whole Army, as it proved to be true in the end; for both *Perpignan* was attempted in vain, and the Duke of *Orleans* being returned Home, the Imperialiſts recovered all almoſt except *Yvoix*. Upon this occaſion *Antwerp* began to be Fortified, having been a place of eaſie acceſs before. When the King was about to make War, he ſent back *Paulain* to the *Turk*, to entreat him that he would ſend him a Fleet into *Provence*: But *Paulain* arriving too late, *Solyman* put it off till the Year following. In the Heat of this War, the King publiſhed Edicts againſt the *Lutherans*: And the Parliament of *Paris* charged all Printers and Bookſellers under great Penalties, that they ſhould not print, publiſh, nor ſell any Books that were condemned or ſuſpected, and *Calvin*'s *Inſtitutions* by Name. Afterward, at the requeſt of the Inquiſitor, they made a Decree on the Seventh of *July*, that the People ſhould be admoniſhed from the Pulpit, to be Obedient to the Church, and if they knew any *Lutheran*, or any one that thought amiſs of Religion, they ſhould preſent him; for that it

The calling of the Council of *Trent*.

The *French* King declares War;

And *Longueville* and *Roſſem* invade *Brabant*.

The *French* King demands Aid from the *Turk* againſt the Emperor.

was

was a work very acceptable to God. But the Curats and Miniſters of the Church had a Form preſcribed to them, which they were to follow in examining and making their Enquiry: For they were enjoined to put the Queſtion to the Informers, If they knew any that ſaid there was no Purgatory; That ſo ſoon as a Man was dead, he was either damned or ſaved; That Man is not juſtified by keeping the Commands of God; That God only was to be Prayed unto, and not the Saints; That the Worſhipping of Images was Idolatry; That the Saints did not work Miracles; That the Ceremonies of the Church profited nothing; That the Canons of the Church obliged no Man; That it was neceſſary for all Men indifferently to underſtand the Goſpel; That all Men ought to read the Scripture in the vulgar Tongue; That it was an Idle thing for common People to pray to God in *Latin*; That the Prieſt did not forgive Sins by the Sacrament of Penance, but that he was only the Miniſter who declared God's Mercy in pardoning of Sins; That the Church could not oblige any Man under pain of mortal Sin; Or that it was lawful to eat Fleſh at all times. This Form of Inquiſition was given and enjoined to Prieſts privately: But there was an Edict publiſhed, whereby all were commanded to inform againſt and accuſe thoſe who neglected the Rites and Conſtitutions of the Church, who had Heretical Books themſelves, or gave them to others to read, or willingly dropp'd them in the Streets, that ſo they might be diſperſed; who kept private Meetings in Houſes or Gardens, and framed deſigns contrary to the Conſtitutions of the Church; and thoſe who received ſuch Men into their Houſes and Gardens: They that were privy to any ſuch thing were commanded, under pain of Excommunication, to preſent all within Six Days to the Doctors of Divinity choſen by the Inquiſitor; to wit, *Henry Gervaſe*, *Nicholas Clerk*, *Peter Richard*, *Robert Buccine*, *John Benot*, *Francis Picard*, and *John Morine*. Bookſellers alſo were charged within Six Days to bring all the ſuſpected Books and Manuſcripts they had to the aforeſaid Doctors; which if they did not, no excuſe was to be admitted afterwards. The ſame Day that Edict was proclaimed, publick Proceſſions and Prayers were made in all Churches of *Paris*, for the ſafety of the Kingdom, and preſervation of Religion, and the Relicks of St. *Gennevieve*, their tutelary Saint, were carried about; and much about the ſame time ſome were burnt for Religion. There was one *Francis de Landre*, Curat of St. *Croix* in *Paris*, who preached the pure Word of God to the People at that time, and did not ſay Maſs, becauſe he drank no Wine; but whether out of natural antipathy or deſign I know not. The *Sorbonn* Doctors conceived a great Hatred againſt this Man; and having employed ſome Emiſſaries to take Notes of his Sermon, they propounded to him theſe Heads of Doctrine, to know his Judgment of them; That the Sacrifice of the Maſs is inſtituted by Chriſt, and is propitiatory both for the Living and the Dead: That Saints are to be prayed unto, that they may be Advocates and Interceſſors for us with Chriſt: That the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine is changed by Conſecration: That none but Prieſts can Conſecrate the Bread and Wine, and alone have right to the Sacrament in both Kinds: That monaſtick Vows are to be kept: That by the Sacraments of Confirmation and Unction, the Holy Ghoſt is received: That by Faſting, Prayer and good Works, Souls are delivered out of Purgatory: That the Conſtitutions of the Church concerning Faſting and choice of Meats bind the Conſcience: That the Pope is Head of the Church, whom all are bound to obey by divine Right: That many things are to be believed and neceſſarily received which are not expreſſed in Scripture: That the pains of Purgatory are remitted by the Pope's Indulgences: That Prieſts, though they be vitious and ſinful, conſecrate the Body of the Lord: That all mortal Sins are to be confeſſed to the Prieſt, and Abſolution to be received from him: That Man has free will, whereby he may do good or evil: And riſe again from Sin by Repentance: That the pardon of Sins is obtained not by Faith alone, but by Charity and true Repentance: That the Church and Councils lawfully called cannot erre, and that they are to be obeyed: And that it belongs to the Church to Interpret and Expound the Scripture, if any Controverſie ariſe about the Meaning of it. Theſe Articles they required him to approve under hand and Seal. Some Days after he gave them a general Anſwer, that whatever the Holy Catholick Church taught, as to theſe things, was Pious and Holy. But not ſatisfied with that Anſwer, they attempted greater Matters againſt him, as you ſhall know hereafter.

1542. The Form of inquiring who are *Lutherans*.

Francis de Landre a Preacher at *Paris*.

The Articles of Doctrine propoſed to him.

His Anſwer.

1542. At this time alſo two *Dominican Friars* preached the Goſpel at *Metz*; and ſeeing the Prieſts began to ſhew their diſlike thereof, moſt part of the Citizens begg'd earneſtly of the Senate that they would not Silence them, they themſelves promiſing all due Obedience. *William Farell* came thither alſo, who at firſt taught privately within the City, and afterwards in a convenient Place without. But when the Emperor's Letters came to the Senate, wherein he charged them not to ſuffer any Innovations in Religion, but puniſh Offenders that way, the Citizens were prohibited to be preſent at any Sermon, unleſs the Preacher were Licenſed by the Biſhop and Senate.

Two *Dominicans* Preach the Goſpel at *Metz*, And ſo did *William Farell*. But the Emperor wrote to the Senate, to ſuffer no Change in Religion.

This Summer infinite ſwarms of Locuſts flew over *Germany*, and the hither part of *Italy*. They were of an extraordinary bigneſs, and where-ever they fell devoured all the Corn and Graſs.

Locuſts in *Germany* and *Italy*.

We have had ſeveral times occaſion to ſpeak of *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, of his bitter Invectives againſt the Duke of *Saxony* and Lantgrave, and of his burning of certain Places in *Saxony*. Now at length when he went on in his way, plaguing *Goſlar* and *Brunſwick*, two Imperial Cities of the *Smalcaldick* League, with continual Incurſions and Devaſtations, and would neither obey the Emperor nor King *Ferdinand*'s Edicts, who, at the humble Deſire of the Proteſtants, had commanded him to deſiſt from all Force; the Duke of *Saxony* and Lantgrave of *Heſs*, make War againſt him in Name of all the Confederates, and in a ſhort time, ſubdue his whole Country, taking by compoſition *Wolfem-Battel*, a Caſtle of his near to the City of *Brunſwick*, wherein he had placed all his Hopes. Nor did he himſelf ſtay the coming of the Enemy, but ſaved himſelf by flight, and with his Eldeſt Son *Charles Victor* went to the Dukes of *Bavaria*. In the Caſtle we now mentioned, many Letters were found, which clearly diſcovered the attempts of the *Bavarians*, Elector of *Mentz*, *Held*, and others; but that ſhall be related in its proper place. The Proteſtants publiſhed a Declaration giving a full account of the Cauſes that made good what they had done, and proving that they were not the Aggreſſors in the War, but of neceſſity obliged to defend their Confederates who were attack'd. In the late Diet at *Spire* the Proteſtants had made Application to King *Ferdinand* that he would both in the Emperor's and his own Name command him to abſtain from the People of *Goſlar*. King *Ferdinand*, who then needed their help againſt the *Turk*, complied with their deſire, and by his Ambaſſadors rebuked him, and charged him to forbear; but he returned a haughty and diſdainful Anſwer, and went on, which occaſioned the defenſive War, we have been ſpeaking of. For they had plainly told King *Ferdinand* at *Spire*, that if he obeyed not Orders, they would not ſit ſtill and ſee their Confederates wronged. *July* the Thirteenth there was another Diet of the Empire held at *Nurimberg*; for ſo it was decreed at *Spire*, upon occaſion of the *Hungarian* War. King *Ferdinand* was there in perſon, and the Emperor's Deputies were *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, the Biſhop of *Auſburg*, *Frederick* Count *Furſtemberg*, *Monfort* and *Naves*. King *Ferdinand* opened the Aſſembly by a Speech, wherein he told them, That what they had done in ſending an Army into *Hungary* was very Acceptable to the Emperor, who had reſolved to have been preſent in the War with his own Forces, and had therefore called a Convention of States in *Spain*, but that whilſt he was conſulting about the matter, he had fallen dangerouſly Sick, and was forced to put off that Convention to another time: and that when now he had determined vigorouſly to puſh on the matter, and to ſend before his Forces from *Italy* and *Burgundy*, the ſudden enterprizes of his Enemies had prevented him in the very nick, ſo that dangers threatned him not only in *Italy*, but in the Low Countries too; though, in the mean time, he had given no cauſe for it, ſince Peace and Quietneſs had been his chief deſire: But that they themſelves were convinced that ever ſince the Diet of *Spire*, the Enemies had left nothing unaſſayed, that by drawing over the *Suiſſe* and *German* Souldiers to their party, they might begin the War; ſo that the Emperor, quite contrary to his Inclination, was hindered and retarded, either from coming in perſon, or ſending Succors, ſince he ſtood in need of them for his own defence: That nevertheleſs, he was fully reſolved to return into *Germany* before the end of the Year, and proſecute the War as he had intended; that he would likewiſe have a Fleet out at Sea, well Mann'd and Equipag'd that the *Turk* being engaged in a double War, might not turn all his Force againſt *Hungary*: That when alſo he ſhould come into *Germany*, he would omit nothing that might conduce to a pious and tolerable Reconciliation of Religion.

The Duke of *Saxony* and Lantgrave make a ſucceſsful War againſt the Duke of *Brunſwick*.

Their Declaration of the Reaſons of it.

The Diet of *Nurimberg*.

gion. That, after all, it was very prejudicial to the publick, that all did not obey the Decree of the laſt Diet; for that ſome of the States had ſent no Souldiers; others again had ſent indeed, but not their compleat *quota*; and that ſome had ſent Souldiers, but no Money; and that Artillery and Ammunition, which others had promiſed, were wanting: That this was the reaſon why all Action was at a ſtand, and that the Army, to the great prejudice of the Empire, did nothing at all: That the Generals and Commanders made heavy complaints of it, and that he himſelf had been an Eye Witneſs thereof: That ſince it was a matter of great concern, he was come to repreſent the ſame in perſon to the Diet, not without great Inconvenience to his own Affairs: That therefore he earneſtly beſought them that they would not be wanting to the common Cauſe in ſuch a time of need. 1542.

Before King *Ferdinand* left *Vienna* to go to the Diet at *Nurimberg*, being informed of the War of *Brunſwick*, he had ſent a Meſſenger to diſſwad[illegible]m from their Enterprize; but now that he was arrived at *Nurimberg*, Commiſſio[illegible]rs were ſent by the Advice and Conſent of the whole Diet, with Inſtructions, to this Effect; That they ſhould not decide their Quarrel by Arms, eſpecially at this time, leaſt that might hinder the War againſt the *Turk*, and occaſion a Civil War in *Germany*. To this the Duke of *Saxony* and Lantgrave, on the Eleventh of *Auguſt* give their Anſwer from the Camp before the Caſtle of *Wolfem-Battle*, and tell at length the Reaſons why they engaged in that Defence, ſeeing it was impoſſible to order the Matter otherwiſe; and that though they were neceſſitated to wage that War, to their great Charges, yet they had faithfully contributed what Aſſiſtance they ought to the *Turkiſh* War, and would not be deficient for the future; ſo that if all the reſt would do the like, no body needed to fear the diſperſion of the Army; but that it was known by the Letters and Report of many Perſons where the defect lay. Since it was ſo then, and that there was no other way of curbing the Duke of *Brunſwick*, who had ſlighted the Edicts both of the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, and the Decrees of the Empire; they prayed them not to miſinterpret their Actions; for that they had no deſigns in this War againſt any Perſon but him, and did not refuſe, after Matters were quieted, to ſend all the Aſſiſtance they could command to the Relief of *Hungary*. The Diet ended on the Twenty-ſixth Day of *Auguſt*, and therein a Decree was made, inflicting a Penalty on all thoſe that did not obey the Decree of the Diet of *Spire*, and ſeveral other things enacted in Relation to the *Turkiſh* War. None of the Princes were preſent at it, except *Walter* Maſter of *Pruſſia*, and the Biſhops of *Bamberg*, *Aichſtadt*, and *Trent*, with the Emperor's Deputies before-named.

The Meſſage of the States of the Empire to the Duke of *Saxony* and Lantgrave.

Their Anſwer.

The Decree of the Diet of *Nurimberg*.

Mention has been made before of Cardinal *Contarini*, who, for the Services done in his Legation, had no great Thanks from the Pope and Cardinals, by whom he was charged, as not having been brisk enough in oppoſing the *Lutherans*, and as having endangered the Intereſts and Religion of *Rome*. He had been by many Accuſed in his Abſence, and none but Cardinal *Fregoſo* ſtood up for his Defence. Upon his Return out of *Germany* into *Italy*, he came to *Luka*, where Pope *Paul* then expected the Emperor as he was to go to *Barbary*. From thence he went to *Rome* with the Pope, and not long after was made Legate of *Bolonia*; where at length, towards the latter end of this Year, he died, not without ſuſpicion of having been Poiſoned, *Fregoſo* being dead not long before. They who were familiarly acquainted with him, ſay, That he was right in his Judgment as to Man's Juſtification. He was a very learned Man, and wrote a Book of the Magiſtrates and Republick of *Venice*.

Contarini accuſed of Miſcarriages.

Contarini and *Fregoſo*, Cardinals, die.

In the ſame Month *William Poiet* Chancellor of *France*, was by the King's Command, who then was going to *Perpignan*, apprehended a-bed in the Night time, and carried to Priſon. The News of this occaſioned much rejoicing at *Paris*; for in the Four Years time that he diſcharged that Office, he had offended all Ranks of Men, and was now at length diſgraced by the Intereſt of a Lady at Court; though he had contracted much Envy too, by the Condemnation of the Admiral, as we ſaid before. He was in great Hopes, and almoſt ſure of being made a Cardinal, and therefore had taken Holy Orders ſome Months before. Though moſt Men ſaid he did ſo, that he might fortifie himſelf againſt the Hatred that many did bear him, and ſecure his Life, if at any time that heat ſhould break out into a Flame. This was the third Inſtance of the wantonneſs and inconſtancy of Fortune, which happened within a few Months in *France*.

The Chancellor of *France* caſt into Priſon.

1542. *Otho* Prince *Palatine*, and the people of *Heildeſſeim* embrace the Reformed Religion.

For thoſe three we named before, the Admiral, Conſtable and Chancellor, being promoted to the higheſt pitch of Honour and Dignity, could not refrain from Envying and Hating one another, till, at length, by their own Example, they gave an evident demonſtration how fallacious, ſlippery, and uncertain all worldly Enjoyments are: At that time *Otho Henry* Prince *Palatine* embraced the reformed Religion; and ſo alſo did they of *Heildeſſeim*.

The Emperours Letter to the Pope about the Council.

You heard before of the Council: And now the Pope ſent the Bull of Convocation thereof to the Emperor in *Spain*. The Emperor on the Twentieth of *Auguſt* wrote an Anſwer to the Brief of his Holineſs that came with it. In the Firſt place he commends his Endeavour, and the Zeal he expreſſed for the publick Good; but is troubled that the *French* King ſhould be compared to him: That that King was a prodigal Son, ſaid he, but that he who had never ſwerved from his Duty, ought more tenderly to be hugg'd and embraced: That he had never declined any Trouble, ſpared no Danger nor Expences, for obtaining of a Council, that Chriſtendom being at Peace, all their Force might be employed againſt the *Turk*; but that the *French* King, on the contrary, had had far different Proſpects: That therefore he had juſt Cauſe to take ſomewhat amiſs in his Brief: That it was an uſual Bragg of *Francis*, that he had the Cardinals at his Beck, wherefore he began to doubt whether it might not be true; but, however, that he truſted to a good Conſcience, and that the Actions of them both were publickly known: That his Holineſs was, indeed, too kind and indulgent towards him; for that all the Labour and Pains he had been at now for many Years, was loſt: That he had been often admoniſhed of his Duty, many heinous Injuries pardoned, and Leagues ſtill renewed with him; but that all theſe things made him the worſe, and he wholly abuſed his Goodneſs: That he had ſatisfied him at *Rome*, who it was that gave the Cauſe of the War, and who had violated the League; but that what had happened in the mean while ſince, he would now inform him of; to wit, That no greater Demonſtration could be given of his own Willingneſs and Deſire to live in Peace, than that after the Truce made at *Nice*, he came to an Interview with him at *Aigues Mortes*, and put himſelf into his Hands; nay, and the Year following, took a Journey through *France*, to the great Aſtoniſhment of all Men, and not without the Cenſure of many; for that ſeeing he had oftner than once broken his Faith, and was very inconſtant and changeable in all his Purpoſes; it was no ſmall Danger for him to have ventured his Perſon upon his Word and Promiſe: That he was alſo aſſured, that at that time it was moved in Council that he ſhould be detained. Now as to what ſome ſaid, He was obliged to go that way, becauſe of the Rebellion of *Ghent*, it was but an idle Surmiſe; for that that Inſurrection was the Act but of a few, and of the baſer ſort of the People too, the reſt of the Province being ſtill in quiet; and could eaſily have been repreſſed by the Queen his Siſter; but that it was his Purpoſe at that time to have returned into *Germany* through *Italy*, had he not been perſwaded by the King to alter his Reſolution, and travel over *France*; as he could demonſtrate by his own Letters, and by the Letters of his Sons and Nobles; for that he was ſo earneſtly importuned by him upon that Account, that he thought it would have reflected upon his Honour, if he had paſs'd any other way than through *France*; and that whilſt he was in *France*, he had had it often from his own Mouth, That he would obſerve the Truce; but that afterwards he began to complain, that *Milan* was not reſtored to him according to Promiſe; whereas the Promiſe was made with this Condition; If he reſtored his Uncle, the Duke of *Savoy*, and performed ſome other things: That ever ſince that time, he had framed Deſigns againſt him in ſeveral Places, in *Germany*, *Italy*, with the *Grand Seignior*, the *Vayvode John*, his Widow, and ſome Nobles of *Hungary*, by whoſe Means the *Turk* had got *Buda*: And that nevertheleſs he had all along diſguiſed his Malice, and made him large, but enſnaring Promiſes of Friendſhip, that he might ſpin out the time, and ſurpriſe him unawares; which he did ſo ſoon as the Occaſion offered, when *Fregoſo* and *Rink* chanced to be miſſing: That, however, his Holineſs himſelf, who was choſen to be Umpire betwixt them, was a Witneſs of his Willingneſs to have ſatisfied him in that Particular: That this was the Pretext, then, he now uſed for raiſing new Troubles and Commotions in Chriſtendom, though it was long ſince he intended it: That it was well enough known what *Fregoſo* and *Rink*, had, by his Orders, attempted in *Italy* and *Turkey*, and what Services they had often done *him*: That they went about to betray Chriſtendom into extream Danger; ſo that they had

no

no right to the Peace of *Nice*, who violated the publick Peace: That, again, they ſcudded privily through *Lombardie* with a Train of *Banditi's*; a Crime that's capital by the Law and Cuſtom of that Country: That the Marqueſs of *Peſcara* was heavily accuſed by him; and yet he had offered to ſtand a Trial for it; but that it was not unknown why he refuſed that, and rejected other Satisfactions alſo: That, for his part, when he thought he had been ſatisfied, he paſſed over into *Barbary*, and ſent an Ambaſſador into *France*, to recommend to him the publick Peace; but that at the ſame time he gave the faireſt Promiſes, he was attempting ſeveral things againſt him in *Germany*, *Denmark*, and other places; and laid a Deſign of invading *Navarr*: That afterwards his Ambaſſadors, at the Diet of *Spire*, had made it their whole Buſineſs to foment the Difference of Religion, promiſing each Party ſeverally their Maſters Friendſhip and Favour: That he had endeavoured to diſſwade the States of the Empire from the *Turkiſh* War, ſollicited the Grand Seignior, ſent Forces into *Italy*, cauſed *Martin van Roſſem* in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and the Duke of *Orleans* in *Luxemburg*, to make War againſt him before any Denunciation; and then bent all the reſt of his Forces towards the Frontiers of *Spain*: That this, forſooth, was the Fruit of his Holineſs's Tenderneſs, who had indulged him in ſo many things, and ſo often exhorted him to Peace: That he ſhould alſo ſuffer the Archbiſhop of *Valentia* to be detained Priſoner by him, and ſeveral Noble-Men of *Spain* to be abuſed and affronted by the *French* in *Avignon*, was, in all Conſcience, too great a Forbearance: That now therefore, he muſt be forced to ſtand upon his own Defence, at a time when he had leaſt Fear of him, by reaſon of his large and moſt ample Promiſes, when he was preparing for the *Turkiſh* War, and upon that account to return into *Germany*: That the Injury and Damage was, indeed, great, which he had done within his Territories, and he and his Subjects both ſuffered by it; but that he was not ſo much moved thereat, as at the publick Calamity of Chriſtendom; for that as to his own private Concerns, ſince he was always ſhuffling and breaking his Agreements, it were far better for him to have open War, than to truſt to any Truce or Conditions, which upon every light Occaſion he could break and annul: That Peace with him was, for the moſt part, a Snare; ſince it was his Courſe, in the mean time, to hatch new Counſels, pernicious to the Publick; cheriſh and foment Factions, and to make it his chief Study to diſable him from reſiſting the *Turks*; by haraſſing and tiring him out, and exhauſting him by Charges: That this being his own Temper, he made it his Care to breed his Children in the ſame Nature and Diſcipline: That his Ambition and Covetouſneſs was now grown to ſuch a Hight, that it could no longer be concealed: That as his Anceſtors had uſurped *Provence*, which belonged to the Empire, ſo now alſo he held *Savoy*, and part of *Piedmont*, which he ſo fortified, as made it apparent enough he had no mind to reſtore them: That it had been his Deſign, not only to invade *Lombardy*, but *Parma* and *Piacenza* too, then *Luka* and *Siena*, and afterward the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, that ſo he might have a Paſſage open into *Naples* and *Sicily*: That there was no Doubt but his Project reached ſo far, and that it might eaſily be gathered from the Deſigns and Stratagems he had on Foot in *Italy*: That, in ſhort, there was no Bounds to be ſet to his exceſſive Ambition; nor was it ever to be thought that he would ſtand to any Agreement, ſo long as there remained any thing for others to loſe, or for him to take: For that he was ſo tranſported with this Diſeaſe and Reſtleſneſs of Mind, as with a violent *Calenture*: That forgeting all Religion and Piety, he had made a League with the *Turk*, and joined, not only his Counſels, but Fortunes alſo, with the Enemy of Chriſtendom, making, at this preſent, mighty Braggs, that *Barbaroſſa*, with a Fleet, would quickly be upon our Coaſts: That his Holineſs, in his own Prudence, ought to conſider, if theſe were Courſes to heal the Diviſions of Chriſtendom, and begin a Council with: That it had always been the Endeavours of the *French* King, that no Council ſhould be held, as thinking it would prove prejudicial to his private Affairs: Wherefore, ſo ſoon as he had perceived that, he had taken other Meaſures for compoſing the Differences about Religion in *Germany*, and had therein Reſpect only to the Glory of God, and the Honour and Dignity of the Church: That therefore it was to be imputed to the *French* King, who had always hindered, and not to him, who had taken ſo much Labour and Pains about a Council, that there was not one ſooner call'd: That if then, his Holineſs were diſpoſed to help afflicted Chriſtendom, he ought, in Duty, to declare himſelf an Enemy to him, who was the Author of all the Diſorder

1542.

and

1542. and Calamity, who invited and allured in the *Turk* againſt Chriſtendom, and who left nothing unattempted, whereby he might ſatiate his Ambition and boundleſs Revenge: For that ſince the chief Care of Chriſtianity belonged to him, by virtue of his Paſtoral Office, the thing it ſelf required, that he ſhould not ſuffer him to proceed any longer in theſe diſorderly Courſes, but declare himſelf his Enemy: That if he would do ſo, it would not only be an Act moſt acceptable to all good Men, but would prove of ſingular Uſe alſo for containing all other Kings within the Bounds of Duty: For that it was the only Way to have a Council meet, Peace reſtored, and the Troubles of Chriſtendom ſettled; wherein if his Holineſs did his duty, he for his Part would not be wanting.

The End of the Fourteenth Book.

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THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK XV.

The CONTENTS.

The Pope attempts in vain to make Peace betwixt the Emperor and French *King. A hot War betwixt* England *and* Scotland. *The* French *King ſuppreſſes a Sedition at* Rochell. *In the Diet of* Nurimberg, Granvell, *in the Emperor's Name, demands aſſiſtance againſt the* French *King, who in a very long Manifeſt, anſwers the Emperor's Letter.* Langey *dieth.* Francis Landre *and* de Penſier *make a publick Recantation. Mention made of* Marot *by the bye.* Bucer *Preaches at* Bonn. *The Pope offers to buy the Dutchy of* Milan. Philip *made King of* Spain. *The Emperor and King of* England *make a League againſt the* French *King. The Pope writes to the Clergy of the Cathedral of* Cologne, *and animates them. The* French *King takes* Landrecy, *a ſmall Town, from the Emperor. A Diet is held at* Spire, *where the* French *King is ſo grievouſly accuſed, that his Herald was diſmiſſed with very rough Language. There the Proteſtants lay moſt enormous Crimes to the Charge of* Henry *Duke of* Brunſwick. *There alſo the Duke of* Savoy *by his Ambaſſadors again accuſes the* French *King. The Speech which the* French *Ambaſſadors were to have made in the Aſſembly of all the States* at Spire, *is printed and publiſhed. In the ſame Diet alſo an accord was made, betwixt the Emperor, King* Ferdinand, *and the Duke of* Saxony. *The States of the Empire vote the Emperor Money againſt the* French *King.* Bulloign *is beſieged by the* Engliſh. *The Town of* Landrecy *is taken. A panick fear at* Paris. *The Emperor makes Peace with the King of* France *at* Soiſſons, *and the Conditions of the Peace are related.*

WHEN the War was now hot on all Hands, *Auguſt* the Twenty-ſixth, the Pope ſent Legates Mediators, Cardinal *Michael* Biſhop of *Viſeo*, a *Portugeſe*, to the Emperor, and Cardinal *James Sadoleto* to the *French* King, to intercede with them that they would ſacrifice their private Injuries to the publick Good, and ſet their Minds in Peace. He ſent Legates alſo to the Council at *Trent*. The Emperor made Anſwer to the Legate of *Viſeo*, and wrote to the Pope much to the ſame purpoſe, as he did in the Letter we mentioned before; and therefore again moved him to declare himſelf the Enemy of *France*; For that his Holineſs had often proteſted, That he would ſeverely puniſh him, that ſhould violate a Truce, or make a League with the *Turk*: That that was the only ſolid way of ſettling the Peace of Chriſtendom. With this Letter he diſmiſſed the Legate on the Eighteenth of *October*. Becauſe the Duke of *Longueville* and *Martin Van Roſſem*, had raiſed an Army in the Territories of the Duke of *Cleve*, as has been mentioned before; the Imperialiſts under the command of the Prince of *Orange*, invade the Country of *Juliers*, put all to Fire and Sword, and upon Compoſition take *Duren*, the chief Town in theſe Parts: For the Duke of *Cleve* had ſucceeded to the Principalities of *Juliers* and *Mons*, in Right of his Mother. At the.

1542.

Cardinals Pacificators ſent from the Pope to the Emperor and *French* King.

The Emperor's Anſwer to the Cardinal Pacificators.

The Country of *Juliers* waſted by the Imperialiſts, and *Duren* taken.

1542. the ſame time alſo the Imperial Army having done no Action in *Hungary*, only in vain attempted the Siege of *Peſt* returned Home, but much weakened by the Plague that had ſwept away many Thouſands of them. *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony* ſerved as a Voluntier in this War, being a Youth of about Sixteen Years of Age, who having one Day gone abroad out of the Camp, with one Man only to wait upon him, met accidentally and engaged ſome *Turks*, where he had his Horſe ſhot under him. The Gentleman, who, as I told you, waited on him, covered him with his Body, and defended him, till ſome Horſe came in to their Relief aad ſaved the Prince. So that to ſave his Life he loſt his own; for being brought into the Camp full of Wounds, he died not long after. This was the iſſue of the *Hungarian* War, whither the Pope had ſent Three thouſand Foot under the Command of *Alexander Vitellio.*

A war betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Scots.*

About this time a hot War broke out betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, upon occaſion, that the Year before the King of *Scots* having promiſed to meet his Uncle the King of *England* at *York*, to treat about their Borders, had been diſſwaded by his Mother, and many of the Nobility, and ſo did not come. But the *Scots* about the beginning of *December* this Year, had a great defeat, and many of their Nobility were taken in Battle, and that of their own accord too, becauſe they diſpiſed their General, as being a Man of inferior Birth, and could not endure to be Commanded by him. This the King laid ſo much to Heart, that returning Home, he died of Grief the Twelfth of *December* after, his Queen being brought to Bed of his Daughter *Mary* but Eight Days before; which was a thing that alſo encreaſed his Melancholy, ſeeing he had no Male-Iſſue living; for the Year before he had loſt Two Sons in two ſeveral places, within the ſpace of Twenty-four Hours. His Queen was *Mary* the Daughter of *Claude* Duke of *Guiſe* of the Family of *Lorrain.* The *Scots* being in this diſtreſs, the *French* King ſent them a ſupply of Men and Artillery. After the Death of the King the Adminiſtration of the Government was put into the Hands of *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran* the King's Couſin twice removed. Next to him in power was the Cardinal of St. *Andrews*, one much addicted to the Intereſts of *France.* We have ſpoken before of Duke *Henry* of *Saxony*, who entered into the Proteſtant League both in his own and Son *Maurice*'s Name: But after his Death, Duke *Maurice* being called on upon that account, made Anſwer, That his Father could not bind for him, nor was he tied by his Obligation.

The King of *Scots* dies.

Henry Duke of *Brunſwick* being forced to fly his Country, as was ſaid before, brings his Action againſt the Duke of *Saxony*, the Lantgrave and Confederates, before the Imperial Chamber, who being afterwards cited to appear, in the Month of *December*, declined that Writ and Judicature in all Cauſes whatſoever, and by their Agents under publick Intimation thereof, proteſting at the ſame time, that they did not refuſe a lawful and ordinary Juriſdiction, but excepted againſt the Judges, who were of a different Religion, who adhered to the Decree of *Auſburg* made Twelve Years before, and approved it upon Oath, who for that reaſon were at great variance with them, and bore malice againſt them, who looked upon them as Hereticks, thinking that Juſtice was not to be adminiſtred unto them, and who had many times given manifeſt indications of this their prejudice and averſion. It had been decreed in the Diet of *Ratiſbone* that in the Month of *January* this Year, the Imperial Chamber ſhould be reformed. To this Decree the Proteſtants aſſented, provided Men of their perſwaſion might be admitted to that Bench, which the Emperor granted to them, as we ſaid before; and King *Ferdinand* afterward renewed in the Diet of *Spire*, appointing that Reformation to be made in the Month of *June*, whereby he had obtained Supplies from them for the *Turkiſh* War. For unleſs that were done, they publickly then proteſted, That they would not only contribute no more to the Charges of the Chamber, but alſo, not obey the Orders of that Court. Since therefore, nothing had as yet been done in that matter, they ſent Agents, as I told you, with Inſtructions to decline and proteſt againſt the Judicature: But the Judges of the Imperial Chamber, in a publick Writing, afterward rejected their declinatory Proteſtation. It was decreed in the late Diet of *Nurimberg*, That, becauſe of the *Turkiſh* War, the States ſhould aſſemble there again on the Fourteenth of *November*, but that was put off: And in the depth of a bitter Winter, the Duke of *Cleve* beſieged and retook *Duren.*

The Proteſtants decline the Imperial Chamber.

The Duke of *Cleve* retakes *Duren.*

A Sedition at *Rochell.*

When the *French* King was at the Siege of *Perpignan*, a Sedition broke out at *Rochell*, a very famous and well ſituated Sea Port Town in *Xantoinge.* It had been

been in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, but it fell again under the Dominion of *France*, in the Reign of *Charles* V. who ſucceeded to his Father King *John*. The Reaſon of the Inſurrection was, That the King had put a Garriſon into the Town under the Command of the *Signeur de Jarnack* the Admiral's Kinſman: They were up likewiſe in the places about, becauſe of the Gavell on Salt, having driven away the King's Officers and Collectors that came thither. So ſoon as the King had Information of this, he ſent thither a New Garriſon of Horſe and Foot: *Jarnack* alſo took all their great Guns and Arms from them, and ſeizing the Gates, placed Guards and Sentinels in all convenient places. On the laſt of *December* after, the King came thither himſelf, and being ſeated on his Throne, with the Towns-people and their Neighbours laying proſtrate at his Feet to beg Pardon, he made a ſhort Speech to this purpoſe; Although, ſaid he, when I and my Children were engaged in moſt weighty Affairs, for the Protection and Welfare of the whole Kingdom, and your Safety among the reſt; you have ſo far forgot the Duty you owe to me, as to riſe up in Arms and Rebel, inſomuch that I might moſt juſtly puniſh you, and rate my Satisfaction according to the Character of my Perſon, and the greatneſs of your Fault; Yet ſeeing I account it no leſs Honourable and decent for a Prince to be gracious towards his People, than it is Civil and Honeſt in them to be Dutiful and Obedient to him: And that I preferr your ready and humble Submiſſion before the Rigour and Severity of Juſtice; I am reſolved to forget the Injury you have done unto me, and to conſider, not ſo much your fault, as my own accuſtomed Clemency; in confidence that you'll have a care to do ſo no more for the future; elſe, inſtead of a gracious and merciful Prince, you may look for an exact and ſevere Juſticiary; and that through your own fault, which ought not to be reckoned leſs than that for which ſome Years ſince the people of *Ghent* were moſt exemplarily puniſhed, when they ſuffered not only in their Perſons, but loſt their Liberties for ever. Now though no Man would blame me for following this Example; ſeeing the Injury I have received is as heinous, and I am not in any thing inferior to him, who in that manner revenged himſelf: Nevertheleſs, ſince I had rather grow great in the Affection, Loyalty, and good Will of my People, than enrich my ſelf by their Wealth and Subſtance, I fully pardon your fault, and reſtore you to your former Condition: However, I accept what you have freely given me, but order all that has been taken from you upon account of this Riot, to be given back again. When the Acclamations and Humming of this his Majeſties Speech was over, a moſt melodious Conſort of Vocal Muſick was heard from the Steeple of the Cathedral of St. *Bartholomew's* Church, which expreſſed the publick Rejoicing; and then the King was entertained by the Senate at a moſt ſplendid Supper. When, next Day, the King was upon parting, he told the Repreſentatives of the People that were about him, I am now going, ſaid he, to another Quarter of my Kingdom, to defend it from the Enemy; ſee you to the defence of this place, as I am confident you will; and if there be any thing that may contribute to the Ornament and profit of your City, let me know it, and I will not refuſe it you.

1542. The *French* King's Speech to the Seditious *Rochellers*.

On the Seventeenth of *January*, King *Ferdinand* with his Two Sons came to *Nurimberg* to be preſent at the Diet: Eight Days after *Granvell* came alſo from *Spain*, who paſſing through *Trent* on his Journey, with his Son the Biſhop of *Arras*, had exhorted the Pope's Legates to proceed in the Council. In this Diet the Emperor appointed for his Deputies *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, the Biſhop of *Auſburg* and *John Naves*. On the Fifteenth of *February*, King *Ferdinand* made a Speech at the opening of the Diet. And becauſe, that in ſome former Diets, continual Aids had been decreed againſt the *Turk*, he willed and deſired them, that they would all now bend their Thoughts that way, that nothing neceſſary might be wanting; For that [illegible] was reported from all Hands, that he would return this Year into *Hungary*, with a vaſt Army, and that he was incited thereunto by ſome Chriſtian Princes: That though his own Provinces where exhauſted with almoſt continual Wars, yet he was reſolved not to be backward; that there was ſcarcely any Man but knew of how great moment it was to defend *Hungary*, *Auſtria*, *Moravia*, and the adjoining Countries. For the greater perſwaſion, there were ſeveral Letters read, directed to King *Ferdinand* and others, all which, in a manner, confirmed, that the *Turk* was preparing a new Army and Fleet, that he might carry on the War both by Sea and Land. At this Diet alſo there were Ambaſſadors from Queen *Mary*, Governeſs of the

1543. The Diet of *Nurimberg*.

1543. The Ambassadors of the Netherlands accuse the Duke of *Cleve* at *Nurimberg*.

Netherlands, *Wirick* Baron of *Crieckengen*, and *Viglius* Lord of *Zuichem* a Lawyer. These, in a long Speech, accused the Duke of *Cleve*, for that by his Aid and Counsel, the *French* King had sent *Martin Van Rossem* to make War in those Places: Wherefore they demanded that he might be reduced to Duty, made to deliver up the Possession of *Guelderland*, and give Satisfaction for the Damage received. Afterwards, *February* the Fifth, *Granvell* delivered his Message, to this Effect, That it was to no purpose to spend time in declaring the Emperor's good Intentions towards the publick; that, however, his Majesty had been exceedingly rejoiced the Year before, when the News was brought him, that with united Forces, they were making an Expedition against the *Turk*: That it was his Majesty's purpose to have Commanded the Army in Person, and had made his Preparations accordingly; but that he was unexpectedly attack'd by the *French* King and Duke of *Cleve*, which had disconcerted all his former Measures: That the Forces he had then intended to have employed against the perpetual Enemy of Christianity, he was obliged to make use of for his own Defence; especially since the Enemy boasted much also of a *Turkish* Fleet, whereon they seemed to lay great stress: That nevertheless, for his part, he continued in the same Inclinations, that he had always professed, and was resolved not only to spend his Substance, but even his Life, and blood in the *Turkish* War, provided they would also mutually assist him against the *French* King and Duke of *Cleve*; to which not only his propensity of Will and Inclination towards the publick; but the present state of Affairs also ought to perswade them: That it was known to all Men, how the *French* King had driven the Duke of *Savoy* out of his Country: That he designed to do the same likewise with others, when time and occasion should offer: And that the cause of this violent Malice of his was, because the Emperor put a stop to his Attempts and Enterprizes: That they themselves had heard from the Letters lately read, what designs he was carrying on with the *Turk*; what also in *Germany*, and how it was his Resolution to obstruct the *Turkish* War: That in like manner since the Duke of *Cleve* was in League with him, who also retarded the Emperor's most just Enterprizes, and prejudiced the Welfare of *Germany*, Aid was to be decreed against both, that their Insolence and Boldness might be repressed.

The Protestants Petition.

In the mean time the Protestants present a Petition to King *Ferdinand* and the Emperor's Deputies, wherein they relate at large, what for many years had been done in Religion; how that Peace had been granted at *Nurimberg*, but that the Imperial Chamber had infringed it; how that the Emperor two Years before had granted them a *Proviso*, and told them his mind at *Ratisbone*; how that there was a Decree made there for Reformation of the Imperial Chamber, and rectifying of that Judicature; what they also had then publickly protested, unless the Decree should be fulfilled: That now, since none of these things were performed, and that the Judges of the Chamber proceeded in their wonted way to molest them; first for defending themselves against *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick*, and then for non-payment of the Salaries and Charges of the Chamber, they had declined all their Jurisdiction; which they protested they would do long before in the General Diet: That now therefore, if the matter were otherwise represented to them they beg of them not to believe it; for that necessity forced them to do as they did, and to make use of a lawful Remedy, which Justice and Equity allowed every Man to do. For that, should they go on in that manner, usurping to themselves a power of judging, and pronouncing Sentences of Proscription and other Penalties against them, it would prove not only hurtful to them, but also to the whole State: For that who could doubt or be ignorant, how seasonable and advantageous a thing it would prove to the *Turks*, if Feuds and Animosities amongst the States, should kindle a Civil War [illegible] might exhaust all their Wealth and Substance? That many Instances could be given, how difficult it was to pacifie and quiet Minds once exasperated and provoked: That, for their parts, truly, there was nothing they wished for more, than to see a firm Peace settled, and equal Justice administred in *Germany*: That all their Animosities and Diffidences sprung from difference in Religion: And that the cause of all that Dissension was, that the preaching of the Gospel, and true Worship of God were discountenanced and oppressed; that Errors and notorious Vices were not only not removed and amended, but through Ambition and the sake of Lucre, even tolerated and defended: That God being therefore provoked and offended by this ingratitude, did afflict his People with great Calamities, and would never cease to

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do it, ſo long as they continued in them: That it was therefore their deſire, that they would turn their Thoughts this way, and effectuate at leaſt, that no ſtirs ſhould be made upon account of Religion, and that Juſtice ſhould be impartially adminiſtred to all; but that ſince this was not to be expected, conſidering the preſent ſtate of the Imperial Chamber, they craved, That that Judicature might be Reformed, according to the Ancient Laws of the Empire, and the Emperor's Declaration; that other Judges might be appointed; all Suits and Actions left in the ſame ſtate as they were in before the Declinatory made, and that Injunctions ſhould be laid upon the Judges, exactly to obſerve the Rules of the future Reformation, and act nothing contrary to the Pacifications of former Years: For that unleſs matters were ſo ordered, and they ſufficiently ſecured, they would not conſult about the *Turkiſh* War, though otherwiſe there was nothing but what they coveted to do for the Publick. When after much and long debate, King *Ferdinand* and the Emperor's Deputies made Anſwer, That there was a Council already called at *Trent*, where the Emperor himſelf would be, and that without a hearing of the Cauſe, they could not remove the Judges of the Imperial Chamber; that it was ordered to be Reformed, and would ſoon be put in Execution: That they could not deny Juſtice to *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, who was ejected out of all and demanded it; and that that was all they could grant and no more. The Proteſtants reply, That they did not approve that Council, nor would they go to it: That they had no Satisfaction given them in other Matters, nor ſufficient Aſſurances made them; and that therefore they would enter into no other Deliberations. Notwithſtanding, King *Ferdinand* and the other States make a Decree, for Fortifying the frontier Places upon the *Turks* Territories, for contributing Money to defray the Charges thereof, and appoint the Third Day of *July* for the Reformation of the Imperial Chamber, which they ordered to be Reformed according to the model preſcribed Eleven Years before at *Ratiſbone*: They Decree alſo, That thoſe who did refuſe to furniſh their proportions of the Moneys and Aid impoſed, ſhould be proſecuted in name of the Publick, and be diſtrained therefore. But the Proteſtants proteſted againſt this Decree, as made without their Advice and Counſel, as containing nothing poſitive concerning Peace and Property; and as impoſing the Contributions very unequally. Now, becauſe upon the Emperor's coming the War was like to prove much hotter betwixt him and the Duke of *Cleve*, the Princes Electors and reſt of the States interceded by their Deputies; and with much ado obtained a Truce from *Granvell*, not indeed poſitive and abſolute, but ſuch as it was ſtill at the Emperor's Diſcretion, ſo ſoon as he ſet Foot in *Germany* to ratifie or reject it, and in the mean time *Zittard*, a very ſtrong Town upon the Frontiers of *Juliers*, was put into the Emperor's Hands, until he ſhould declare his Mind in the Matter. The Mediators promiſed alſo to meet the Emperor with an Ambaſſy to make interceſſion on behalf of the Duke, and *Granvell* put them in great Hopes of obtaining a gracious Anſwer from his Majeſty. The Deputies of *Cleve*, of whom the chief was *John Ulatten*, a learned Gentleman, approved this Agreement, and thanked the Mediators for the pains they had taken: But in the mean while a Battle happened at the Town of *Zittard*, *March* the Twenty-fourth, wherein *Cleve* having had the better, partly for that Victory, and partly to comply with the *French* King, who ſupplied him with Money, he grew obſtinate, and upon the return of his Deputies, rejected the Truce. The News of this Succeſs being in great haſte carried into *France*, occaſioned great Rejoicing there, and the *French* King appointed publick Thankſgiving to be made for it at *Paris*. The Dukes of *Bavaria* Brothers, by their Deputies, dealt with the Proteſtants in the Diet, and, amongſt others, propounded alſo this Condition unto them, That all the Country of the Duke of *Brunſwick*, ſhould be ſequeſtrated in the Hands of the Emperor, or ſome Princes of *Germany*, until the matter were decided by a fair Trial: But nothing could be then concluded as to that. *Chriſtopher* Biſhop of *Auſburg* died of an Apoplexy at this Diet, having appointed a Feaſt at his Houſe the next Day. He was of the Family of the *Stadio's*, a learned Man, and not averſe to Peace. To him ſucceeded *Otho Truchſes*. The Decree here made was neither inſerted into the publick Records, as the Cuſtom was, nor had it the force of a Law.

1543.

The Decree of the Diet of *Nurimberg*.

The Proteſtants oppoſe this Decree.

Pacification attempted betwixt the Emperor and the Duke of *Cleve*.

A Battle at *Zittard*.

The Dukes of *Bavaria* intercede for the Duke of *Brunſwick*.

The Biſhop of *Ausburg* dies.

It was ſomewhat late before the *French* King ſaw the Letter which the Emperor wrote to the Pope, as we mentioned in the foregoing Book; and therefore, now at length he made Anſwer to it, in a very long Epiſtle. That for the

The *French* Kings Anſwer to the Emperor's Letter.

1543. the Emperor to expect to be preferred before him, as having deſerved much of the Church of *Rome*, was an idle and ridiculous Thing: For that neither were the Emperor's Anceſtors to be compared with his, nor he himſelf neither with him upon that account: That he was an excellent Son, indeed, and worthy of the higheſt Praiſe, who ſent an Army to beſiege, vex and take Priſoner his Father, the good old Man *Clement* VII. who ſack'd the chief City of the World, many ways profaned and polluted the Holy Churches, and committed all kinds of Wickedneſs, Luſt and Cruelty: Who to ſo great a barbarity added Scorn and Deriſion, commanding Prayers and Proceſſions to be made in *Spain* for the Delivery of the Holy Father, whom, all the while, he himſelf kept cloſe Priſoner: That, on the contrary, his Predeceſſors, Kings of *France*, from the times of *Charles Martell*, King *Pipin*, and ſo downward, had all along ſtudied to honour and advance the Popes of *Rome*: That he run much out in commending his own great Care and Zeal for the Publick; but it would appear to be far otherwiſe, if Matters were rightly examined. For that under his Conduct and Command many Thouſand Chriſtians had been cut off by the Barbarians not long ſince in *Hungary* once and again, at *Caſtle Novo* in the Bay of *Ambracia*, and afterwards at *Algiers* in *Barbary*, when he gave it out that he muſt needs go thither, but, indeed, fled, and left *Germany* open to the approaching Enemy. That it was through his fault, that the Infant-Child of the *Vayvode John*, King *Ferdinand* his own Brother, and *Hungary* fell into this Calamity: That he gloried much that he had ventured to come to *Aigues Mortes* to ſettle a Peace; but, that if any Body ought to be praiſed for that, it was himſelf, who firſt went up to him into the Galley, and ſent his Sons alſo thither afterwards, with no ſmall danger, both from him, who truſted no Man, and alſo from *Andrea Doria* Admiral of the Fleet, a crafty ſubtile Fox: That he afterward made a Journey through *France*, at his deſire, indeed, but after that by Letters and Agents he had craved it of him, and offered him *Milan*: That it was true he pretended other Cauſes now, but in reality he was forced by the Inſurrection of *Ghent*, to paſs that way: That it never entered his Thoughts to have ſtopp'd him; and what he ſaid of the Deliberations of the Counſel of *Francis*, in order to have detained him, was altogether falſe: That he had done the Duke of *Savoy* no wrong, but that ſince the Duke had withheld from him his Mother's Dowry and Inheritance, would not ſuffer him to redeem *Nizza*; and beſides had baſely uſed his Lieutenants and Souldiers; he had regained by force of Arms, what by Law he could not fairly recover, eſpecially ſince all his Actions generally were influenced by the Emperor, whoſe proper and peculiar Talent it was, to incite the Subjects of other Princes to Revolt, and then to leave them in the Lurch; witneſs the Dukes of *Bourbone*, *Brunſwick*, and Marqueſs of *Saluces*: Nay, and to be Troubleſom and Injurious to his own Kinſmen and Relations too, as to *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*, his own Brother King *Ferdinand*, and to himſelf eſpecially, who had Married his Eldeſt Siſter: That it was to be imputed to him and his Brother, and to no Body elſe, that the *Turk* lately had Invaded *Hungary*, and ſeized the chief Town of it, he having treacherouſly made War againſt the young Son and Heir of the *Vayvode*. That in the Diet of *Ratiſbone* all the States of the Empire were ſollicited to give Supplies pretendedly againſt the *Turk*; but in reality againſt a poor unfortunate Child, whom they deſigned to have turned out of all. That as often as he had ſent Ambaſſadors into *Germany*, he had done it without any crafty or treacherous Intent; And that he was falſly charged with fomenting Factions, and wheadling with both Perſwaſions in Religion: For that on the Concord and Welfare of *Germany* his own Safety depended; and that all Men knew what his own Religion was: That, it was true, he had ſent Ambaſſadors lately thither, and upon moſt weighty Grounds diſſwaded them from the *Turkiſh* War: And that the ſad and diſmal ſucceſs of that War made it ſufficiently appear that his Counſel was good and ſafe; but that all the Emperor drove at, was to keep *Germany* in continual Diſſenſion, that it might thereby be prepared and made fitter for ſervitude. That, on the other hand, how great an Injury had been done to himſelf in violating his Ambaſſadors, *Rink* and *Fregoſo*, all Men were ſenſible; ſince they had been ſent to the *Turk* for the good of all Chriſtendom, but chiefly of *Hungary* and *Germany*: For that the Grand Seignior had been frequently ſollicited by him to live in Peace with the Chriſtians; and that he had always received this Anſwer from the Port; That he had no Quarrel with the Chriſtians

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as ſuch, but with the Emperor *Charles* and King *Ferdinand*, from whom he had received Injuries, and whoſe boundleſs Ambition he could not brook; ſo that the Emperor doubled his Injury in laying a ſnare for them, wherein he had never intended to make him Satisfaction, but had in a manner always ſhamm'd him off, and fooled him with ſhifting Anſwers; and that therefore he had never diſſembled the Offence he had received, but had declared plainly enough, That if he had not Satisfaction given him, he would not ſit down with the Affront. That he had, indeed, eſſayed all other Means before he came to Arms, and had detained the Archbiſhop of *Valencia*, to ſee if that way, at leaſt, he might recover his Ambaſſadors, whom then he took to be alive: So that having in vain taken all other Courſes, he had been forced at length to take up Arms, and to defend himſelf againſt Hoſtilities, which the Emperor was the Author of: That he objected to him, as a great Crime, his League with the *Turk*, which he himſelf had often ſought for, but could not obtain, though he had offered a yearly Tribute for procuring it: That nevertheleſs the Amity he had with the *Turk*, was ſo far from being prejudicial, that it would be extreamly uſeful to Chriſtendom, if not prevented by the Emperor's inſatiable Ambition; for that the Title of *moſt Chriſtian* had been given to the Kings his Predeceſſors, in whoſe Steps, by God's Grace he intended to tread, and never do any thing that might make him ſeem unworthy of ſo glorious a Name: That it was an outragious Injury then to diſperſe ſuch a Calumny of him amongſt all People; for what a Madneſs, nay Fury, would it be, to aſſiſt the Enterpriſes and encreaſe the Power of him, who, in a very ſhort time after would ruin himſelf? That neither was the Council of *Trent* retarded or hindered by him, ſince he could reap no Benefit from ſo doing; and that it was a thing very inconſiſtent with the Examples and Cuſtoms of his Anceſtors, who had many times promoted Councils, and done them all the good Offices they could; but that the Emperor was ſo tranſported with Malice and Hatred againſt him, that he made all, even his beſt Actions Criminal; and was of that Temper himſelf, that nothing would ſerve him, but to rule over and make Slaves of all People, cloaking this his Ambition in the mean time, with ſuch ſpecious Words and Pretexts, that he would be thought, forſooth, to be a very virtuous and pious Prince: That therefore, ſince things were ſo, he prayed his Holineſs not to give Credit to Slanders, but to think ſo of him, as that there was nothing but what he would do for the Publick, for him, and for the Church of *Rome*. 1543.

The Death of *Bellay* of *Langey*, and his Encomium.

A little before this died *William du Bellay* of *Langey*, often mentioned before; a Man of great Honour and Virtue, and the Ornament of the *French* Nobility, for his extraordinary Learning, Eloquence, Experience, and ſingular Dexterity in management of all Affairs: Very unlike to moſt Courtiers, whoſe chief Care is to enrich themſelves: But he a Man of an Heroick Diſpoſition, had no other Proſpect, but by ſolid and true Virtue, to purchaſe to himſelf laſting Glory, and faithfully to ſerve his Prince, though with Prejudice to his own private Fortune.

Landre makes a publick Recantation of all that he had taught, and confeſſed his Error.

We told you before of the *Pariſian* Preacher *Francis de Landre*, who having made an ambiguous Anſwer to the Heads of Doctrine propoſed to him, and perſiſting ſtill in his way of Teaching, was ſent to Priſon ſome Days before *Eaſter*. This was done at the Inſtigation of the *Sorbonn* Doctors, who had accuſed him to the Lieutenant Criminal. Some Days after, the King came to St. *Germins*, and being informed of the whole Matter, ſent for *Landre* to appear before him. He came according to Command; but being terrified by ſome Mens Words, who told him, That the King was exceedingly incenſed againſt him, he did not ſhew that Conſtancy which many expected from him, and being ordered to return to *Paris*, he was, on the Twenty ninth Day of *April*, forced to condemn what before he had taught: For that Day there aſſembled in the Cathedral Church, the Judges and Counſellors of Parliament, the *Provoſt de Merchands*, with the reſt of the Magiſtrates, and a great number of Divines: Then the Church Doors were ſhut, and Guards in Arms ſet to keep off the People. When all had taken their Places, his Opinions were read to him, and being asked his Judgment as to every Particular, he anſwered as they would have him, confeſſed he had erred, promiſed Obedience for the future, and then acknowledged the Heads of Doctrine, which the Divines firſt, and then the King's Counſellors propounded to him, to be true and Holy. The ſame thing was done, though with leſs Solemnity, a little after with *de Penſier*, another

And ſo does *de Penſier*.

Teacher

1543. Teacher of the People: Who, at firſt, having flattered, and not made his Recantation plainly enough, he was forced another Day after, to make a Sermon to the People, wherein he explained openly and diſtinctly all the Points of Doctrine he had taught, to the Satisfaction of the Divines who were preſent. There lived then in *France* one *Clement Marot*, who, in the vulgar Tongue far ſurpaſſed all the Poets of that or the former Ages. He was not ſo well acquainted with the Latin; however, he had much improved himſelf by the Converſation of the Learned: Nor was there any thing in the Books of the Poets, but he was ſo much Maſter of it, as to tranſlate and apply it to his Purpoſe. Thus he borrowed ſome things in his Elegies, but not profeſſedly, from *Tibullus*, *Propertius* and *Ovid:* And out of *Catullus* he took his *Epithalamium* on the Marriage of *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*, and *Renate* of *Bretagne* Daughter of *Lowis* XII. of *France:* He tranſlated alſo moſt elegantly the Firſt Book of *Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſis*. Now in his latter Years he employed the Talent he had that way, on Holy Scripture, and intended to have turn'd all the Pſalms of *David* into *French* Metre; but he lived only to finiſh Fifty of them, which are now extant, and read not without great Eſteem of his excellent Wit. For nothing can be more taking, more neat and clear, nor more quaint and proper, than his Stile. He publiſhed them this Year at *Geneva*, whither he had fled, becauſe he was not ſafe in *France*, as being ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm*. He had Two Years before publiſhed Thirty Pſalms at *Paris*, but with a great deal of Trouble; and could not have it done, till the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, had given a Licence, That the Book contained nothing contrary to the Chriſtian Faith. This, perhaps, is wide of our Purpoſe; but I thought it not amiſs to commend the Name of ſo excellent an Artiſt to other Nations alſo: For in *France* he lives to all Poſterity; and moſt are of Opinion, that hardly any Man will ever be able to match him in that kind of Writing; and that as *Cicero* ſays of *Cæſar*; He makes wiſe Men afraid to write: Others, and more learned Men too than he, have handled the ſame Subject, but came far ſhort of the Beauty and Elegancy of his Poems.

Clement Marot.

The Archbiſhop of *Cologne*'s Reformation of the Church.

It has been mentioned in the Tenth Book, that the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* had a great mind to reform his Church, and approved not of that Synod of his Province, though a Book on that Subject was publiſhed in his Name: Now after that it was decreed in the Diet of *Ratiſbone*, and Injunctions laid upon the Biſhops, both by the Emperor and the Popes Legate, that they ſhould in their ſeveral Provinces and Dioceſſes, ſet about a Holy Reformation: He called a Convention of his States, which conſiſt of the Clergy of the Cathedral Church, Earls, Nobility, and the Deputies of Cities. After ſome Deliberation, it was agreed upon by all, that ſo holy and wholſom a Work ſhould be taken in hand; wherefore he employed ſome to draw up in Writing a Form of future Reformation, and look out for good and able Miniſters of the Church. This Writing he ſent to the Divines of *Cologne*, deſiring them to examine it, and give their Judgment thereon according to Scripture: But they not ſatisfying his Deſire, and finding none that were proper for inſtructing the People; he ſent for *Martin Bucer* from *Strasburg*; one whom both *John Gropper* had always highly commended to him, and he himſelf alſo throughly underſtood, by the Conferences he had had with him: Accordingly he came in the Month of *December* the Year before, and by the Command of the Prince, began in the beginning of this Year to preach at *Bonn*, a Town upon the *Rhine*, five Miles above *Cologne*. On the Fifteenth of *March* after, the Biſhop held a new Convention of States at *Bonn*, and propoſed to them to conſider of a Reformation of the Church: But ſeeing the Clergy had ſent no Deputies to this Convention, the reſt of the States deſired the Archbiſhop to chuſe Men proper for that Affair, according to his own Judgment. Therefore it was committed to the Care of *Bucer*, to draw up the Heads of the Chriſtian Doctrine; and that all things might be done more exactly, the Archbiſhop intreated the Elector of *Saxony* to aſſociate *Philip Melanthon* with him: When theſe Two, and *John Piſtorius*, ſent by the Lantgrave, had finiſhed the Work, the Archbiſhop ſent it to the Clergy of the Cathedral Church, who are all deſcended of Noble Families, requiring them to examine carefully the Doctrines contained in that Book: And then he called another Convention of States to meet on the Two and twentieth of *June* after, where he laid before them the Book of Reformation, deſiring that every State might commiſſionate ſome to peruſe the Book with thoſe that

Bucer Preaches at *Bonn*.

Melanthon & *Piſtorius* come to *Cologne*.

that he ſhould appoint; that at length ſome tolerable and pious Reconciliation might be eſtabliſhed: But the Clergy we mentioned, obſtinately urged that *Bucer* chiefly, and ſome other Preachers, lately appointed, might be turned out: And then deſired time to conſider of the Book, but refuſed to conſult with the reſt. The Archbiſhop, though he well perceived their Deſign in interpoſing this Delay, yet that they might have no Cauſe of Complaining, granted them time to deliberate: But that as to the removing of *Bucer* and his Colleagues, as they demanded, he did not refuſe it, provided any Man could convict them, either of erroneous Doctrine, or of bad Life and Converſation, which he ſeveral times gave them Liberty to prove againſt them, being ready to preſent them to be tried before any lawful Judge. Whilſt Matters ſtood thus, they prepared a contrary Book, which they called *Antididagma*; and in the Preface thereof, after a great deal of Railing againſt the *Lutherans*, they profeſſed in plain Terms, That they had rather live under the *Turk*, than under a Magiſtrate that would embrace and defend that Reformation. *Gropper*, as they ſay, was the Author and Contriver of that Book: For though he had been very familiar with *Bucer* Two Years before, at the Diet of *Ratiſbone*; though, after his return Home from thence, he had exceedingly commended him, not only to the Archbiſhop, but to all Men alſo, and in all Places; and though he had ſent him many and moſt loving Letters, yet when Matters were brought to this paſs, he fell totally off from his Friendſhip, and forſaking the Archbiſhop, to whom he was obliged for all his Fortune, ſtruck in with the Adverſaries: The ſame alſo did *Bernard Hagey* the Chancellor, who were both enriched with fat Benefices. The Divines of *Cologne* did violently oppugne *Bucer*, and loaded him with moſt grievous Reproaches: He, on the contrary, deſired a friendly Debate; and profeſſed in all Aſſemblies, that he would maintain this Doctrine againſt them. *Melanchthon* alſo, wrote a little Book at that time in his Defence, and having exhorted them to Modeſty and the Study of the Truth, he ſhewed them what horrid Errors they defended.

1543.

The Clergy of *Cologne* oppoſe the Reformation.

The *Antididagma* of the Clergy of *Cologne*.

The Divines of *Cologne* oppoſe *Bucer*, who is defended by *Melanchthon*.

Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony* made ſome Laws at this time to be obſerved throughout his Territories; and in his Preface before them, he exhorts the Doctors and Miniſters of the Church to be diligent in doing their Duty, preaching the Goſpel in purity, and to be a ſhining Light to their Flock, by the Examples of a virtuous Life; that they exhort Men to Prayer and mutual Love and Charity, ſharply rebuke Vice, and, with the conſent of the Magiſtrate, Excommunicate incorrigible Offenders, till they be brought to Repentance; and that they preſent ſuch to the Magiſtrate as will not be reformed that way neither. In the next place becauſe Youth is, in a manner, the ſeminary both of Church and State, he Founded Three publick Schools at *Meiſen*, *Merſburg*, and *Port*; and in each place he appoints a certain number of Free Scholars, whom he finds in Victuals and Apparel, and pays their Maſters Yearly Salaries, employing, for that purpoſe the Revenues of thoſe Religious Houſes, wherein Monks and the like, had lived before. To the Students he allows Six Years to remain there, and be taught. Out of the ſame Revenues, he alſo gave an Augmentation to the Univerſity of *Leipſick* of Two thouſands Florins a Year, and ſome Meaſures of Wheat: In like manner he prohibited Begging, and for Relief of poor Families, allotted Money to be yearly conſigned in certain places: Moreover againſt Uncleanneſs he enacted, That ſuch as deflowered Virgins, and did not marry them, though they procured them to be married to others, ſhould, nevertheleſs, be committed to Priſon; but Adulterers he commanded to be put to Death: That Noblemen and Gentlemen, who married the Women whom they had enjoyed before Marriage, ſhould be thus puniſhed; That the Children whom they had by them before their Marriage, could not ſucceed to any Lands or Inheritances which they held of him in Fee.

The Laws of Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony*.

He founds three publick Schools.

A Law againſt thoſe who deflower Virgins.

Againſt Adulterers.

The Emperor, in the mean time arrived at *Genoa*, from *Spain*, by Sea; and writing from thence, *May* the Twenty Sixth, to the Elector of *Saxony*, the Lantgrave, and Confederates, he entreats them, That now, ſeeing the publick Peace was ſufficiently ſecured by his Edicts, and that there would be a Reformation of the Imperial Chamber very ſpeedily, that they would not refuſe to contribute Aſſiſtance againſt the *Turk*, who had not only made extraordinary Preparations, but was alſo upon his March, as he had certain Intelligence both by Meſſengers and Letters. He had received an Account of all that paſs'd in the Diet, from *Naves*, who went unto him: And at the ſame time he appointed

The Emperor's Letters to the Proteſtants.

1543. pointed a Diet of the Empire, to meet at *Spire* the laſt Day of *November*. From *Genoa* he went to an Interview of the Pope at *Buſſeto*, a Town upon the River *Tava*, betwixt *Piacenza* and *Cremona*. There again he demands of him, as he had done before by Letters, That he would declare the *French* King an Enemy; but he made Anſwer, That that would not be expedient for the publick State of Chriſtendom, and perſiſted therein. The Pope had lately beſtowed upon his Son *Petro Aloiſio*, *Parma* and *Piacenza*; which, upon an Exchange, he had obtained from the College of Cardinals: And becauſe thoſe Two Cities had formerly belonged to the Dukes of *Milan*, he deſired of the Emperor that he would confirm his Son in the Poſſeſſion of them, and give him the ſolemn Inveſtiture of a Prince. The Emperor, who held *Milan*, and would not part with any part of his Right, refuſed that. The Pope had alſo a Deſign, as it was ſaid, to have purchaſed from the Emperor, with Money, the Dukedom of *Milan*, for his Grandſon *Octavio*. But the Emperor, that he might be no longer hindered, broke up the Interview, and having compounded with *Coſmo* of *Medicis*, Duke of *Florence*, for the Caſtles of *Florence* and *Leghorn*, which, till then, he had in his Hands; and having delivered them up to the Duke, for the Summ of above Two hundred thouſand Crowns, which he received for them, he went on in his Progreſs. Before he left *Spain* he had created his Son *Philip* King, and gave him in Marriage the *Infanta Mary*, Daughter of *John* King of *Portugal*.

An Interview betwixt the Pope and Emperor.

Petro Aloiſio obtained the Poſſeſſion of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which the Emperor refuſed to confirm.

The Emperor delivers up to *Coſmo* of *Medicis* the Caſtles of *Florence* and *Leghorn*.

The Marriage of *Philip* King of *Spain*.

This Year alſo *Sigiſmund*, the Son of *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, married the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* having made a Journey into *Italy* to meet the Emperor, grievouſly accuſed the Proteſtants at *Cremona*. And now the Emperor being upon his March with an Army from *Italy*, the Proteſtants, who had lately received his Letters, dated from *Genoa*, on the Twenty fourth of *June* met at *Smalcald*, and there conſulted about ſending Ambaſſadors to him, concerning thoſe things that related to the ſecuring the Dutchy of *Brunſwick*, and their own League; and about Application to be made to Duke *Maurice*, to the King of *Sweedland*, to *Otho Henry* Prince Palatine, to *Wolfgang* Duke of *Deux-Ponts*, and to the Biſhop of *Munſter*, who all deſired to be admitted into the League: This Aſſembly ended the One and twentieth Day of *July*. Much about this time the Emperor and King of *England* made a League againſt the *French* King, who aſſiſted the *Scots*, as we ſaid before: But the Pope was much offended at this Alliance, and therefore looked upon the Friendſhip of *France* as neceſſary for his Intereſts.

The Marriage of the King of *Poland*.

An Aſſembly of the Proteſtants at *Smalcald*.

A League betwixt the Emperor & King of *England*.

When, about the end of *July*, the Emperor came to *Spire*, the Proteſtants ſent thither their Ambaſſadors *Francis Burcart*, *George Bemelberg*, *Chriſtopher Veninger*, and *James Sturmey*; who being admitted to Audience on the Second of *Auguſt*, ſpoke much to the ſame Purpoſe, as, we told you before, they had done to King *Ferdinand*. The Effect of their Speech was, That if they had ſufficient Security given them of Peace, if the Judicature of the Imperial Chamber were reformed, as had been lately decreed at *Ratiſbone*, and if the Inequality of Contributions were rectified, they would not be wanting to their Duty in bearing their Parts in the publick Neceſſities: That as to the Duke of *Brunſwick*, they deſired the Cauſe might be brought to a fair Trial; and then they offered to prove that he who had firſt done open Injury to thoſe of *Goſlar* and *Brunſwick*, Two free States, was juſtly expulſed and driven out of his Country. To theſe things the Emperor Two Days after, made *Naves* give his Anſwer in Preſence of *Granvell*: That they could requite no more of him; for that their Peace had been ſufficiently ſecured by former Decrees: That the Judges of the Imperial Chamber could not be removed without a Hearing: That in the Month of *October* enſuing, Enquiry would be made into their Proceedings, and that they ſhould not go unpuniſhed, if they were found Guilty of any Fault: That a Moderation in the Contributions could not be made but with the common Advice and Conſent of all the States: That they ſhould reflect upon the preſent State of the Publick, and that ſeeing it was in great Danger, without ſpeedy Help, they ſhould follow the Example of the reſt of the States, and contribute their Aid againſt the *Turk*: That he, the Emperor, was now to make all the Head he could againſt the *French* King and Duke of *Cleve*, that he might defend his Subjects from Injury: That *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* did earneſtly

The Proteſtant Ambaſſadors to the Emperor at *Spire*.

The Emperor's Anſwer to the Proteſtant Ambaſſadors.

earneſtly urge a Reſtitution, and therefore they ſhould declare their Mind as to that Point. They deſired to have that Anſwer given them in Writing, that they might conſider it more carefully; to which the Emperor conſented, and next Day, leaving *Spire*, went to *Mentz*. The Ambaſſadors, who had received the Anſwer in Writing, followed him thither, and made a Reply to *Naves* and *Granvell*, ſhowing them, that they had not ſufficient Aſſurances given them of Peace, and urging the Emperors Declaration at *Ratiſbone*, mentioned in the former Book, they altogether perſiſted in demanding the ſame things; and that ſince their Deſire was, That the Cauſe of *Brunſwick* might be brought to a Hearing, they had no farther Inſtructions, they ſaid, in that Particular. They, on the other hand, alledged that the Emperor could do no more; and repeating what had been ſaid before, told them, That if the Duke of *Brunſwick* were not reſtored, he would certainly take ſome Courſe for recovering his own. And this being all that could be had, the Ambaſſadors departed, to make their Report to their Maſters. The Archbiſhop of *Cologne* came to the Emperor at *Spire*, and interceded for the Duke of *Cleve*: But it was to no purpoſe; for that unleſs he firſt delivered up the Poſſeſſion of *Guelderland*, the Emperor would not hear of Peace. And when the Ambaſſador of *Saxony*, by Orders from his Prince, interceded for the ſame Duke, with *Granvell* at *Mentz*, and to perſwade him, alledged that a private Wrong ſhould be ſacrificed to the Good of the Publick, eſpecially when now the *Turk* was coming upon them: His Anſwer was, That the Emperor would not deſiſt from his Enterpriſe, whatever the *Turk* might do. 1543.

The Electors of Cologne and Saxony mediate for the Duke of *Cleve*, but in vain.

You heard before, That the People of *Heildeſheim*, having abandoned the Popiſh Religion, entered into the Proteſtant League; therefore *Valentine* the Biſhop of that City grievouſly accuſed them to the Imperial Chamber and King *Ferdinand* before, and now to the Emperor, That they had changed the old Religion and Ceremonies of the Church; That they had appointed new Preachers to inſtruct the People; aboliſhed the Maſs; puniſhed the Followers of the ancient Religion; not only thrown down Altars and Fonts, but demoliſhed alſo Churches; partly carried away the Goods, Furniture and Ornaments of the Clergy, and partly detained them in their Cuſtody, having ſeized the Keys of the Places where they were kept: That they had lately made publick Plays, wherein they had expoſed the Virgin *Mary*, and the reſt of the Saints, to the Scorn and Deriſion of the Mobile: That they purpoſed to withdraw themſelves from under his Juriſdiction; had entered into the League, and put themſelves under the Protection of the Proteſtants; That they compelled, by Force, Monks and other Religious, to conform to their Religion; and not only openly reviled, but alſo baniſhed out of their Territories, thoſe who would not comply. The Emperor, hearkening to this Accuſation, on the Sixth of *Auguſt*, wrote to them from *Wormes*, and with ſevere Threatnings commanded them, to reſtore Religion, and all things elſe, to their former State, until ſome publick Decree ſhould be made in that behalf. Three Days after he wrote from *Mentz* to the Senate of *Cologne*, that he heard there were Preachers amongſt them, who made it their whole Buſineſs to miſlead them from the ancient Religion, whom, nevertheleſs, they had hitherto vigorouſly withſtood: That therein they had exceedingly pleaſed him; and that they ſhould continue to do ſo, and keep the People to their Duty; which would be very acceptable Service to him, as he would in due time make them ſenſible. The Pope had written then to the Senate, much to the ſame purpoſe; wherefore the Senate called together the People, and commanded them to obey theſe Edicts. *June* the Firſt, the Pope wrote to the Canons of the Cathedral Church of *Cologne*, that in the Trouble and Grief of Mind he lay under, through the Fooliſhneſs of the Archbiſhop, he was mightily comforted by their Piety and Reſolution, which was not only profitable to themſelves, but alſo very edifying to all their Neighbours; for that under God, they deſerved to be thanked for it, that that moſt noble City, and the whole Province were in Safety: That therefore he himſelf thanked them heartily for their Conſtancy and Reſolution, which he could never forget: For that though they had done but what was their Duty, yet for the thing it ſelf, and for examples Sake, he acknowledged himſelf much obliged unto them: That nevertheleſs they ſtood in need of Steadfaſtneſs and Courage, were it only for this, that if the Archbiſhop ſhould get the better of them, he would puniſh

The Heildeſheimers accuſed to the Emperor.

The Emperor's threatening Letter to thoſe of *Heildeſheim*.

His Letter to the Senate of *Cologne*.

The Pope's Letter to them alſo.

1543. them moſt ſeverely: That they ſhould therefore ſhew themſelves ſtrong and valiant, in the defence of God's Glory, the Catholick Religion, and their own Liberty and Safety, which an accurſed Arch-heretick endeavoured to ſubvert and deſtroy: That they needed not, indeed, a Prompter, but that, however, he was willing to ſpur them on in their Courſe, and earneſtly beſought them to labour, that he who was unworthy of the Name of Archbiſhop, might not by his Contagion infect and ſpoil a moſt noble City, and that they ſhould not own him for their Paſtor, but for an Enemy: That for his part he would not be wanting unto them neither in Counſel nor Aid. This Brief of the Pope's *John Poggio* his Nuncio with the Emperor, ſent unto them from *Mentz* the Twenty-fifth of *Auguſt*.

A little before this, the *French* King having marched with his Army into the Country of *Vermandois*, took from the Emperor the little Town of *Landrecy*, which he Fortified and Garriſoned. And at the ſame time *Barbaroſſa*, the *Turkiſh* Admiral, being Piloted by *Paulain* a *French* Man, arrived with a great Fleet at *Thoulon*, a Sea Port Town in *Provence*, betwixt *Marſailles* and *Nizza*. So ſoon as the *French* King had notice of this, he ſent the Duke of *Vendoſme* to join him with his Forces and Galleys: And then both together made Sail towards *Nizza*, where having taken the Town and Haven, on the Twentieth of *Auguſt*, they laid Siege to the Caſtle.

The *Turkiſh* Fleet in *Provence*.

The Caſtle of *Nizza* Beſieged.

The *Turks* Invade *Hungary*.

Another Army of *Turks* invaded *Hungary*, which took *Five-Churches*, the Town and Caſtle of *Gran*, and *Alba Regalis*, and this laſt too by Storm. The Pope had ſent Auxiliary Forces under the Command of *Baptiſta Savelli* and *Julio Urſini*, but theſe came a litte too late.

The Doctors of the *Sorbonn* having triumphed over *Landre* and *de Penſier* in the manner before mentioned, publiſhed thoſe Heads of Doctrine, which, as we ſaid, had been privately propoſed by them to the Preacher *Landre*, and were in number Twenty five. This was done at *Paris* the Firſt Day of *Auguſt*, when the Doctrines were proclaimed by an Herald with ſound of Trumpet, and afterwards Printed by the King's Command, who both confirmed them by Edict, and commanded under a ſevere Penalty, that no Man ſhould offer to act or teach to the contrary, and this was ſeconded by a Decree for inquiring after and finding out *Lutherans*. The Divines, beſides, enjoined the Students, the Batchellors in Divinity, and others to follow this Form, or elſe to be Expelled their College. Againſt theſe Doctrines of theirs *Calvin* wrote a Book which he called, *The Antidote*, wherein he handled them very ſharply, and at the ſame time publiſhed a little Book in *French*, about the Relicks of Saints, that the preſent Age and Poſterity might ſee, how far Religion was degenerated: But he mentioned none ſave ſuch as were known to himſelf, and wiſhed that the ſame might alſo be done in other Provinces: Of that number were the Manger, Cradle, the ſwadling Cloths, Fore-Skin, and Blood of Chriſt, partly pure, and partly mixed with Water, the Water-Pots that were at the Marriage of *Cana* in *Galilee*, the Wine which Chriſt then turned the Water into, the Utenſils and Furniture that were uſed at his laſt Supper with his Apoſtles; the Manna of the Children of *Iſrael*; the Croſs, Cave, Nails, Spunge, Launce, Crown of Thorns, Coat, Handkerchief and Tears of Chriſt; the Milk, Smock, Hair, Girdle, Slipper, Comb and Ring of the Virgin *Mary*; the Dagger and Buckler of *Michael* the Arch-Angel; the Skull, Jaw-bone, Brains and Finger of *John Baptiſt*; the Chair, Crofier, Maſs-attire and Brain of St. *Peter*; beſides the Bodies of Saints, which were to be ſeen in ſeveral places, and yet one and the ſame. Now he ſhewed with how great Veneration the People adored theſe things, when the Prieſts, for Money, brought them forth to be ſeen at a diſtance; whilſt they were no more but Trifles of no value, deviſed for Gain, and being viewed near at Hand, a meer Cheat and Impoſture. Moreover there are Two Cities in the Lower *Germany*, famous chiefly upon that account, *Treves* and *Aix la Chappel*; for hither People uſed to come flocking even from *Hungary* and *Sclavonia* to viſit the Relicks, as they called it, when every Seventh Year, for the greater Admiration and Pomp, theſe Huckſters expoſed their Wares.

Calvin's Antidote and Book of Relicks.

The Emperor comes to *Bonne* where *Bucer* and *Hedie* preached.

The Emperor came down the *Rhine* by Water from *Mentz* to *Bonne*; where *Bucer* then preached, as we ſaid before, and *Caſpar Hedie*, whom the Archbiſhop had lately ſent for from *Straſburg*, a Man of a very ſedate Temper, and very fit to inſtruct the People. They were both in ſome danger, eſpecially from

from the *Spaniards* that were there. The Emperor had ſent before to the Archbiſhop to diſmiſs them: *Melancthon* was gone before: And ſo they alſo not long after having obtained leave, and placed Miniſters in the Churches, returned Home. From thence the Emperor went to *Duren*, and being arrived there on the Two and twentieth of *Auguſt*, next day he ſent a Herald to Summon the Town to ſurrender, elſe to expect a Storm. The Souldiers of the Garriſon returned a ſlighting Anſwer, ſaying, That they had no cauſe to be afraid of him, who was long ſince feeding the Fiſh: For there had been a Report raiſed, that the Emperor upon his Return Home, after his Misfortune at *Algiers*, had been caſt away at Sea: And this Report had made ſuch Impreſſion upon the Minds of the People of *Cleve* that they could hardly believe thoſe who told them that they had not only ſeen the Emperor, but alſo ſpoken with him: The Prince was alſo ſo fatally credulous as to be perſwaded of the ſame thing. Now this was thought to be an Invention of the *French*, that thoſe of *Cleve* might not loſe Heart, and being terrified at the Emperor's Power, make Peace with him. The Emperor having received this Anſwer, Fortified his Camp, provided all things neceſſary, and on the Twenty fourth of *Auguſt* began to Batter the Town by break of Day, and afterward gave the Aſſault, eſpecially by the *Spaniards*, who went on with great Chearfulneſs and Reſolution; and though they were often beat off, and loſt many Men, yet they gave not over till they forced the Place, and treated the Towns-people, as the Inhabitants are commonly uſed, when a Town is taken by Storm. We muſt know, that in this Town was kept the Head of St. *Ann*, the Mother of our Lady, and was uſually expoſed to the view of vaſt numbers of People, who flocked thither yearly on the Six and twentieth day of *July*, the Anniverſary of that Saint, to pay their Devotions to it: But the *Spaniards* being now Conquerours took that Head incloſed in a golden Reliquary, and with great Pomp carried it in Proceſſion to the *Grey Friars* Church, leaſt it ſhould have periſhed in the Ruines and Flames of the Church. The Town being plundered and burnt, the Emperor advanced, and had ſurrendered to him firſt *Liege*, and then *Ruremund* a ſtrong Town of *Guelderland*, ſtanding where the Rivers of *Roure* and *Maeſe* do meet. For the unexpected Calamity of *Duren*, had put all Men into extraordinary Fear and Conſternation. From *Ruremund* he went to *Venlo*. Thither, at laſt, came the Duke of *Cleve* to him in the Camp, accompanied with *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and the Ambaſſadors of *Herman* Archbiſhop of *Cologne*; where he having made his Humble Submiſſion, and the Duke of *Brunſwick* and the Ambaſſadors earneſtly interceding for him, the Emperor, at length, aroſe, and ordered the Prince of *Orange* and *Granvell* to preſcribe Conditions unto him, upon which he was received into Favour again, the Seventh of *September*. The Conditions were, That he ſhould not depart from the Religion of the Catholick Church: That if he had made any Alterations, he ſhould reſtore things again as they were before: That he ſhould promiſe Allegiance and Obedience to the Emperor, King *Ferdinand* and the Empire: That he ſhould renounce his League with *France* and *Denmark*: That he ſhould make no League, wherein the Emperor, King *Ferdinand* and their Heirs were not excepted: That he ſhould deliver up the whole Poſſeſſion of *Guelderland*, and releaſe the People from their Oath: And that he ſhould Aſſiſt the Emperor in Recovering *Guelderland*, if, perhaps, any places ſhould refuſe to Surrender. The Emperor, on the other Hand, reſtored to him the Province of *Juliers* lately Conquered by War, except Two Towns, *Henſberg* and *Zittard*, which he kept in his Hands for a time, till he ſhould make trial of his Fidelity and Obſequiouſneſs. Whilſt the Emperor was upon his March againſt the Duke of *Cleve*, the *French* King advanced through *Champagne* towards the Country of *Luxenburg*, and ſent for his Siſter's Daughter the Lady *Joanna*, who had been Two Years before betrothed and publickly Married, as we ſaid, to the Duke, that he might carry her to her Husband. She went moſt unwillingly, as hath been mentioned alſo before, but, however, ſhe obeyed the King her Uncle. The King had appointed Cardinal *du Bellay*, Biſhop of *Paris*, as the fitteſt Perſon to perſwade her, to wait upon her, and keep her Company, during the whole Journey. Now when ſhe was come as far as *Soiſſons* on her way to the King, News was brought, That the Duke of *Cleve* was ſubdued, which much rejoiced her,

1543.

The Emperors Expedition againſt *Cleve*, and his Victory.

A vain report of the Emperor's being drowned.

The Emperor takes *Liege* and *Ruremund* by Surrender.

The Duke of *Cleve* upon Submiſſion is Reconciled to the Emperor. The Conditions of his Peace.

1543. her, as well perceiving that that might put an end to all her Sufferings and Conſtraint; and, indeed, ſhe was not miſtaken; for the King was exceedingly troubled at the News, and ſo ſhe returned Home. But nevertheleſs, he proceeded, and again took the City of *Luxenburg* about the latter end of *September*, which, after deliberation, he fortified. At the ſame time *Henry* King of *England*, who had lately made a League with the Emperor, ſent over ſome Forces into the Netherlands, who joining the Imperialiſts, Beſieged *Landrecy*. In the mean time *Charles Boiſſet*, a Lawyer, was, in the beginning of *October*, ſent from the Emperor to *Metz*, who having conſulted with the Senate, the Monks and Churchmen upon his firſt coming, ſent for one of the Preachers, whom he ſeverely chid, and commanded upon pain of Death to depart the City within three Days, and not to converſe with any Citizen for the future: Afterwards the Emperor's Edict was on the Fifteenth of *October* publickly read, wherein the Emperor commanded the Senate, not to admit of any new Doctrines, and to puniſh thoſe that were guilty that way. Wherefore the Senate publiſhed their Orders to the Citizens, that they ſhould perſiſt in the ancient Religion; produce all prohibited and ſuſpected Books within a Weeks time; obey the Canons of the Church; abſtain from fleſh on days prohibited; ſhew Reverence to Church-Men; and that thoſe who upon account of difference in Religion had put themſelves into the protection of the Proteſtants, and promiſed Fidelity unto them, ſhould within a certain time renounce the ſame: Denouncing ſeveral Penalties againſt Offenders herein, as, Fines, Baniſhment, and other Puniſhments, according to their ſeveral Deſerts. When *Barbaroſſa* had in vain Beſieged the Caſtle of *Nizza*, whither the Emperor's Forces were coming out of *Lombardy* under the Command of the Marqueſs of *Piſcara*, he drew off and went to his Winter Quarters in *Thoulon*, ſomewhat ſooner than the Seaſon of the Year required; for the King had aſſigned him that Town, the Citizens and Inhabitants being commanded to leave it.

The *French* King takes *Luxenburg* again.

Landrecy Beſieged.

The Emperors Envoy to the City of *Metz*.

Diviſions in *Scotland*.

Scotland was this Year much diſturbed with inteſtine Broils and Diviſions, the Nobles diſagreeing among themſelves. For thoſe of the Nobility who were Priſoners in *England*, as we ſaid, being generouſly diſmiſſed by the King, cordially eſpouſed his Intereſts: But the Cardinal of *Scotland*, who enjoyed great Revenues from Church-Livings in *France*; and the Queen, the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Daughter, maintained the *French* King's Part. After the Death of the King of *Scots*, it was the chief Deſign of *Henry* VIII. that the young Queen of *Scots* might be affianced to Prince *Edward* his Son. In that matter, the Nobles we mentioned, did him good Service: And having perſwaded the *Earl* of *Arran* the Regent, they ſeized the Cardinal of St. *Andrews*, and kept the Queen Beſieged in a Caſtle, till they had confirmed the Marriage, and drawn up Writings thereupon. But the *French* King interfering in the Matter, the Nobility alſo pitying the Queen's Condition, and the Regent falling off to the other ſide, they broke their Articles; which gave occaſion of a new War betwixt the *Engliſh* and them, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. The King of *Denmark* was alſo in War with the Emperor's Subjects in the Netherlands, becauſe of King *Chriſtiern* who was kept Priſoner; and he deſired Aſſiſtance from the Proteſtants; but they alledged that that Cauſe had no Relation to the League; for it was only ſtipulated, That if any made War againſt him upon account of Religion, that then they ſhould join with him, and aſſiſt him.

The Queen of *Scots* betroth'd to Prince *Edward* of *England*.

The *Danes* make War againſt the Imperialiſts.

The Duke of *Cleve* having made his Peace with the Emperor, ſent an Ambaſſador to the *French* King, to renounce the League he had with him, and to demand his Wife to be ſent unto him, for whoſe Paſſage he had obtained a ſafe Conduct from the Emperor. The King made Anſwer to the Ambaſſador, That it was none of his Fault, but that he had had both his Wife delivered, and an Army ſent him; but that he himſelf was in the blame, who had ſent word that there was no free Paſſage for them through thoſe Places, nor could they be ſupplied with Proviſions: That he himſelf had generouſly performed what-ever he had promiſed, and more too: But that the Duke had not done well, who forgetting his Lineage and Quality, had caſt himſelf into ſuch Bondage. That as to his Neece, he might inform himſelf of her Parents and her ſelf, what their Reſolution was; for that he was no longer obliged to him in any thing. The Emperor having ſettled all his Affairs in *Guelder-*

The Duke of *Cleve* renounces his League with *France*, and demands his Wife.

Guelderland, came with a vaſt Army before *Landrecy*. Thither alſo came the *French* King, with all his Forces; and there was no other likelihood but of a Battle betwixt them: But the *French* having put Proviſions into the place, drew off ſo ſilently in the Night time, that the Enemy perceived it not before it was Day. Then at length they purſued, and came up with the Rear of them, of whom they ſlew a great many. But becauſe Winter now approached, the Emperor thought it not fit to attempt any thing elſe; only he ſent ſome Forces to the Siege of *Luxenburg*, and ſo diſmiſſed the reſt of his Army to Winter Quarters. Duke *Maurice* ſerved the Emperor as a Volunteer at *Landrecy*, whereby he procured much good Will, and opened himſelf a Way to his Friendſhip. In the Winter time the Duke of *Lorrain*, and ſome others, mediated for a Peace, but to no purpoſe. The Emperor being returned home from *Landrecy*, ſent *Ferrante Gonzaga*, Vice-Roy of *Sicily*, to the King of *England*, that he might edge him on more and more againſt the *French* King. 1543. The French Flight at *Landrecy*.

We have ſeveral times ſpoken of Count *William* of *Furſtemberg*: He being now ſomewhat alienated from the *French* King, made way, by the means of *Granvell*, to be received again into the Emperor's Favour; and for a Proof of his Fidelity, having raiſed ſome Companies of Foot in his own Territory, in the middle of Winter he marched to *Luxenburg*, and joined the Imperialiſts there: But the *French*, under the Command of the Duke of *Longueville*, having put Proviſions into the Place; he retreated without doing any Exploit, having loſt many of his Men by Hunger and Cold.

It was ſaid before, that the Emperor had appointed a Diet of the Empire to meet the laſt Day of *November*: Therefore the Proteſtants aſſemble before at *Franckfort*, to conſult about the Affairs they were to treat of in the Diet: And ſeeing the Meeting of it was deferred, becauſe of the *French* War, the Elector of *Saxony* and *Lantgrave*, wrote to the Emperor in *November*, promiſing to come to the Diet, provided he himſelf came, and did grant them and their Confederates a ſafe Conduct. Hereunto the Emperor wrote an Anſwer from *Bruſſels*, dated the Tenth of *December*, that he would come, and that in the Month of *January* too; and at the ſame time ſent a ſafe Conduct: Wherein, nevertheleſs, he excluded thoſe who were engaged to his Enemies by Faith or Compact, intimating thereby the ſecret Agents and Spies of the *French* King. So, in the beginning of *January*, he left the Netherlands, and came to *Spire*. On the Twenty ſixth Day of this Month, there happened a great Eclipſe of the Sun, which was beheld by all, not without Admiration: There were Three total Eclipſes of the Moon alſo this Year; a very prodigious thing, indeed, and ſuch, as Aſtronomers ſaid, had not happened before ſince the time of *Charlemagne*. Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe*, having made his Journey through *France*, met the Emperor on his Way to the Diet, and took his Leave of him at *Wormes*. It was believed, that he was ſent to mediate a Peace. This Diet of *Spire* was exceeding great: For not only was King *Ferdinand* preſent at it, but all the Electors alſo (which is a rare thing) and generally all the Princes, amongſt whom was the Duke of *Cleve* too. The Proteſtants aſſemble at *Franckfort*. The Elector of *Saxony* and Lantgrave write to the Emperor. His Anſwer to them. 1544. Extraordinary Eclipſes of the Sun & Moon. *Alexander Farneſe* ſent Legate to the Emperor. The Diet at *Spire* very full.

The Elector of *Saxony* came on the Eighteenth of *February*; and was met upon the Rode by the Lantgrave, the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, and the Vice-Roy of *Sicily*. Two Days after the Diet commenced, which was opened by the Emperor's Speech, to this effect: That he had acquainted them by Letters from *Genoa*, with the Cauſes that made him leave *Spain*, to make another Journey into *Germany*, and call this Diet: Nor needed he now repreſent to them, how much he had always ſtudied the Safety and Welfare of the Publick; that all things being ſetled and compoſed at Home, he might have turned his Arms againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtendom; and that therefore, in the former Diet at *Ratiſbone*, he had earneſtly propoſed the raiſing of Forces and Supplies; but that when, the Year following, the War undertaken againſt the *Turk* had proved unſucceſsful; their laſt Deliberations concluded in this, That for the preſent the frontier Places ſhould only be well fortified and garriſoned: That now, though it had been his earneſt Deſire then, to have been perſonally preſent in the War, according to the Duty of his Charge; yet it was publickly known, by whom, and upon what Occaſion, he was, and is ſtill hindered and retarded: For that by the Perſwaſion and Money of the *French* King, a *Turkiſh* Fleet came laſt Year upon the Coaſt of *Italy*, and made a Deſcent The Emperor's Speech at the opening of it;

in

1544. in the Country of the Duke of *Savoy*, a Prince of the Empire; where having taken the Town and Harbour of *Nizza*, with all their Force they beſieged and battered the Caſtle; and that though, upon the Approach of his Forces, they were forced to raiſe the Siege, yet they carried the War into other Places both of the Empire, and of *Spain*; having now nothing leſs in their Thoughts, than to Ruin and Deſtroy all: So that Matters are brought into extream Danger, and are, in a manner, at the laſt Caſt; inſomuch, that if the Enemy be not reſiſted with joint Hearts and Hands, *Germany* might, too late, ſee and bewail its own Calamity: That he had many times wiſhed he could have remedied thoſe Evils, but that the *French* King having attacked him at ſeveral Places at once, he could neither return into *Germany*, nor join his Aid with theirs: Now that the *Turk* did ſo confidently invade *Germany*, and that the War againſt him, hitherto, hath been ſo unſucceſsful, the Reaſon was plain: For firſt, He was informed of the Difference in Religion; of the publick and private Janglings of the States; of the Temper of Affairs; and of what was done and acted in the Empire, upon all Occaſions, by the *French* King, to whom theſe things were carried. In the next place, becauſe he was ſure of Aid and Aſſiſtance from the *French* King, as it was by Letters and Witneſſes made out in the laſt Diet, and hath been ſince verified in effect; and though it would have been Advantageous to the Publick, to have inſtantly withſtood thoſe Enterpriſes of *France*, and nipp'd them in the Bud, that they might not ſpread farther; yet he was pleaſed with the Anſwer they made, as to that particular, in the laſt Diet of *Nurimberg*: That, however, ſince he animated and excited the common and moſt cruel Enemy of Chriſtendom againſt the Publick, it was his Expectation, that they would look upon the War, which he was obliged to make againſt them, no otherwiſe than if it were undertaken againſt the *Turk* himſelf: And that they would not only condemn his Actions and Counſels, but alſo give him their Aſſiſtance; that being delivered from a Domeſtick Enemy, he might be able to employ all his Force againſt the *Turk*: That, moreover, he heard, to his Trouble, that the Aids, which were decreed in former Diets, were not given, as they ought to have been, and much too late for the Neceſſities of the Publick: For that ſince his Brother King *Ferdinand* had placed all his Hopes in them, who was not able to do much himſelf, as being exhauſted by the Charges of the former Years, the *Turk* had this laſt Year taken from us other Towns and Caſtles; which Misfortune might certainly have been prevented, if the Aids that were decreed, had been ſeaſonably furniſhed: That ſince that was the State of Affairs then, and that it was the main Deſign of the *Turk*, that *Hungary*, as the Rampart, being ſubdued, and many Ways made open into *Germany*, he might over-run it; ſince the thing it ſelf required it, that the *Hungarians* ſhould be relieved, leaſt, being deſtitute of Succours, they might be forced to ſubmit to the *Turkiſh* Yoke, and of Friends to become Enemies, it was his Deſire, that in a Matter of ſo great Importance, they would take it into Conſideration how to raiſe preſent and laſting Aids, not only for a defenſive but offenſive War alſo, that ſo they might preſerve their Wives, Children, and Country from utter Ruin and Deſtruction: That, in the mean time, as to thoſe things, which have hitherto been a great Hindrance to all publick Actions, he deſired, as much as in him lay, to apply a Remedy: That in the matter of Religion, they themſelves were ſenſible what Labour and Pains he had been at, for many Years paſt, and lately alſo at *Ratiſbone*; but that ſeeing Differences could not there be accommodated, the whole Affair had been referred to a Council, and other Diets: And then, that the Pope at his Sollicitation had called a Council, wherein he had reſolved to have been preſent himſelf, if the *French* King had not made War againſt him: That what had been done in the mean while, they had learn'd, without doubt, from his Deputies: But now that the ſame Difference ſtill remained, and was very pernicious to the Publick, he put it to themſelves to conſider on it, what way chiefly it might be removed and ended, and to repreſent to him what they themſelves thought beſt to be done in the Matter: That he had alſo taken care already, and would omit nothing for the future: That the Judicature of the Imperial Chamber, the Ground-Work and Stay of publick Peace, might be lawfully conſtituted. The ſame Day King *Ferdinand*'s Ambaſſadors made a long Narration of the *Turkiſh* Invaſions, and demanded Aſſiſtance.

Preſently after the Elector of *Saxony*, the Lantgrave, and their Confederates, addreſſing their Speech to the Emperor; You know, ſay they, moſt victorious

Victorious Emperor, that from the very beginning we profeſſed, that in this moſt Honourable Aſſembly, we would declare the Ground of our defending our ſelves by Arms againſt *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*; and we are ſtill in the ſame Mind and Reſolution; not doubting but that after a full hearing of the Matter, it will clearly appear to you, that we had juſt and weighty Cauſes which neceſſarily obliged us to undertake that defenſive War, and that he ought not to ſit here and conſult with the Princes: But ſince we perceive he thruſts himſelf into this Aſſembly, without our Approbation and Conſent; all that we can and may lawfully do, that the publick deliberations may not be hindred or retarded, is, that we proteſt, we neither own nor acknowledge him for a Prince of the Empire, and that his Preſence ſhall be no ways prejudicial to our Right. Whereunto the Duke of *Brunſwick* immedately made Anſwer, by the Mouth of his Chancellor; The Elector of *Saxony*, ſaith he, the Lantgrave, and their Confederates, *in defiance to all Law both of God and Man*, contrary to the Conſtitutions of the Empire, and the publick Faith and Peace, have by force of Arms, and the higheſt Injuſtice, robbed me of my Country; for which they ſtand indicted before the Imperial Chamber; ſo that they can have no place in the Diet of the Empire; and, if any had, they have now loſt it by that Crime, and deſerve, that all Men ſhould avoid their Company: But, if I muſt needs ſit with them in Publick Conſultations, I proteſt that I conſent not that they ſhould have this place, and that it ſhall be no prejudice nor derogation to my Cauſe. The Proteſtants were then for having read their Plea, containing the whole matter of Fact, and the Reaſons of what they had done in Writing, leaſt his Accuſation might appear to be true, or make an impreſſion upon the Minds of thoſe that heard it: But the Emperor ordered *Frederick* Prince *Palatine* and *Naves*, to deſire them to deferr it till another time, becauſe the Day was far ſpent; promiſing to aſſign them a Day for a Hearing; to which they acquieſced. And becauſe the Lantgrave happened then to ſit next to the Duke of *Brunſwick*, *John* Prince *Palatine* aroſe, and to prevent any Quarrel, ſate himſelf down in the middle betwixt them, having firſt proteſted that the ſame ſhould be no prejudice to him nor his Family; and this was thought to have been done by the Emperor's Advice. The Day before, the Duke of *Saxony* and Lantgrave, had prayed *Frederick* Prince *Palatine* and *Naves*, that they would procure the Emperor's Order for *Brunſwick*, not to appear in the publick Seſſion: But that could not be obtained, the Emperor alledging that he could not be excluded, till the Cauſes of it were firſt known. The *French* King might eaſily imagine that the Emperor would make a ſad complaint of him to the Princes of the Empire; he therefore reſolved to ſend a moſt ſplendid Ambaſſy to them, in the Perſons of Cardinal *John du Bellay*, *Francis Olivier* Chancellor of *Alenzon*, and *Affrican Malley* Preſident of the Parliament of *Dijon*. Theſe ſtopp'd on their way at *Nancey* in *Lorrain*, whither they came in the Month of *January*, and expected a ſafe Conduct from the Emperor; for the King had ſent a Herald before to *Spire* upon that account, with Letters to the Emperor, and privately alſo to the Princes Electors wherein he demanded a ſafe Conduct for his Ambaſſadors. When about the end of *February* the Herald arrived there, in his Coat of Arms, as Cuſtom is, he was ſtopp'd by *Granvell*, to whom he both delivered his Maſter's Letters written to the Emperor, (for he could do no otherwiſe) and alſo told the cauſe of his coming, demanding that according to the Law of Nations, he might have a ſafe Conduct for the Ambaſſadors, who were not far off; but he was confined to his Lodgings, carefully obſerved that no Body might come to ſpeak with him, and Four Days after ſent going with a ſevere Reprimand: That he had done an unwiſe Act, and run the danger of his Head, in daring to come thither: For that the King his Maſter, who was an Enemy to *Germany*, had nothing to do within the Bounds of the Empire, nor any Right neither to the Law of Nations: That he ſhould therefore return Home and tell his King ſo; but let him not, nor any other, venture to come again: That now the Emperor was pleaſed to pardon his Fault, more out of his own Mercy and Goodneſs, than for any Deſert of his, but that he ſhould have a care for the future, otherwiſe he would ſuffer for it. For that he had gone beyond the Privilege of Heralds, and ought not to have entered within the Emperor's Court without his Leave: That as to the Letters, which he ſaid he had; the King had ſo deſerved of all Chriſtendom, and eſpecially of *Germany*, that

1544.

The Proteſtants Plea about the Affair of *Brunſwick*.

Brunſwick's Acuſation of the Proteſtants.

A *French* Ambaſſy to the Diet of *Spire*.

The *French* Herald ill received at *Spire*.

1544. that as Affairs ſtood, the Emperor would not, nor could not receive them, leaſt by his uſual way of Writing and Promiſes, either he or others might be deceived. This Anſwer was given him, written in *French:* And ſo he was ſent back with the King's Letters to the Emperor and Princes, and a Party of Horſe appointed to bring him going as far as *Nancey*. Now there was nothing of this imparted to the Princes; which was thought by moſt, to be done contrary to the Cuſtom of the Empire. When this came to the Knowledge of the Ambaſſadors, they were in great Streights, being anxious how they could get home again without Danger: But having conſulted with *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain*, they departed ſecretly in the Night time, and ſo returned into the next Place of *France*. Whilſt they were, as yet, in *Nancey*, Duke *Anthony*'s Daughter-in-Law came to *Spire*; that, what neither he nor others could do, She being the Emperor's Siſters Daughter, by Prayers and Tears, and the Favour of her Sex, might obtain: But that was alſo in Vain; for the Emperor was wholly bent upon War, and his Counſellors ſaid, he could not do otherwiſe, with Honour and Reputation. Now, though the Duke of *Lorrain* eſpouſed neither Party, and had long ſince conditioned with both, that he might be Neuter; yet, when he found that the Seat of the War was like to be on his Frontiers, which could not but be to his great Prejudice, he was exceedingly deſirous of Peace. *February* the Ninth, ſome Princes, at the Emperor's Suggeſtion, wrote from *Spire* to the Pope, telling his Holineſs, That they had been exceedingly rejoiced when laſt Year they heard, how that the *Turks* and their Confederates had been, by the Emperor's Forces, and the Aſſiſtance he had ſent, driven from the Siege of the Caſtle of *Nizza*, and forced to fly for their Safety; and that their Joy was the greater, that they were given to underſtand, that the Loſs of that Rampart would much endanger, not only the Provinces and Patrimony of the Church, but alſo all *Italy*, and, indeed Chriſtendom: But that now, ſince they were informed, by credible Hands, that they were again fitting out their Fleet and Forces at *Thoulon* with a Deſign to reduce that Caſtle under their Power, it did not a little trouble them, both becauſe of the Danger and Diſgrace of it alſo: And that was the Reaſon, why, out of the Duty and Love they bore him, who was the common Father of Chriſtendom, they now wrote to his Holineſs: Wherefore they earneſtly beſought him, that he would befriend *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* with his Counſel and Aſſiſtance; and in his own ſingular Prudence, conſider with himſelf, how much it would be ſafer, and more advantageous for the Publick, to beat off the Enemy at his firſt Approach, than to dally away the time, and not to run to Arms, till the moſt commodious Caſtle of *Italy* ſhould be loſt: That his Holineſs would alſo think of ſome Meaſures, whereby ſo barbarous an Enemy, might, not only, be driven away from before that Caſtle, but alſo out of thoſe Places where he had ſafe Harbour and Retreat: For if he look'd upon the *Turk* and his Confederates as Enemies, which they could not but think he would, for the Love he bore to the Flock, whereof he was the chief and univerſal Biſhop: If he ſhould employ all the Forces and Subſtance of the Church this way, they made no doubt, but God would deliver his People out of the Hands of their Enemies: That, ſince then he ſaw how much the Publick Safety depended on that Caſtle, they again begged of him, that he would uſe his Endeavours, not to let it fall into the Hands of Strangers; which would be very acceptable Service to God, and beneficial to the publick Intereſt of Chriſtendom.

The Letter of ſome Princes to the Pope.

The Pope's Anſwer.

To this the Pope made Anſwer, *February* the Twenty Sixth: That the Safety of the Caſtle of *Nizza* had hitherto been, and ſhould ſtill be his Care for the future: That the good Will and Kindneſs they expreſſed was very acceptable unto him; and he hoped, that as they were concerned for *Nizza*, ſo they would be no leſs ſollicitous for the Publick, which was the thing they ought chiefly to do: That it was publickly known how he ſtood affected in relation to the common Enemy, from his very firſt Inauguration into the Pontificate: That he had conſtantly given Aid againſt him; furniſhed Commanders and a Fleet, both in *Hungary* and *Africa*: That, in ſhort, he had left nothing undone, whereby he might defend Chriſtendom from the Yoke of ſo barbarous and cruel an Enemy; ſo that during the Ten Years that he had been at the Helm, he had been exhauſted by continual Expences, which he was at when even the publick Treaſure was at a low Ebb, his Revenues being much leſſened and impaired by the Defection of many. How could he be thought wanting

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in any thing, who had not only ſent frequent Ambaſſies, but himſelf alſo taken many Progreſſes for the good of the Publick? That two Years ſince he had called a Council at *Trent*, a Town within the Dominion of *Germany*, to the end that Peace might be reſtored to the Empire, Vices Reformed, the Differences of Kings and Princes compoſed, and Meaſures taken for carrying on a *Turkiſh* War: But that as yet he had ſeen no Fruits of all his Labour and Pains. For that the cauſe of the common diſeaſe ſtill remained, and all the parts of the State were in a viſible Conſumption and Decay: That he took it very well at their Hands, that they ſo affectionately recommended to him the Defence of the Caſtle of *Nizza*, and that he would make it his whole care for the future; that not one place only ſhould be provided for; but that the infection alſo might not ſpread to other Places, and that Chriſtendom ſhould be delivered from the *Turks*, and ſuch like ungodly Men: For that it was his Duty to provide for all the Members in general, and to apply Remedies to the languiſhing Body. That therefore as they recommended *Nizza* to him, ſo did he again recommend to them the State of Chriſtendom which was very much afflicted and weakened: That the Chief and only way to cure it was, Peace and Reconciliation amongſt Kings and Princes; for that all Diſorders ſprang from that ſource: But that if theſe Diſſenſions were removed, the whole Body would recover its former Comelineſs and Beauty: For that before theſe Claſhings and Animoſities, there were neither any Hereſies in *Germany*, nor *Turks* in *Hungary* and *Italy*: But that ſo ſoon as a vent was given to civil Diſcord, then preſently ſprang forth Hereſies and Factions, both private and publick Hatred and Diſſenſions, which was alſo the Cauſe that the meeting of the Council had hitherto been hindred and retarded: That Peace was therefore to be eſtabliſhed, and, in imitation of Phyſicians, the Root of the Evil removed. For that Peace would baniſh both War and *Turk*; and a Council aſſembled in Peace and Quietneſs, would ſoon Root out Hereſies, and reform whatever was amiſs; that otherwiſe they needed not think, that either *Nizza* could be defended from the Enemy, or any part of Chriſtendom be exempt from Danger; but, on the contrary, that all would be involved in the ſame Calamity and Deſtruction. 1544.

In the Month of *March Ludovick* the Elector *Palatine* died, to whom ſucceeded his Brother *Frederick*. The Electors and all the other States, by the Advice of the Emperor, on the Second day of *April*, wrote to the *Switzers*, That they, the *Cantons*, had been informed by the Ambaſſadors, which King *Ferdinand* and they had ſent to them, of the Reaſons why two Years before, they had decreed a War againſt the *Turk*, and that it grieved them they had not then a franker Anſwer from them: That the Emperor had then reſolved to have commanded in Perſon in that War, but that he had been diverted by the *French* King, who had not only made War againſt him in divers places, but had likewiſe ſollicited Aid from the *Turks*: And that the Year before a *Turkiſh* Fleet having, at his Charges and Procurement, come upon the Coaſt of *Italy*, had attacked the Duke of *Savoy* and taken *Nizza*: That the ſame Fleet was ſtill in the Ports of *France*, and waited only for an opportunity of doing the Emperor and Empire all the Miſchief they could: That this ſo horrid and unparallelled an Action of the *French* King's, was ſo much the more to be deteſted, that it tended directly to the aggrandizing of that wicked People, and to the higheſt danger and diſadvantage of Chriſtendom: That to them, therefore, it ſeemed very ſtrange, that they, who had no leſs cauſe to be afraid of the *Turks* than the *Germans* themſelves, ſhould have ſent Forces to the Aſſiſtance of the *French* King in that War, who had the *Turk* for his Ally and Aſſiſtant. For that without their Aid he would not raſhly have undertaken this Civil War: That they were told alſo now, that he was again ſolliciting them about freſh Supplies: But ſince it concerned all equally, not only to reſiſt the Force of the *Turks*, but alſo to take from their Confederates all Aid and Aſſiſtance, for the Safety of Chriſtendom; they earneſtly deſired, that for the future, they would not ſuffer their Subjects to ſerve the *French* King, who becauſe of his accurſed League ought to be taken for a publick Enemy; but that they would recal thoſe who were already, perhaps, in his pay, and ſo demean themſelves, that it might appear, they did not ſlight the publick Welfare of Chriſten-

Ludovick Elector *Palatine* dies, his Brother *Frederick* ſucceeds.

The Letter of the States of the Empire to the *Swiſſe*.

Whilſt

1544. The Proteſtants Accuſe the Duke of *Brunſwick.*

Whilſt the Matters propoſed by the Emperor were under Deliberation, the Elector of *Saxony*, the Lantgrave and Confederates, on the Fifth of *April*, accuſed *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* before the Emperor, King *Ferdinand*, and the whole Diet of the Empire, charging him with moſt enormous Crimes, and exhibiting againſt him a Bill in Writing, containing an exact Relation of all the Damage he had done to the Cities of *Brunſwick* and *Goſlar*, their Friends and Confederates, for whoſe defence they had been neceſſitated to reſiſt Force by Force, and to repreſs his Uſurpations. Then they alledged againſt him, That for ſome Years he had done nothing but ſought after occaſions of making War againſt them; which they proved by the Letters we mentioned before, that were found in his chief Caſtle that was taken, after he had been driven out of his Country. In thoſe Letters which where all in a manner written to the Elector of *Mentz*, the Duke of *Bavaria* and *Eldo* before he was expelled, he frequently wiſhed for the Emperor's coming out of *Spain*; and when any Hopes offered, he huffed and threatned; but after that the Emperor was come, and proceeded a little too ſlowly, he complained of his remiſſneſs and delay, and lamented that neither he nor his Aſſociates had Satisfaction, and that the League made at *Nurimberg* was not regarded; accuſing and laying all the Fault upon *Granvell*, who was, as he ſaid, corrupted by the Proteſtants Money, whom he railed againſt, and prayed that he might come to a ſhameful End, as he deſerved: He frequently alſo affirmed, That the Emperor was a-ſleep and could not be rouzed, and that he made uſe of his Name only for a Cloak and Terrour, as Fowlers uſed to do when they frightened the Birds with a dead Hawk. Many Letters of his were read, containing ſuch ſtuff as this, whereby he vented his Purpoſe and Inclinations. Much to the ſame purpoſe the Duke of *Bavaria* and *Eldo* had written to him again. And becauſe Duke *Henry*, Brother to Duke *George* of *Saxony*, changing his Religion, as we ſaid, had entered into the Proteſtant League, the Duke of *Brunſwick* had plied the Emperor by Letters and Meſſengers to diveſt him of all his Lands and Goods, hoping that he himſelf might be put into the Poſſeſſion of his Country. Letters to this purpoſe were alſo read. Afterwards they alledged, That he was an impious Man, who ſlighted and made a Deriſion of the Popiſh Religion. Whereof he would be thought the Defender, which they proved by a very notable Inſtance.

A pleaſant Story of the Duke of *Brunſwick* and his Miſs, *Eve Trottine.*

The Duke of *Brunſwick* had Married the Lady *Mary*, Siſter to *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who, amongſt other Ladies that waited on her, had one *Eve Trottine*, a Young Lady of extraordinary Beauty, and a noble Family. The Duke began to be deſperately ſmitten with her, and having by his Courtſhip prevailed, enjoyed her, and had ſome Children by her: But that the intrigue might not be diſcovered, and that he might ſtill have her Company, he put a Stratagem into her Head, that ſhe ſhould pretend to return Home to her Parents; and he furniſhed her with a Waggon, Horſes, and all things neceſſary for her Journey. Away went ſhe, and it was thought ſhe was going Home; but ſhe was conducted another Way to a Caſtle of his, whereof the Governor was before-hand inſtructed by him what he was to do; and had a Woman or two in whom he moſt confided to aſſiſt him in the Plot. Some Days after *Eve* came there, ſhe took her Bed, pretending to be Sick. Now the Duke had before cauſed an Image to be made of Wood, repreſenting the Head, Neck, and Breaſt of a dead Body: The other Parts of the Body were done and ſhaped in Linen, which the Women ſtuffed with Duſt or Earth, that ſo it might ſeem to be ſolid, and then fitted the wooden Head and Buſt to it, which was likewiſe covered over with the Linen Cloth. The Body, then, being thus ordered, and wrapped in a Shroud, was laid forth on the Floor; and preſently one of the Women ran to the Governor's Parlour Door, crying out, that *Eve* was dead: Whereupon he ſtreight ordered a Coffin to be made, to put the Body in: And to ſcare People from approaching the Corps, it was given out, that ſhe died of the Plague, and Juniper Berries, and other Odoriferous Things were burnt to perfume the Rooms. Afterwards the Corps was carried in funeral Pomp to the *Grey Friars* Church, where it was honourably buried, the *Franciſcans* performing all the uſual Ceremonies, and praying for the Soul departed, as they did for a whole Year after, and in their Sermons exhorted the People to do the like. By the Duke of *Brunſwick*'s Order alſo, an Office of Funeral was performed for her in the Chapel of the Caſtle, where it was ſaid, ſhe died, Prieſts being invited

invited thither from the Neighbourhood. The ſame was done in the chief Caſtle *Wolfem-Battel*, which is not far diſtant from the City of *Brunſwick*: For hither came alſo the Report of her Death. Now at this Office his Wife, the Dutcheſs, was preſent, with her Women and Maids, all in Mourning. Many Prieſts were invited to it, who had afterwards a Dinner, and every one of them a piece of Money in Gratuity, according to the ancient Cuſtom obſerved amongſt the Papiſts. In the mean time, *Eve*, whoſe Death was bewailed by ſo many, was in very good Health in the Caſtle of *Stauffenburg*, where ſhe was ſtill viſited by Duke *Henry*, who ſince that time had Seven Children by her. He alſo perſwaded his Dutcheſs to write to the Lady *Eve*'s Parents and Relations, to acquaint them with her Death. But when afterwards there was a Report raiſed, That ſhe was ſtill alive, and kept in *Stauffenburg*; his Dutcheſs, who had ſome inkling of that, conceived a violent Suſpicion, and enquired of the Servants about the Truth of the Matter: But he commanded, that none of whom ſhe might learn any thing, ſhould come near her. However, that Suſpicion ſtuck in her Mind as long as ſhe lived, which made her write many Letters to him, bewailing her own Misfortune. This prank of his, amongſt other things, was alſo publickly read in that Seſſion, that all might know what Opinion he had of his own Religion. The Effect of the Accuſation was to ſhew, how juſt and neceſſary Cauſes they had of taking up Arms againſt him, who deſpiſing the Edicts of the Emperor, and King *Ferdinand*, had diſturbed the publick Peace, and done all the Injury he could to their Aſſociates and Confederates. The Duke of *Brunſwick* was not preſent at this Action, it being the Emperor's Pleaſure, that he ſhould not: For the Proteſtants wiſhed he might have been there to have heard all, and had for that purpoſe made Application to the Emperor. 1544.

On *Eaſter Monday*, which then fell on the Fourteenth of *April*, the Imperialiſts, under the Conduct of *Alfonſo*, Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, fought a Battle with the *French* in *Piedmont* near the Town *Carignan*, and were defeated with the loſs of many Thouſands of Men. The *French* General was the Duke of *Vendoſme*, whom we mentioned before. Many thought that the News of this overthrow would have inclined the Emperor to admit of a treaty of Peace, but he continued firm in his purpoſe of War. The *French* Victory at *Carignan*.

The Duke of *Brunſwick*, on the Thirteenth of *April*, gave an Anſwer to the Accuſation of the Proteſtants, and foully beſpattered them with Reproaches, laying to their Charge Conſpiracy, Rebellion, Treachery, Rapine, *French* and *Turkiſh* Leagues, and what not. As to the Letters found in his Caſtle, he juſtified himſelf as well as he could: Alledging, That if their own Cloſets were ſearched, far worſe might be found in them; but he ſlightly touched at that which was objected to him concerning his Intrigue with his beloved Miſtreſs *Eve*. To this Recrimination the Proteſtants replied: And ſince the Emperor would have no more of it in the publick Diet, they exhibited and diſperſed a written Paper of the whole matter, which *Brunſwick* alſo afterwards did. The Proceedings of the Duke of *Saxony* and the Confederates, with the Duke of *Brunſwick*.

April the Eighteenth, *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* by his Ambaſſadors accuſed the *French* King in the Aſſembly of the Princes; That beſides the Violence and Injuries done him in former Years, he had ſtirred up *Barbaroſſa* the *Turkiſh* Admiral, who being aſſiſted by *French* Forces, had taken his Town of *Nizza* by Surrender, and contrary to Faith and Promiſe, had Plundered and Burnt it, carrying away many into ſlavery. He therefore craves their Aid in this his diſtreſſed Condition, eſpecially ſeeing it was more than probable that the Enemy would return to the Siege of the Caſtle: That having demanded Aſſiſtance from the Pope, he had only granted him the yearly Rent which he uſed to receive from the Clergy; But that that was but a very ſmall matter in his ſo low and mean Condition, when he ſcarcely poſſeſſed the Tenth part of his own Dominion. He likewiſe excuſed himſelf for not coming to the Diet in perſon, becauſe of his Age, the length of the Journey, and the imminent danger of the Enemy; and beſides, that he was not able to bear the Charges of it, having ſcarcely enough to maintain himſelf, his Son and Family. The Duke of *Savoy*'s Accuſation of the *French* King.

About the end of *April* the *Switzers*, who then held a Convention at *Baden*, anſwered the Letter of the States of the Empire. That having put the Queſtion to their Commanders and Officers, they affirmed, That they had ſeen no *Turks* in the *French* Camp, nor had heard any thing of Aid from them; otherwiſe they would not have ſerved the *French*. That when they had put the ſame to the *French* King, he complained, that the The *Switzers* Anſwer to the Letter of the States of the Empire.

1544. Ambaſſadors he ſent laſt Winter had been rejected, who, if they had been heard, would eaſily have refuted that Calumny: That, if the Emperor would not refuſe a Peace, they promiſed to aſſiſt him, as alſo the *Bohemians*, who had written to them in *February*, and the *Germans* againſt the *Turk*. That, as for themſelves, ſome of them were, indeed, bound in Articles to ſerve the *French* King in his Wars: But that ſome others had only for many Years entertained Amity with him, and that if any run into *France* out of their Territories, it was againſt their Knowledge or Conſent, as it might happen alſo in other places of *Germany*: That after all, they thought it adviſable to give Audience to the King's Ambaſſadors, and conclude a Peace, wherein, if they could contribute any thing, they were very willing to do it.

An *Engliſh* Expedition againſt *Scotland*, and *Edinborough* taken.

At that time the King of *England* ſent a great Fleet into *Scotland*, who meeting with fair Weather, arrived there ſoon after, and took firſt *Leeth*, a conſiderable Sea Port Town, and then *Edinburough*, the chief City of *Scotland*, which becauſe the Caſtle held out, and could not be taken, they burnt. This happened in the beginning of the Month of *May*. In this Diet the Emperor, in publick and ſolemn manner inaugurated *Wolfgang* Maſter of *Pruſſia*, conferring upon him the Arms and Honours of that Magiſtracy, which for many Years paſt had been poſſeſſed by *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, the Brother of *Caſimire* and *George*, who marrying a Wife uſurped it to himſelf, and was therefore Outlawed by the Imperial Chamber Twelve Years before, as we mentioned already. However *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland* defended him, as being his Feudatory and Vaſſal: And when another was now inſtalled, as we ſaid, his Ambaſſador publickly proteſted againſt it as unlawful, and that it ſhould not derogate from the Right of his Maſter the King of *Poland*, of whom the Land of *Pruſſia* held in Fiefe.

Wolfgang made Maſter of *Pruſſia*.

The complaint and deſire of the Ambaſſadors of *Hungary*.

The Ambaſſadors of *Hungary* having given a Relation of their Misfortune and Loſs the Year before, implored the Aſſiſtance of the Empire, for that now they were reduced to the laſt puſh, and ſhould they be deſerted, would take the Courſe that Men in Diſpair commonly do, and which no Body can blame them for: That they would ſubmit to the worſt of Conditions, nay, and to Bondage too, rather than run voluntarily into Ruine and Deſtruction, whilſt their Neighbours ſtood by and look'd on as Idle Spectators.

The Speech of the *French* Ambaſſadors that was not heard in the Diet.

We told you before that the *French* Kings Herald was ſent back from *Spire*, without effecting any thing: When therefore, the Ambaſſadors returned Home, they publiſhed in Print the Speech which they were to have made in the Aſſembly of the States: They begin with complemental Inſinuations to curry Favour, affirming both Nations to have been Originally one and the ſame, and that nothing could befal *Germany*, but *France* muſt be affected therewith: Then they wipe off the Imputations of their Enemies, That the King did now diſturb Chriſtendom with another War, and had made a League with the *Turk*, uſing a wheadling Preface to ſtroak and claw the Emperor; the former War, they ſay, was firſt begun, becauſe their King could not obtain from the Duke of *Savoy* his Mother's Inheritance; and that this laſt, becauſe contrary to the Law of Nations, his Ambaſſadors had been Murthered: That the King had no League with the *Turk*, nor any treaty but only for Trade and publick Peace ſake, ſuch as the *Venetians*, *Polonians* and ſome other People had: Though, if there were any League betwixt them it could not be objected as a Crime, ſince the ſame thing had been anciently done by *Abraham* and *David*, *Solomon* and *Phineas*, the Children of *Tobias* and the *Macchabees*: And ſince that alſo, by the Emperors *Honorius*, *Conſtantine*, *Theodoſius* the Younger, *Juſtinian* the Second, *Paleologus*, *Leo*, *Frederick* the Firſt and Second, who made uſe of the Aſſiſtance of Nations of a different Religion: And that *Frederick* the Second was upon the very Shoulders of the *Saracens* carried back again into *Italy*, out of which he had been driven by the Popes: That they themſelves knew what Forces and Aid the King had oftner than once promiſed to ſend to the *Turkiſh* War, the Truth whereof could be amply atteſted both by the Pope and College of Cardinals: That if the *Turk* had invaded *Hungary*, upon occaſion of the Quarrel that aroſe about the Government, and that being afterwards more provoked by the War in *Barbary*, and the taking of *Tunis*, he had lately ſent a Fleet upon the Coaſt of *Italy*, the King was not to be blamed therefore: That it made nothing to the purpoſe, that *Paulain* the King's Miniſter was on Board in that Fleet; for that *Barbaroſſa*'s Deſign was to find out and be Revenged on his Enemy *Andrea Doria*; but that failing therein, he had of his own Head beſieged the Caſtle of *Nizza*: That the King, indeed, had

had a Truce with the *Turk*, as he had told them at another time, which was both honourable, and hurtful to no Man: That he could not now be charged with that as a Crime; ſince many times, and that lately too, the greateſt of Men had deſired it: That the King was extreamly grieved at the afflicted State of Chriſtendom; but that the only way of reſtoring Peace was, for the Emperor to give back to the King, what, by all Law and Juſtice belonged to him: That if they would bring this about, the King would ſpare neither Labour, Reſt, nor Danger, to defend *Germany* from all foreign Violence. 1544.

In the former Books you have been told, that the Duke of *Saxony* would not acknowledge *Ferdinand* for King of the *Romans:* Now in this Diet, the matter was in the Month of *May* accommodated, and the Duke promiſed to honour him accordingly. The Emperor, on the other Hand, ratified the Marriage contracted betwixt the Duke of *Saxony* and the Family of *Cleve*; which till then he had conſtantly refuſed to do; and if the Duke of *Cleve* ſhould die without Male Iſſue, he confirmed his Succeſſion to the Duke of *Saxony*, who had married his Siſter, and to the Heirs Male procreated of their Bodies: But upon this Condition, if there were no Difference in Religion when the Caſe happened. As a cloſer Link of Friendſhip too, King *Ferdinand*, with the Emperor's Conſent, betrothed his Daughter the Lady *Eleanor*, to the Duke of *Saxony*'s eldeſt Son, if he proved right in Religion before ſhe were Marriageable. This laſt thing was a great Secret, and kept under profound Silence on both ſides, inſomuch that neither the Lantgrave, nor his Confederates knew any thing of it; for the matter was contracted by a few Counſellors, to wit, *Granvell* for the Emperor, *Hoffman* for King *Ferdinand*, and *Pontane* and *Burcart* for the Duke of *Saxony*. The King of *Denmark* alſo ſent Ambaſſadors, and made a final Agreement with the Emperor, having all the Winter long, and till then kept an Army on foot againſt future Contingences: He ſeemed to have forſaken the Amity of *France*, becauſe of the Report of the *Turkiſh* League; for the Ambaſſadors expreſſed little leſs when they diſcourſed more familiarly with their Friends.

An Accommodation betwixt the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, and the Duke of *Saxony*.

Ferdinand is acknowledged for King of the *Romans*.

Eleanor the Daughter of King *Ferdinand* betrothed to the Duke of *Saxony*'s Son.

The King of *Denmark*'s Accommodation with the Emperor.

Let us now return to the Demands of the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*: After long and great Debate about the Matter, on the Twentieth of *June*, the Diet was diſſolved. But though it ſeemed to lie heavy upon the States of the Empire, to be charged with double Aid, yet becauſe they thought that the *Turkiſh* War might be more ſucceſsfully carried on, if the domeſtick Enemy were firſt reduced to Duty, they granted the Emperor a Six Months Subſidy for entertaining Four thouſand Horſe, and Twenty four thouſand Foot, againſt the *French* King; of which Money the Emperor allotted a part to his Brother King *Ferdinand*, for fortifying the Places upon the Frontiers againſt the *Turks*: And for the future *Turkiſh* War, they impoſed a Tax and Poll all over *Germany*, that all, without Exception, ſhould pay according to their Lands and Eſtates, and for their Heads: They enacted under ſevere Penalties, that no Man ſhould ſerve Foreigners, eſpecially the *French* King, in their Wars; and Power was granted to puniſh ſuch as ſhould be found Tranſgreſſors herein. Becauſe the Difference about Religion could not be treated of during theſe warlike Occupations, it was referred to the next Diet, to be held in the Month of *December*. The Emperor, in the mean time, promiſed to employ ſome learned and pious Men, to draw up a Form of Reformation: He entreated the Princes to do the like alſo, that having compared all together in future Diets, ſomething might be agreed upon by common Conſent, to be obſerved till the meeting of a General Council, to be held in *Germany*; or until a National Synod of *Germany:* That in the mean time all ſhould live in Peace, without making any Buſtle or Stir for Difference in Religion; and that the Churches every where, of what Religion ſoever, ſhould enjoy their Rents and Revenues, which ſhould be applied to the Maintenance of the Miniſters, of publick Schools, and the Poor: That the Judges of the Imperial Chamber ſhould retain their Places, during the time that was prefix'd to them: After the Expiration thereof, that all ſhould be indifferently admitted to that Bench, without any reſpect to their Religion: That the Edict of *Auſburg*, and all Suits commenced againſt the Proteſtants upon account of their Religion and Profeſſion; as alſo the Proſcription of the Cities of *Goſlar* and *Minden*, ſhould be ſuſpended till the next Treaty: That the *Anabaptiſts* ſhould ſuffer the Puniſhments long ſince decreed againſt them: That nevertheleſs the Magiſtrates ſhould employ learned and pious Men to convince them of their Error, and reclaim them. This Decree was much diſliked by the Catholicks,

The Decree of the States, for a Subſidy againſt the *French*, and other Matters.

The Decree of *Spire* diſpleaſes the Catholicks.

1544. tholicks, who with all their Force oppoſed it: But ſeeing the Biſhops of *Cologne* and *Munſter* ſided with the Proteſtants, and *Cleve* and *Baden* ſubmitted all to the Emperor's Pleaſure, who after much debate made it appear, That this was a middle and tolerable way for both; they being much weakened in number, condeſcended at laſt, not, indeed, to aſſent to it; but yet that they might not ſeem to preſcribe Rules to the Emperor, nor to derogate from his Power, to tolerate the ſame; and the Electors *Palatine* and *Brandenburg*, had interceded to have the Decree paſs in this manner. The Proteſtants alſo deſired that the Cauſe of the Duke of *Brunſwick* might be comprehended in that Decree, but that could not be obtained: And the Emperor urged, That either they would reſtore him, or elſe put the Province into his Hands by Sequeſtration, until the matter ſhould be Tried. He had treated about this with the Duke of *Saxony* and Lantgrave whilſt they were preſent, and much more with their Deputies after their Departure. The Cities at firſt refuſed to contribute to the Subſidy againſt the *French*, becauſe of Intercourſe and Trade. But when the Princes aſſented to it, and the *French* King's Cauſe ſeemed Odious to all, they alſo ſubſcribed, though much againſt their Wills, eſpecially they who bordered upon *France*. The Deputies of *Lunenburg* and *Wirtemberg* refuſed alſo, but they were privately admoniſhed, and with harſh words too, that they alone ſhould not put a ſtop to the Reſolutions of the reſt. When the Lantgrave upon his Return Home, went to take leave of the Emperor, he was moſt graciouſly received; his Imperial Majeſty telling him, That he would not now make uſe of him againſt the *French* King, on purpoſe not to expoſe him to hatred; but that ſo ſoon as that War was over, he deſigned to march againſt the *Turk*, and that then he would make him his Lieutenant General, and commit the whole management of the War to his Care: And when he modeſtly and humbly excuſed himſelf, as unfit for ſuch a Charge. You have done good Service ere now, ſaith the Emperor, both for your ſelf and others, and I make no doubt but you can render me good Services too; and with theſe words moſt courteouſly diſmiſſed him; ſo that he having acquainted ſome of his familiar Friends with what had paſs'd betwixt them, returned Home full of Hopes and Joy, that the Emperor was ſo Favourable unto him. As to the Buſineſs of the Sequeſtration, after the matter had been long canvaſſed and diſputed, it was agreed upon at length, That all the Country of *Brunſwick* ſhould be put into the Emperor's Hands as chief Magiſtrate, until the Controverſie were either friendly taken up, or fairly tried and determined by Law: And that the Emperor ſhould commit the Government of the Country either to the Prince *Palatine*, or the Elector of *Brandenburg*; or elſe to Duke *Maurice* or the Duke of *Cleve*; that they that did not obey, ſhould incurr the penalty of the breach of the publick Peace: That the Emperor ſhould command *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* to obey, or elſe to puniſh him according to Law. The Emperor at length propoſed theſe Conditions, and perſiſted in that, and the Proteſtants ratified them afterwards, as you ſhall hear in the proper place. After the Concluſion of the Diet, the Emperor went from *Spire* to *Metz*. Now all his Army had Muſtered in *Lorrain* upon the Borders of *France*, and about the latter end of *May* had taken *Luxenburg* upon Surrender. In this War Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony* and Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg* ſerved the Emperor with a Thouſand Horſe a piece; alſo Count *William* of *Furſtemburg* an Officer of Foot, and *Sebaſtian Scherteline*, all Proteſtants.

The Cities and two Princes refuſed to give Aid againſt the *French*.

The Dutchy of *Brunſwick* Sequeſtrated into the Emperor's Hands.

The Emperors Expedition into *France*.

Whilſt the Emperor was at *Metz*, *Hubert* Count *Bichling*, a *German*, that ſerved the *French*, was taken in *Lorrain* and brought to *Metz*. He was there condemned to loſe his Head, and his Wife, who came thither and fell at the Emperor's Feet, could not prevail for his Pardon; ſo that all things were prepared for his Execution: But at length *Maximilian*, King *Ferdinand*'s Son, whom the Emperor had lately received into his Court, being ſollicited, uſed his Intereſt with the Emperor, and at laſt ſaved his Life.

Count *Bichling* was condemned to die, but ſaved by *Maximilian*.

Barbaroſſa's Incurſions.

In the mean time *Babaroſſa*, either becauſe his Affairs ſo required, or that he was perſwaded by the *French* King, or elſe that he feared the King might make Peace with the Emperor, returned Home, and Landing made ſad Havock in all maritime Places which belonged either to the Emperor or Empire, that he paſs'd by in his Voyage; but he ſpared the Popes Territories, at the *French* Kings deſire, as it is credible. The Imperial Army advancing, took the Town and Caſtle of *Liney* three Miles from *Bar*; from thence they marched to *Sandizier*, a Town under the Dominion of *France* upon the River *Marne*. It was kept out by

by a ſtrong Garriſon, commanded by *Landrey*, he, who the Year before valiantly defended *Landrecy* againſt the Emperor and the *Engliſh*. 1544.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain* died, not ſo much for Age, as of Grief and Trouble that he conceived at the neighbouring and almoſt domeſtick War. To him ſucceeded his Son *Francis*, who, as we ſaid before, had married the Emperor's Siſter's Daughter. *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain* dying, his Son *Francis* ſucceeds to him.

At this time the King of *England* croſſed the Sea with a great Army, and came to *Calais*: Afterwards he beſieged *Montrevil*, having in his Army *Maximilian* Count of *Buren*, who ſerved him by the Emperor's Order. From thence he marched to *Boloigne*, a Sea Port Town, and beſieged it. The Emperor laid Siege to *Sandizier*, and after he had battered the Place, gave the Aſſault on the Thirteenth of *July*; but having loſt about Five hundred Men, and the Townſ-people making a brave Reſiſtance, he was obliged to deſiſt, and had not the Town till Two Months after; that *Landrey* being killed by the fall of a Houſe, and they wanted Powder within, it was ſurrendered to him. During that Siege *Renate* Prince of *Orange* received a Shot, whereof next day after he died, to the Emperor's great grief, having made his Couſin *William*, the Count of *Naſſaw*'s Son, his Heir. The Proteſtant Ambaſſadors were then in *Lorrain*, for confirming the Articles of Sequeſtration lately propoſed by the Emperor: They ſtopp'd firſt at *Metz*, and then at *Toul*, from whence, by frequent Letters, they gave the Emperor and *Granvell* an Account of the Buſineſſes they were come about: But at length the Emperor excuſing himſelf, as being hurried with the Affairs of War, ordered them to return home, putting off the whole Matter to the next Diet of the Empire, or to a more convenient time. *Sandizier* being taken, the Emperor, *Auguſt* the Twenty fifth, advanced with his Army, and leaving *Chalons*, a Town of *Champaigne*, encamped by the River of *Marne*; on the other ſide whereof lay ſome Troops of *French* Horſe to defend the Paſſage. There Count *William* of *Furſtemburg*, who was well acquainted with all the Ways and Paſſes in *France*, went out of the Camp in the Night time, with one Servant only to wait on him, that he might diſcover where the River was fordable, and the Army might paſs it. Having therefore taken a Peaſant for his Guide, who ſhewed him a Ford, he paſſed over the River, but falling in amongſt ſome *French* Horſe on the other ſide, he was taken, and carried to the *French* Camp with great Deriſion, and not without Reproaches, for that in the *French* Service before, he had got a great deal of Gold, and carried it with him out of *France*: From thence he was ſent Priſoner to *Paris*. This Accident happened quite contrary to the Emperor's Expectation, and held him ſome time in Suſpence. The *French* King all this while declined a Battle, becauſe the *Swiſſe* had not as yet joined him: And the Emperor, removing his Camp, marched forward along the *Marne*. There was a great Magazine of Proviſions and Ammunition in the Town of *Eſpernon*, on his March; but the *French*, that it might not fall into the Enemy's Hands, partly removed it down the River in a great Tumult and Confuſion, and burnt what they could not carry away; they themſelves ſetting Fire to the Town; wherefore the Emperor, without any Oppoſition, came to *Chaſteau-Thiery*, a Town upon the ſame River, not Two Days Journey from *Paris*: And though the *French* King's Ambaſſadors, ſent to treat of Peace, were in the Emperor's Camp, yet he advanced forward ſtill; ſo that being come thus far, incredible was the Conſternation at *Paris*; all fled who had any conſiderable Eſtates, nor could the King's Edicts and Proclamations ſtay them, none but the Rabble remaining in the City: So that this vaſt and rich City was now in danger of being plundered by their own Raſcality that ſtayed in it. There was a vaſt number of Students there from all parts of Europe almoſt; theſe alſo fled, and the King had likewiſe, by Proclamation, commanded all Strangers to depart immediately, upon pain of Death; this was in the beginning of *September*. Some Days after, the King of *England*, having much ſhattered and battered *Boloigne*, had it ſurrendered unto him, which was more than his Father, and all the Kings before him could ever atchieve. At length, on the Twenty Fourth of *September*, the Emperor concluded a Peace with the *French* King at *Soiſſons*, after he was come from *Chaſteau-Thiery*. The Commiſſioners who treated the Peace, were on the Emperor's part, *Gonzaga* Vice-Roy of *Sicily*, and *Granvell*: For the King were *Claude d'Annebaud* Admiral of *France*, *Charles de Nueil* and *Gilbert Bayard*. Now theſe were the Conditions; That whatever had been taken on either ſide, ſince the Truce of *Nice* or *Nizza*, ſhould be reſtored: That the *French* King ſhould deliver back the Town of *Aſteney*, to the Duke of *Lorrain*, becauſe it

Boloigne beſieged. *Sandizier* taken upon Surrender. *Renate* Prince of *Orange* killed.

The Engliſh make an Expedition into *France*.

The Conſternation of the *Pariſians*.

Boloigne taken by the *Engliſh*.

The Peace betwixt the Emperor and *French* King at *Soiſſons*, and the Conditions of it.

1544. it was a Dependance on the Province of *Luxemburg*: That they ſhould mutually aſſiſt one another with all their Force for reſtoring the ancient Religion, and the Unity of the Church: That the *French* King ſhould aſſiſt the Emperor in the *Turkiſh* War with Six hundred Horſe, and Ten thouſand Foot: That he ſhould renounce all Claim and Title to *Arragon*, *Naples*, *Flanders*, *Artois* and *Guelderland*: That the Emperor, on the other Hand, ſhould renounce all Pretenſions to the *Boloneſe*, *Peron*, and other Towns ſituated upon the River of *Soame*, as alſo to low *Burgundy*, and the Country of *Maſcon*: Again, That he ſhould give in Marriage to *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, the King's Son, his own eldeſt Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, or the Daughter of King *Ferdinand* his Brother; and that he ſhould have Four Months time to declare which of the Two he would give: If he gave his Daughter, that ſhe ſhould have in Dowry *Brabant*, *Guelderland*, *Luxemburg*, *Limburg*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, *Namure*, *Freiſeland*, *Utrecht*, and all his Provinces in the Netherlands, with the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, to be poſſeſſed and enjoyed by them after his Death. The *French* King, in that caſe, for him and his Heirs, renouncing all Right and Title to *Milan*; but that if the Emperor's Daughter ſhould die without Iſſue, then the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould leave the aforementioned Poſſeſſion, and the King retain his Right to *Milan*, as the Emperor to the Inheritance of the Houſe of *Burgundy*. If he gave King *Ferdinand*'s Daughter, that the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhould be her Dowry: That with which of the Two the Marriage were, it ſhould be accompliſhed within a Year; and the *French* King ſhould reſtore the Duke of *Savoy* to all that he had taken from him: That the *French* King ſhould alſo keep *Heſdin*: And that the Emperor ſhould uſe all his Endeavours to procure a Peace betwixt *England* and *France*: That as to the Duke of *Cleve*, ſince the King and Queen of *Navarre* did affirm that their Daughter never conſented to that Marriage, but on the contrary had proteſted againſt it in the ſolemn and uſual manner; the *French* King ſhould within Six Weeks, ſend that Proteſtation to the Emperor, that he might conſider what was to be done. In this Peace were comprehended the Pope, King *Ferdinand*, the Kings of *Portugal*, *Poland* and *Denmark*, the *Venetians* and *Switzers*, the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Lorrain*, *Florence*, *Ferrara*, *Mantua* and *Urbin*; the States of *Genoa*, *Luca* and *Siena*; the Princes Electors, and States of the Empire, that were obedient to the Emperor. The Peace being concluded, the Emperor diſmiſſed his Forces, and returned home from *Soiſſons*. All Men wondered at this Pacification; for the Emperors familiar Friends promiſed themſelves certain Victory before the Emperor took the Field, and bragg'd, that within a few Months *France* ſhould be their own, or at leaſt the King become Tributary, having Three ſuch powerful Enemies againſt him, the Emperor, the Empire, and the King of *England*.

The End of the Fifteenth Book.

THE

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THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK XVI.

The CONTENTS.

The Pope writes to the Emperour; admoniſhing and expoſtulating with him, ſharply threatens his firſt-begotten Son, and the ſame year promotes a great many new Cardinals. A Council is again called. The Clergy and Colledge of Cologne *once more vigorouſly withſtand their Archbiſhop.* Peter Bruly *having preached the Reformed Religion at* Tournay, *is therefore burnt alive. The Divines of* Paris *aſſemble at* Melun. *During the Diet at* Wormes, *(wherein many things are handled) they of* Merindolle *and* Cabrieres, *commonly called the* Waldenſes, *are miſerably haraſſed, and at length turn'd out of all. Though the Pope had called a Council, yet he is wholly bent upon a War againſt the Proteſtants.* Luther *publiſhes a little Book, wherein he ſets him off in his colours.* Grignian *is ſent Embaſſadour to the Proteſtants, that he may perſwade them to approve the Council. The Emperour cites the Archbiſhop of* Cologne, *to appear before him. A hot War between the Kings of* England *and* France. *The Duke of* Orleans *dies. A War breaks out betwixt.* Henry *Duke of* Brunſwick, *and the* Landgrave, *wherein the latter prevails. The Elector Palatine embraces the Reformed Religion. Rumour of War againſt the Proteſtants is ſpread abroad. A Conference appointed at* Ratisbonne, *about matters of Religion. This being broken up, a Council is called at* Trent, *and the Seſſions begin.* Luther, *in the mean time, dies.*

IN the heat of War, the Pope ſends Letters to the Emperour, bearing date *Auguſt* 23. acquainting him, that he had an account of what nature the Decrees were, which he had lately made at *Spire*; but that in diſcharge of his own Duty, and for the love he bore to him, he could not diſſemble his thoughts concerning them, and that the Example of *Eli* the High-Prieſt, was a warning to him to do ſo, whom God ſeverely puniſhed for his too great indulgence to his Sons: That in the ſame manner, ſince theſe Decrees tended to the danger of his own Soul, and great diſturbance of the Church, he could not but give him this Admonition. Firſt then that he ſhould not leave the uniform practice of the Church, nor cuſtoms of his Forefathers, but carefully obſerve the ſame Diſcipline, Method, and Rule; which Method is, that when any Debate happens about Religion, the whole Deciſion ought to be referred to the Church of *Rome*: Whereas he lately in appointing a General and National Council, and a Diet of the Empire, had had no regard to him, who by Divine and Humane Right hath alone power of calling Councils, and determining matters of Religion. Nor was that all he was to be blamed for, but alſo that he allowed not only private men, but even the Aſſerters of damned Hereſies to judge of Religion; that he gave judgment concerning Eccleſiaſtical Poſſeſſions, and the Controverſies that aroſe about them: that he reſtored to Honours and Dignity ſuch as were out of the Communion of the Church, and long ago condemned by his own Edicts, without the conſent of thoſe who perſevered in their ancient Allegiance and Religion.

1544. The Pope's Letters to the Emperour: written at the inſtigation and upon the confidence of the French King.

1544. ligion. Did theſe things agree with the ſacred Laws and Ordinances? Nay, rather did they not overturn all Diſcipline and Order? That it was his opinion however, that theſe things proceeded not from himſelf, but that ill-affected perſons, out of the hatred they bore to the Church of *Rome*, had counſelled and ſollicited him to give ſome ſigne of his averſion to the ſame; but that it grieved him the more to ſee that he ſhould be drawn in, and perſwaded by them, in that he clearly perceived the prejudice it carried along with it, would be greater both to himſelf and the Church, unleſs he repented: That this his fear alſo grew greater and greater, when he conſidered who the perſons were, with whom he had contracted friendſhip; for that as ill company corrupts good manners, ſo alſo it was very dangerous to make Alliances with wicked and vicious men: That he made no doubt but they had uſed ſpecious pretext to him, ſince there is no counſel ſo bad but may be varniſhed over with ſome plauſible colour; but that in truth he who ſearches the Scriptures, will meet with many and famous inſtances of the wrath and vengeance of God, againſt thoſe who had uſurped to themſelves the Offices of the High-Prieſt. That Adverſaries object Negligence to Prieſts as an odious crime, and make uſe of that as a Spur to incite Princes, whilſt they exhort them to undertake the care and conduct of Religion; a thing, indeed, that ſeems fair and laudable, but which has no foundation in reaſon to ſupport it. That as in private houſes the Maſter of the Family allotted to every one their ſeveral buſineſſes, and would not ſuffer any to ſet about the work of another, leſt Order might thereby be diſturbed: ſo alſo in the Church, which is the houſe of God, every one had his duty aſſigned to him, which he was to diſcharge; ſo that it was undecent, that Inferiours ſhould take upon them the Offices of Superiours; and that that was ſo much the more to be obſerved, by how much the Church ſurpaſſes any other houſe in greatneſs and glory. That ſeeing then the chief Office of the Church is by God recommended to Prieſts, it was a great injury in him to act their parts, and take upon him their honour. That it was known what happened to *Uza*, who put his hand to hold up the Cart wherein the Ark of God was, which was tottering and ready to fall: That no man but would think he had done right, when in the abſence of the *Levites* he lent a hand to ſupport the Cart which was in danger of falling: Nevertheleſs that God's ſtriking of him with a ſudden death, was a document to us, how careful we ought to be not to invade the Provinces of others. That therefore he ſhould take heed, leſt at the perſwaſion of thoſe who had always in their mouths the Reformation of the Church, he ſhould raſhly put his hand to thoſe things which peculiarly belonged to the Prieſts. The like and more grievous alſo was the end of *Dathan*, *Abirom*, and *Core*, when they diſputed the Authority of *Moſes* and his Brother *Aaron*. That *Ozias* was a renowned King, and yet God ſtruck him with Leproſie, becauſe he would offer Incenſe at the Altar, thereby avenging upon him the uſurpation of another mans Office. That the care of the Churches was, indeed, an Office moſt acceptable to God, however that it did not belong to him, but to the Prieſts, and chiefly to himſelf, to whom God had given the power of binding and looſing. Nor was it pertinent what he ſaid, that theſe Laws were not perpetual, but temporary, and only to continue till the meeting of a Council: For though the deſign might be pious, yet by reaſon of the perſon it became impious. That it was God's part to call bad Prieſts to an account, to whom men ought to refer them, and not to attempt any thing beſides. That God had ſignally crowned thoſe Princes with honour and bleſſings, who aſſiſted the Head of the Church, the See of *Rome*, and who rendered that love and duty which is due to the Prieſthood, as may be ſeen in *Conſtantine* the Great, the *Theodoſius's*, *Charlemaigne*, &c. but that ſuch as did otherwiſe, were afflicted with moſt grievous puniſhments: nor did he mean *Nero*, *Domitian*, and others of that ſtamp, who endeavoured to ſtifle the Church in its infancy; but ſuch as withſtood her, when ſhe was grown up, and the Chair of St. *Peter* ſerled: In which number were *Anaſtaſius* the firſt, *Mauritius*, *Conſtans* the ſecond, *Philip*, *Leo*, and many more, who being turn'd out, and ſtript of all, ended their days in ignominy and diſgrace. That *Henry* the Fourth, becauſe he had behaved himſelf unworthily towards him, whom he ought to have reverenced as a Father, was by his own Son taken, and made to ſuffer for it at *Liege*: That *Frederick* the Second, a grievous Enemy of the Church of *Rome*, was killed by his own Son. That nevertheleſs, Rebels were not always afflicted and puniſhed, but did ſometimes flouriſh in wealth and proſperity: which came to paſs, as the Fathers ſay, leſt that if all wicked men were puniſhed here, it might

might be thought that God reſerved to himſelf no Tribunal hereafter. That there was no ſin, indeed, that went unpuniſhed, but that it was the moſt grievous effect of the wrath of God, when they that ſin think they may do it freely; and that theſe were in a deplorable and truly wretched condition, becauſe they went on continually heaping ſin upon ſin. That in the ſame manner, not only ſingle men, but even Countries and Provinces have been puniſhed, which either rejected Chriſt, or refuſed to obey his Vicar. That two people, eſpecially the *Jews*, to wit, and the *Greeks* confirm'd this clearly to us by their calamities and ſufferings, of whom the former put to death the Son of God, and the latter more than one way ſlighted his Vicegerent. That therefore, if God manifeſted his wrath againſt them, for crimes and attempts of that nature, he had much more reaſon to be afraid, if he ſhould deſign any ſuch thing, ſeeing he ſprung from thoſe Emperours who had received as much honour from the Church of *Rome*, as they had conferred upon her. That his words, however, were not ſo to be taken, as if he thought any ſuch thing was intended by him, or that he did not moſt earneſtly deſire the Controverſie might be made up, but only that he was concerned and ſollicitous for his danger. That ſome Prieſts of old having referred to *Conſtantine* the Great, the deciſion of their Law-ſuits and Cauſes, he had rejected it, and would not undertake to judge thoſe, who had power to judge all men: that theſe were the footſteps he ſhould follow. That in wiſhing to ſee an end made of all Controverſies, and a Reformation in the Church, he did what was extreamly laudable: that as to that, he prayed him to lend him his aſſiſtance, to whom God had committed the care and adminiſtration of thoſe affairs. That he might, indeed, make himſelf an Aſſiſtant, but not the Head and chief Adminiſtrator. That he was moſt deſirous of a publick Reformation, as he had made it oftener than once appear by calling Councils, whenſoever there was the leaſt glimpſe of hope that they could meet: and that though hitherto all that he had done that way was in vain, yet ſtill he had omitted nothing on his part for effecting the ſame. That he wiſhed to ſee a Council for the ſake of the publick, but chiefly of *Germany*, which was rent and torn with various Jars and Diviſions; but that it grieved him that he ſhould uſe the counſels of thoſe, who had been long ago condemned, even by his own Sentence: nor did he therefore grieve, becauſe he would have them for ever barred from his friendſhip, but becauſe they became more raſh and inſolent by that Indulgence of his. That ſince there was no way of curing the Evil but one, to wit, a Council, therefore they muſt betake themſelves to that. That then he ſhould make way to the calling of it, and reſtore the ſo-much-deſired Peace to the People of Chriſt, or at leaſt reſtrain all Hoſtilities in the mean time, until the publick ſafety ſhould be conſulted about; ſince Conſultation and Debate was to be uſed, rather than Force and Arms; which being laid aſide, all things would ſucceed as they ought. That there was a Council already called a good while ago, though becauſe of the Wars, it had been put off till a more convenient time. That he would uſe his endeavours with other Princes, eſpecially with him with whom he was in War, that they ſhould do the like. That he ſhould therefore comply with his Admonitions, and as he held the place of his firſt-begotten Son, embrace the ſound counſels of his Father, tred in the foot-ſteps of his Anceſtors, not deviating from the right way, nor aſſuming to himſelf any right or authority in the management and handling of ſacred matters; that he ſhould exclude all diſputations about Religion from the Diets and Aſſemblies of the Empire, and refer them to his Tribunal. Nor ſhould he neither meddle with the Revenues of the Church, but lay down Arms, and bring matters to a peace and accommodation; or if there were no other way of obtaining peace, that he ſhould ſubmit the whole Controverſie and cauſe of the War to the arbitrement and deciſion of the Council. Laſtly, that he ſhould wholly reſcind and annul what with too much lenity and eaſineſs he had granted to thoſe Rebels and Enemies of the See of *Rome*: for that otherwiſe he muſt, unleſs he would be wanting to his own duty, be forced, to the great detriment of the Church, to deal more ſeverely with him, than either his cuſtom, nature, or inclination led him to do: But that he would by no means let it be thought that he had neglected his duty, having always before his eyes that inſtance of divine ſeverity againſt *Eli* the High-Prieſt. That hitherto he had, indeed, uſed the clemency of a Father, but that if he obtained nothing now by that means, he muſt needs take another courſe. That he would therefore conſider what it became him to do, and whether it would conduce more to his own honour and intereſt; to aſſiſt

1544.

1544. his old age, in recovering the peace of the Church, or to favour thoſe rather, who aimed at nothing elſe but the rending of her into pieces.

It was thought that the Pope was put upon it by the French King, on whom he relyed, to write in this manner to the Emperour: for it is credible, that that King had put odious interpretations and conſtructions upon the Engliſh League, that he might whet the edge of the Pope. Hence that inſinuation in the Letter, mentioned before, of contracting friendſhip with ill men: for both of them are wont by Letters and Embaſſadours ſollicitouſly to court the friendſhip of the King of *England*, eſpecially in time of War, and ſeverally ſtrive which can make himſelf moſt acceptable unto him. About this time, *Stephen* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* publiſhed a very reproachful and bitter Book againſt *Bucer*, wherein, amongſt other things, he defended the ſingle life.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Book againſt *Bucer*.

This year the Pope created Cardinals, *Chriſtopher Madruce* Biſhop of *Trent*, *Otho Truchſes* Biſhop of *Ausburg*, Germans; *George d'Armagnac*, *James Annebaud* Kinſman to the Admiral of *France*, French-men; *Francis Mendoza*, *Bartholomew de la Cueva*, Spaniards: and that to gratifie the Emperour, *Ferdinand* and King of *France*. About the ſame time alſo he again ſummons the Council, which had been hindered by the Wars, to meet on the 15th of *March*, of the following year: and becauſe the Emperour and French King were now at peace, he makes a great ſhew of gladneſs, beginning his Bull of Indiction of the Council, with that place of Scripture, *Rejoyce, O Jeruſalem*. At this time alſo *Luther*'s Book about the Lords Supper came abroad, wherein he renews the old Controverſie, and falls foul upon *Zuinglius* and his Adherents; but it was afterwards anſwered by thoſe of *Zurich*, and that ſmartly too.

Cardinals created to gratifie Princes.

The Council is again called.

The Controverſie about the Lords Supper is renewed.

We mentioned before, how vigorouſly the Clergy and Colledge of *Cologne* had reſiſted the Archbiſhop in his intended Reformation. But he ſtill perſiſting in the ſame, by Deputies and Letters again ſent to him, they repeat their former ſute, telling him, That they had earneſtly deſired two things of him, ſome time ago. Firſt, that he would deſiſt from his purpoſe, and expect the Decree of the Council; and then that he would diſcharge all new Preachers: but that he proceeded, and would not condeſcend to their Supplications, which muſt needs prove very prejudicial to the whole Province. That therefore they again beſought him by all that was ſacred, that being mindful of his own Duty, and the obligation that lay upon him to the Church of *Cologne*, the Pope of *Rome*, and the Emperour, he would remove thoſe Preachers, and defer the whole matter until it ſhould come to a publick hearing. That unleſs he did do ſo, they muſt implore the protection of higher Powers, and take ſuch courſes as might diſcharge their Conſciences, and avert the anger of God. That they were unwilling to proceed ſo far, but that if he perſiſted, they muſt of neceſſity do ſo. When by this means they could not prevail neither, *October* the ninth they meet in the chief Church of *Cologne*, and there read over a Writing, containing, amongſt other things, what was acted at *Wormes* three and twenty years before, when *Luther*, with conſent of all the Princes, was condemned by the Emperour: what had been done at *Ausbourg*, *Ratisbonne*, and what was lately decreed at *Spire*. That ſince Archbiſhop *Hermon* had taken a new courſe, and ſetting light by all theſe things, had ſent for *Bucer* an Apoſtate Monk, twice polluted by inceſtuous Marriages, and an Aſſertor of the Sacramentarian Doctrine, whom he employed in the Miniſtry, as he every-where alſo appointed lewd and profligate Wretches to be new Teachers of the people. That by the ſame hands a new Model of Reformation had been drawn up, and publiſhed by command of the Prince. That they had indeed vigorouſly proteſted againſt all theſe Innovations, and often, but in vain, beſought the Archbiſhop, that he would expect the meeting of the Council, or at leaſt delay till the Diet of the Empire. That now the Province being in a deplorable condition, and all things tending to confuſion, without any hopes of condeſcenſion on his part, they were neceſſitated to betake themſelves to the laſt Remedy, and to appeal to the Pope, and to the Emperour, the chief Advocate and Protector of the Church of God, and to commit themſelves and all their concerns to their protection. *George* of *Brunſwick*, the Brother of Duke *Henry*, and Provoſt of the Colledge, preſided in that Aſſembly.

The Plea of the Clergy of *Cologne* with the Archbiſh.

The Clergy of *Cologne* appeal to the Pope and Emperour.

George of *Brunſwick*, Preſident.

When this came to the knowledge of the Archbiſhop, by a publick Writing he denied that they had any cauſe for an Appeal: that he had done nothing but what was his duty; and therefore that he rejected the Appeal, hoping that they would let it fall of themſelves; but if not, that he would proceed in thoſe things that concerned the glory of God, and the Reformation of the Church. In another writing afterwards,

The writing of the Archb. againſt the Conſpiracy of his Clergy.

afterwards, he refutes their Accuſations; alledging, That he had no private Engagement neither with *Luther* nor *Bucer*, but that he looked upon their Doctrine as being conſonant to Scripture, to be truly Apoſtolical, and worthy to be embraced by all. That *Luther* was indeed condemned by the Church of *Rome*, but in a violent tyrannical manner, without being heard. That he knew nothing of that Edict of *Wormes*, whereby they affirm that *Luther* was condemned, before it was printed and publiſhed: That whereas then they affirm it to be made with conſent of the Princes, that did not at all concern him, to whom nothing of the matter was ever communicated. That he never liked that Decree of *Amsbourg* concerning Religion: And that when ſome Princes promiſed the Emperour great matters at that time, and offered their lives and fortunes for maintenance of the Popiſh Religion, he ſent Orders to his Deputies, that they ſhould promiſe no ſuch thing; nay, that in expreſs terms they ſhould declare the contrary. But that they acted not according to their Orders, and that the cauſe of their ſilence was known to ſome, who now held the chief Rank amongſt his Adverſaries. Which being ſo, he was no ways obliged by that Edict; and that though he might have been ſometimes obliged, yet upon diſcovery of the truth, he was no longer bound, ſeeing no Covenant or Oath that derogates from the honour of God, can have any force or obligation. That the Decree of *Ratisbonne* not only permitted, but alſo enjoyned him and ſome other Biſhops to undertake the Office of Eccleſiaſtick Reformation. That his ſending for *Bucer* was chiefly at the inſtigation of *Gropper*, who both perſonally and by Letters, had very much commended him to him, as might be made appear. That he found nothing in *Bucer* that was unworthy or unbeſeeming an honeſt man: And that it was a great ſign he was ſo, that the Emperour had employed him in the Conference of *Ratisbonne*, as a learned, pious, and peaceable man. That he had the ſame opinion alſo of the other Miniſters of the Church appointed by him. 1544.

Afterwards, *November* the 18th, the Clergy ſummon the reſt of the States into the City, and require them to ſubſcribe the Appeal. The ſame thing alſo they demand of all the Churches and Biſhops of the Province; nay, of ſome forreign Univerſities alſo: and having turned out ſuch of their own Order, as refuſed, they grievouſly accuſe the Archbiſhop to the Emperour and Pope, as ſhall be related hereafter. The Clergy of *Cologne* ſubſcribe the Appeal.

After the Pacification at *Soiſſons*, the Emperour ſends the Biſhop of *Arras*, *Granvill*'s Son, and the French King, the Cardinal *du Bellaye*, to treat joyntly of a Peace with the King of *England*; but it proved ineffectual, he refuſing to reſtore *Bauloigne*. At the ſame time alſo the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Cardinal of *Tournon*, with ſome Ladies of the French Court, take a Progreſs into the *Netherlands*, to complement and congratulate with the Emperour. The Emperour ſends his Spaniſh Forces to Winter-quarters in *Lorrain* and the adjacent Countries. The Emperour's Embaſſie to the King of *England*.

In moſt places throughout all the Emperours Provinces of the *Netherlands*, many were very deſirous to be inſtructed in the Reformed Religion; but ſecretly, for fear of the Emperour's Edicts, and the puniſhments by them inflicted. Now ſome people in *Tournay*, a chief Town in thoſe parts, had invited thither one *Peter Bruley* a French Preacher, mentioned in the twelfth Book, from *Strasbourg*. So ſoon as he arrived there, which happened in the month of *September*, being moſt kindly received by thoſe who had invited him, he began to inſtruct them privately: and having made a Progreſs to *Liſle*, a Town in *Flanders*, upon the ſame account, he returned to *Tournay* about the end of *October* following. But the matter was now divulged, and a ſtrict ſearch made after him throughout the whole City, the Gates for that end being ſhut. In this imminent danger, ſeeing there was no poſſibility of concealing him longer, on the ſecond of *November*, in the night-time, his Friends let him down over the Town-Wall by a Rope. When he had reached the ground, he ſate down to take a little reſt; but one of thoſe who had let him down, leaning as far as he could over the Wall, that he might ſoftly bid him farewel, forced out a loſe ſtone with his foot; which caſually falling upon him, broke his leg: ſo that whilſt afflicted with pain and cold, he dolefully bewailed his ſad misfortune, the Watch over-heard him, who ſuſpecting what the matter was, came running in, laid hold of him, and caſt him into priſon. So ſoon as the news of this came into *Germany*, the Senate of *Strasbourg* interceded for him by Letters; which the Deputies of the Proteſtants, who then were at *Wormes*, did afterwards alſo, but that was a little too late: for before the Letters, which were ſent in the name of the Duke of *Saxony* and the *Landgrave*, were delivered, he was on the 19th The *Netherlanders* lovers of the Reformed Religion. *Peter Bruley* burnt. The Interceſſion of *Strasbourg*, and the Proteſtants, for *Bruley*.

1545. 19th of *February* put to death. The manner of his Execution was ſevere, having been burnt by a gentle and ſlow Fire, for his greater torment. He conſtantly profeſſed his Doctrine even to the laſt breath, and writing out of Priſon to his Diſciples, who were alſo in many places in Bonds, he exhorted them to conſtancy. His Sentence was, to be put to death, for offending againſt the Emperour's Commands: For many years before the Emperour had ſent out moſt ſevere Edicts againſt the *Lutherans* of the lower *Germany*, and the *Netherlands* under his Dominion, which were twice a year publickly read over in thoſe places, that none might pretend ignorance. When he was examined in Priſon, the Monks, in preſence of the Magiſtrates, asked him the Queſtion, *What he thought of the Sacrament of the Altar*, as they call it, *of the Maſs, Conſecration, Adoration of the Hoſts, of Purgatory, the Worſhipping of Saints, Free-will, good Works, Juſtification, Images, Baptiſm, Vows, Confeſſion of Sins, and of the Virginity of the Bleſſed* Mary. To theſe he made anſwer, *That the real Body and Bloud of Chriſt was there received, not by the Mouth, but ſpiritually by Faith; and that the ſubſtance of the Bread and Wine was not changed: That when according to Chriſt's inſtitution, Chriſt's Supper is given to the Church in the Vulgar Tongue, ſo that all may underſtand the uſe and benefit thereof, that then theſe things are truly conſecrated, and that by the words of Chriſt; for that that ſilent Whiſper and Muttering which the Maſs-Prieſts uſed over the Bread and Wine, did better become Conjurers and Juglers, than Chriſtian Miniſters. That the Popiſh Maſs had nothing to do with the Lords Supper, but was a Worſhip invented by Man, to the diſparagement and injury of Chriſt. That the Adoration of the conſecrated Bread was Idolatry, becauſe a Creature was there worſhipped inſtead of the Creator. That he knew not, nor looked not after any other Purgatory, than the Bloud of Chriſt; which pardons not only the guilt, but alſo the puniſhment due to our ſins: That therefore Maſſes and Prayers for the Dead, were not only uſeleſs, but impious, as having no warrant from the Word of God. That Saints cannot be more truly worſhipped, than by imitating their Faith and Virtues: that if more be done, it is impious; and that they, when they were in the World, were very far from admitting any Worſhip: That therefore they are not to be invoked as Interceſſors, which is a glory belonging to none but Chriſt. That by* Adam's *Fall, Mans Nature was wholly corrupted, and the Freedom of his Will forfeited, ſo that he can do no good, without the grace of God; but that a regenerated man, moved by* God, *like a good Tree brings forth good fruits. That that is Faith, which bringeth us ſalvation, to wit, when we believe the divine promiſes, and certainly conclude, that through* Chriſt Jeſus *our ſins are forgiven us. That Traditions, to which the minds of men are enſlaved, are not to be received. That it was very dangerous to have Statues and Images in Churches, for fear of Idolatry. That Baptiſm is the ſign of the Covenant that God made with us, whereby he teſtifies that he will pardon our ſins: that it is alſo a ſign of perpetual Mortification, and a new Life, which ought to accompany Baptiſm. That this Sacrament is to be received by all, and Children not to be barred from it, ſeeing they alſo are Partakers of the divine promiſes. That no Vow is to be made, which either the Word of God does not allow, or that cannot be performed by man. That every one ought to confeſs his ſins daily to God, and beg his mercy and forgiveneſs: that if the Conſcience be diſquieted by any ſcruple, counſel is to be had of a Miniſter of the Church, for comforts ſake; but that that Auricular Confeſſion and Enumeration of ones Sins, had neither any warrant in Scripture, nor was it poſſible to be done, but was a very dangerous racking of the Mind. That he never doubted of the Perpetual Virginity of the Virgin-Mother.* Some days before he was brought to tryal, he wrote of all theſe things to his Wife, and the reſt of his Friends, who earneſtly had begg'd that of him, making uſe of the aſſiſtance of his Siſter. And being condemned, in another Letter he acquainted his Wife with the kind of Death he was to ſuffer the day following; telling her for her comfort, *That the Servants condition ought not to be better than that of his Maſter*; and preſcribing her alſo ſome Rules of good Life.

The Emperour's ſevere Edicts againſt the *Lutherans*.

Bruley's Anſwer to the Monks Interrogatories.

Of the Body and Bloud of Chriſt.

Of the Maſs.

Of the Adoration of the Bread.

Of Purgatory.

Of Maſſes and Prayers for the Dead.

How the Saints are truly worſhipp'd.

Of Free-will.

Of Faith.

Of Traditions that enſlave Minds.

Of Images.

Of Baptiſm.

Of Vows.

Of Confeſſion.

Of the Virginity of the Bleſſed *Mary*.

The Aſſembly of the Divines of *Paris* at *Melun*.

The Divines of *Paris*, two years before, had made ſome Decrees of Religion, as hath been already mentioned. Now again, by the Kings command, they aſſemble at *Melun*, a Town ſtanding upon the *Seine*, about ten miles above *Paris*. The King was in the neighbouring Palace of *Fontainbleau*, and had ſummoned them to meet, that ſince the Peace being concluded, there was now a Council to be, they might conſult about and reſolve upon ſuch neceſſary Points and Articles for the Church, as they thought might be defended in the Council that publick Theatre of all the Chriſtian World. The iſſue of this Convocation was, that though there had been a great deal of Jangling amongſt them, yet they altered nothing in thoſe Articles, which they had already publiſhed at *Paris*, as hath been already ſaid. In imitation

imitation of the *Pariſians*, the Divines of *Louvaine* draw up Articles alſo, and afterwards by the Emperour's Licenſe publiſh them. They were in number thirty two, and exactly of the ſame kind as thoſe of *Paris* we mentioned before, which the Emperour confirmed and eſtabliſhed by an Edict. *March* the 14th, the Divines publiſhed their Letters, ſignifying that they had the more willingly put themſelves to that pain, becauſe they certainly knew it would be very acceptable to the Emperour; who had already a good while ago earneſtly craved ſome ſuch thing to be done. In the Pacification of *Soiſſons* it was agreed, as we ſaid before, that the Emperour and French King ſhould uſe the utmoſt of their power for reſetling the ancient Religion, as they called it: ſo that what we have been now relating, ſeems to look that way; and the Cardinal of *Tournon*, who had been in *Flanders* with the Duke of *Orleans*, was thought to have contributed not a little to that deſign. 1545.

Luther's Poſitions contrary to thoſe of the Divines of *Louvaine*.

But *Luther*, by contrary poſitions, anſwers the Divines of *Louvaine*, calling them, Bloud-thirſty Hereticks, who teaching impious Doctrines, which they could not make good neither by Reaſon nor Scripture, betook themſelves to force, and diſputed with Fire and Sword. For they, as alſo the *Pariſians*, laid down only bare Rules, and directed what was to be followed, but alleadged no Texts of holy Scripture, and withal incited the Magiſtrate to ſeverity and animadverſion.

An Imperial Diet at *Wormes*.

At that time there was an Imperial Diet held at *Wormes*; but the Emperour who reſolved to be there, being hindered by the Gout, came not to it till it was late. The Deputies he had there, were the Cardinal of *Ausbourg*, and *Frederick* of *Furſtenberg*. *March* the 24th, in abſence of the Emperour, King *Ferdinand* opens the Diet, telling them, That it was known to themſelves for what that Diet was called, to wit, for ſetling Religion, Right, and Peace, and for conſidering of the Turkiſh War. That the Emperour, indeed, wiſhed he might have been preſent at theſe Deliberations by the time appointed, and as it was decreed at *Spire*, but he could not, becauſe of his ſickneſs; and that therefore he had prorogued the Diet, firſt, to to the ſecond day of *January*, and then to the firſt of *February*: but that ſeeing his Diſeaſe laſted longer than he expected, he had changed his mind, and that he might no longer be a hinderance to the publick Deliberations, eſpecially thoſe concerning the Turkiſh Affairs, he had preſſed him to ſupply his place, which for the Publick ſake, to his no ſmall detriment, he had undertaken. That therefore they ſhould take into deliberation the Affairs of publick and common concern, that when the Emperour himſelf ſhould come, ſome things might be in a readineſs to paſs into Laws; for that the daily Advices both by Meſſengers and Letters, giving a good account of his health, he made no doubt but he would ſoon be there for the publick good. That for this cauſe alſo he had made Peace with the King of *France*, his Ally, and had therein preferred the publick before his own private Intereſt, to wit, that all things being quieted, Religion might be ſetled and reformed, and then an Expedition with all force and alacrity made againſt the *Turks*. That the advantage of this Peace extended to all *Germany*, and eſpecially to the States of the Empire. That the King of *France* had alſo promiſed aſſiſtance againſt the *Turk*, and by his Plenipotentiary Embaſſadours in *Flanders*, approved the Council of *Trent*, and reſolved to be preſent at it himſelf, or to ſend thither a moſt ample Embaſſie. That the Emperour had likewiſe prevailed with the Pope, again to call the Council, which he had before prorogued: ſo that the 14th of *March* paſt, was the day appointed for its meeting; to which Embaſſadours were already ſent both from the Emperour and himſelf: That the Emperour having ſollicited the Pope alſo, that for the dignity of his place and character, he would give Aid againſt the *Turk*, his Anſwer was, that in this Diet he would by his Legat ſignifie what he intended to do as to that. That they themſelves were not ignorant what trouble the Emperour had been at in procuring a Council to be called: how induſtriouſly he had dealt with *Clement* VII. at *Bononia*, afterwards with *Paul* III. at *Rome*, *Genoa*, *Nizza*, *Lucca*, and lately at *Buſſet*. And that though the Emperour after the laſt Diet at *Spire*, was taken up about moſt weighty Affairs, yet he had not neglected what was enacted at *Spire*, but had employed ſome good and learned men to frame a Model of Reformation, which he had alſo received from them: But that this being a matter of very great moment, requiring long and ſerious deliberation, and that becauſe of the approaching Council, and the threatned irruption of the *Turk*, to conſult about that reformation was not ſeaſonable, the Emperour thought it proper, that waving it now, the progreſs of the enſuing Council was to be expected. And that if it appeared that there was no Council like to be, that then before the diſſolution of this, another Diet of the Empire ſhould be appointed

The firſt Seſſion.

upon

1545. upon this very account. As to what concerned the Peace, and every mans Right, that the Emperour was of opinion, nothing could be deſired but what was by publick Edicts already provided: That if Violence or Injuſtice were offered to any perſon, he alſo thought they might ſue for, and have remedy from the Imperial Chamber. That he likewiſe entreated them to conſider ſpeedily of raiſing Money for Subſidies, and of conſtituting Judges in the Imperial Chamber; and if perhaps the latter ſhould not be agreed upon, that they would be pleaſed to entruſt him with that Affair, leſt for want of Juriſdiction the Publick might ſuffer prejudice. That the Emperour had the Turkiſh War conſtantly in his thoughts, and that there had been no War with that People in this Age, wherein he did not wiſh himſelf concerned. That for that end he had once and again croſſed over into *Africa*, and ſome years ſince marched as far as *Vienna* with a purpoſe to engage them. That what he had promiſed alſo at *Spire* for the ſafety of *Germany*, he was ready to make good, provided they alſo on their parts contributed the appointed Aids. That therefore he required them to take that ſolely and wholly into their conſideration, and becauſe the Seaſon was far ſpent, to come to a final reſolution about it. That he had frequent Advices that the *Grand Seignior* himſelf was marching into *Hungary* with greater Forces than ever, that he might afterwards invade *Germany*. That they ſhould therefore deliberate and reſolve, whether they would attack him, or only defend themſelves, and ſend their reſolutions to the Emperour, who had engaged the Pope and King of *France* into the War, and was hopeful alſo that others would not be wanting; and that if poſſibly, becauſe of the ſtreightneſs of time, and the barrenneſs of the year, they ſhould not think it convenient to carry the War into his Country, that then they ſhould think of making a defence, and raiſing of Money, that both they might be able to make head againſt him in time, and that the Emperour alſo being moved by their alacrity and readineſs, might carry on the War in perſon, as he himſelf promiſed long ſince to do. That in the next Diet, they might treat of moving the War againſt the *Turk* for the recovery of what was loſt, and of Religion; but that their preſent Conſultations required diſpatch and expedition: for that ſhould the thing be longer protracted, the Enemy might poſſeſs themſelves of the frontier places and paſſes of *Hungary*, and other adjoyning Countries, and ſo having defeated and broken the Light Horſemen, which are of greateſt uſe in *Hungary*, and ſtopt all intercourſe and communication betwixt places, the people might be reduced to the utmoſt point of deſpair, ſo as to fall off from us, and ſubmit to the dominion of the Enemy: which how dangerous a loſs that would prove, and how chargeable afterward to be retrieved, was a thing that all who had eyes muſt ſee.

The Proteſtants make anſwer to *Ferdinand.*

To theſe things the Proteſtants, and with them the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and *Elector Palatine*, make anſwer on the third of *April*, That this Diet was appointed chiefly for the cauſe of Religion. That in ſome former Conferences a way had been opened to a Reconciliation, which gave greater hopes now of a final Accommodation. That it would be therefore moſt acceptable to them, that that Article ſhould firſt of all be handled. That it was much the intereſt of *Germany* it ſhould be ſo, and that if they had the fear of God before their eyes, they did not doubt of ſucceſs: But that if either the weightineſs of the matter, the ſhortneſs of time, or the imminent danger from the *Turks*, would not allow it, yet it was neceſſary, that that Chapter of the Decree, concerning the Peace, ſhould be more amply explained. That, indeed, Peace was granted as to matters of Religion, until a Council ſhould meet; but that they owned not that Council of *Trent* for ſuch a lawful Council, as had been promiſed in the Diet of the Empire, and that why they did not acknowledge it, they had already often declared. That therefore they needed ſuch a Peace, as ſhould not be limited to the *Popiſh* Council, but might take place, until the whole affair ſhould in a Pious and Chriſtian manner be tranſacted. And that becauſe there could be no firm and laſting Peace, unleſs there were an equal adminiſtration of Juſtice, and that in the laſt Diet of *Spire* it had been enacted, what was to be done as to that particular, they ſhould not be wanting in paying obedience to that Decree. That if theſe two points were then decided, they would be ready to take the Turkiſh War into deliberation. The reſt of the Princes and States, and amongſt theſe the Archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Treves*, reſolved, that the Cauſe of Religion ſhould be referred to the Council now called, that the Chamber ſhould be conſtituted, and Juſtice adminiſtred according to the written Laws, and that a Committee ſhould be choſen out of all the States, to adviſe about the Turkiſh War. One half of the Subſidies of the Chamber they

The deliberation of the Popiſh States.

promiſe

promiſe to pay within ſix Years, and pray the Emperor to advance the reſt. King *Ferdinand*, and the Emperor's Deputies, make anſwer to what the Proteſtants urged; That the Decree of Peace made at *Spire*, at that time pleaſed them, without any other caution or exception, tho' the Council had then been called, and ſhortly after, again indicted; that fit Men alſo ſhould be admitted into the Colledge of the Chamber, according to the Decree of *Spire*; and that Matters being ſo, it was but juſt they ſhould inſiſt no longer upon that particular, but conſult with the reſt about the *Turkiſh* War; To which they reply, That ſeeing for the ſhortneſs of time, and the imminent danger of the Enemy, Matters of Religion could not be handled, and that no good was to be expected from the Popiſh Council, they prayed, that, before the end of this Diet, the Emperor would appoint another, wherein ways of reconciliation might in a friendly manner be ſought after: That it was decreed at *Spire*, firſt, That no ſtirs ſhould be raiſed for Religion, and then, that all diſſention and animoſity ſhould, by a pious and friendly debate, be healed and made up: that upon this foundation the Peace of *Germany* reſted, nor would they have deſired any thing more, if things had continued ſo: But now, when the Pope, that he might diſturb and hinder this reconciliation, hath called a Council, wherein he alone, with thoſe of his party, has the power of deciding, and whoſe deciſion, as all men ſay, muſt put an end to the pacification, it was abſolutely neceſſary for them, that they ſhould have more ample ſecurity: nor was it any new thing, that they required, but the very ſame, which is contained in the Decree of *Spire*: That the reaſon why they refuſed the Pope's Determination and Councils, was long ſince publiſhed to the World, and that three Years ago, when the Pope by his Legat at *Spire*, had promiſed a Council, they had proteſted againſt it, as appears by the publick Records: in ſhort, that as often as any mention had been made of a Popiſh Council, they had always rejected it, and that ſolemnly too in an Aſſembly of all the States: Now alſo, though no ſuch exception was made at *Spire*, yet, if a War muſt be carried on againſt the Turk, it was neceſſary, that all things ſhould be firſt quieted at home: for Money muſt be raiſed of the People for that War; but what colour of Juſtice can there be to exact Money from Subjects, unleſs certain hopes may be given them of living ſecurely with their Wives and Children, in the free exerciſe of their own Religion? For the true end of making War againſt the Turks, is the ſafety of the Common-wealth, the preſervation of the true Religion, and the Liberties and Properties of the People: Now to war with the *Turk*, and in the mean time to be expoſed to danger at home, were two things that conſiſted not well together: That therefore the Cauſe was weighty, wherefore they deſired greater ſecurity for themſelves: that as for the Chamber, they were ſatisfied with what they ſaid, that it ſhould be conſtituted according to the preſcript of the Decree of *Spire*: and that they were willing to confer with the reſt about the Subſidies that were to be paid to it. Theſe Debates laſted all the Month of *April*, and until the ſeventh of *May*: and then, at length, the Emperor being upon his Journey thither, King *Ferdinand* commands them to be put off, until his arrival; but at the ſame time requires of them, that in the interim they would, with the reſt, conſult of the Turkiſh Affair. The Proteſtant Princes themſelves were not preſent, nor the Papiſts neither, except the Cardinal of *Auſbourg*. The King of *France* ſent an Embaſſador thither, one *Grignian*, Governour of *Provence* in *France*: through whoſe abſence there aroſe a great perſecution in thoſe places.

1545.

King *Ferdinand* and the Emperor's Deputies Anſwer to the Proteſtants.

The Proteſtants Petition.

Grignian the the French Embaſſador to the States.

In *Provence*, in *France*, there are a People called *Waldenſes*; Theſe, by an old cuſtom, acknowledge not the Pope of *Rome*, have always profeſſed a greater purity of Doctrine, and, ſince *Luther* appeared, greedily hunted after more knowledge. Many times had they been complained of to the King, as deſpiſers of Magiſtrates, and fomenters of Rebellion, which envious, rather than true, Accuſation, is by moſt made uſe of at this day. They live together in ſome Towns and Villages, amongſt which is *Merindole*. And about five years ſince ſentence was pronounced againſt them in the Parliament of *Aix*, the chief Judicature of the Province, *That they ſhould all promiſcuouſly be deſtroyed, that the Houſes ſhould be pulled down, that Village levelled with the ground, all the Trees alſo cut down, and the place rendred a Deſart*, as we hinted at in the thirteenth Book. Now though this Sentence was pronounced, yet it was not then put in execution, *William du Bellay* of *Langey*, the King's Lieutenant in *Piemont*, with ſome others, having repreſented the Matter to the King, as a Caſe that ought to be reviewed by himſelf. But at length this Year, *John Meinier*, Preſident of the Parliament of *Aix*, having, *April* the 12th, called the Par-

The Perſecution of the *Waldenſes* at *Merindole*.

A cruel Sentence of the Parliament of *Aix* againſt the *Waldenſes*.

Meinier Preſident of the Parliament of *Aix*.

1545. liament, reads to them the King's Letters, which warranted him to put the Sentence in execution. Now *Meinier* is ſaid to have procured theſe Letters by means of the Cardinal of *Tournon*, and the ſollicitation of *Philip Cortine*, a proper Agent in the caſe. However, having received them in the Month of *January*, he produced them not preſently, but kept them up till a ſeaſon more proper for the exploit. The Letters being read, ſome of the Parliament were choſen to ſee the Matter put in execution, to whom *Meinier* offered himſelf as aſſiſtant, becauſe that in the abſence of *Grignian*, the Governour of the Province, he had the chief command. Before that time, he had by the King's orders raiſed Forces for the *Engliſh* War, and theſe he makes uſe of for his purpoſe: beſides theſe, he commands all that were able to carry Arms in *Marſeilles*, *Aix*, *Arles*, and other populous places, to repair to him, under ſevere Penalties, if they diſobeyed, having aſſiſtance likewiſe ſent him from the Country of *Avignon*, under the dominion of the Pope. The firſt attempt then was not made upon thoſe of *Merindole*, but upon the Country adjoyning the Town *Pertuſe*. *April* the thirteenth, *Meinier*, attended by a multitude of Gentlemen and Officers, came to *Cadenet*. In the mean time ſome Captains make an irruption into one or two Villages upon the River of *la Druance*, and putting all to Fire and Sword, plunder and carry away a great many Cattel. The ſame alſo was done in other places, whileſt thoſe of *Merindole* ſeeing all in a flame about them, leave their Habitations, fly into the Woods, and in great conſternation ſpend the night at the Village of *Sainfalaiſe*. Now the Inhabitants of that place were themſelves preparing to fly; for the Pope's Vice-Legat had ordered ſome Captains to fall upon them, and put them to the Sword. Next day they advance farther into the Woods: for they were beſet on all hands with danger; *Meinier* having made it death for any perſon to aid or aſſiſt them, and commanding them all, without reſpect, to be killed where-ever they were found. The ſame Edict was in force in the neighbouring places of the Pope's Juriſdiction, and ſome Biſhops of that Countrey were reported to have maintained a great part of thoſe Forces. They had a tedious and uneaſie Journey of it then, marching with their Children on their Backs and in their Arms, nay, and ſome in the Cradle, poor Women alſo big with Child following them. When they were got to the appointed place, whither many in that forlorn condition had fled, they had intelligence not long after, that *Meinier* was muſtering together all his Forces, that he might fall upon them; and this News they learnt towards the Evening. Wherefore, conſulting together what was beſt to be done, they reſolve upon the ſpot, becauſe the Ways were rough and difficult, to leave their Wives, Daughters and little Children there, with ſome few to bear them company, amongſt whom was one of their Miniſters, and the reſt betake themſelves to the Town of *Mus*: This they did in hopes, that the Enemy might ſhew ſome compaſſion towards a helpleſs and comfortleſs multitude; but what wailing and lamentation, what ſighing and embracing there was at parting, any man may eaſily imagine. Having marched all night long, and paſſed the Mountain *de Leberon*, they have the ſad proſpect of many Villages and Farms all in a flame. *Meinier*, in the mean time, having divided his Forces, ſets about the work, and, becauſe he had got intelligence of the place to which thoſe of *Merindole* had betaken themſelves, he himſelf marches to *Merindole*, and ſends the reſt of his Men in ſearch and purſuit of them. But, before theſe were come into the Wood, one of the Soldiers, moved with pity, runs before, and from the top of a Rock, in the place where he judged the poor Fugitives might have reſted, he threw down two ſtones, calling to them by intervals, though he did not ſee them, that they ſhould preſently fly for their lives. And at the ſame inſtant, two of thoſe who had betaken themſelves to *Mus* come; and having got notice of the Enemies approach, adviſe the Miniſter of the Church, and the reſt of thoſe few Guards that, as we ſaid, were left with the Women, to be gone, having ſhewed them a ſteep way through the Wood, by which they might eſcape all danger in their flight. Hardly were theſe gone, when the raging Soldiers came in ſhouting and making a heavy noiſe, and with drawn Swords preparing for the butchery. However, at that time they forbear to kill, but having committed many inſolencies, and robbed the poor things of all their Money and Proviſions, they carry them away Priſoners. They had purpoſed to have uſed them more baſely, but a Captain of Horſe prevented it, who by chance coming in, threatned them, and commanded them to march ſtreight to *Meinier*; ſo that they proceeded no farther, but leaving the Women there, who were about five hundred in number, they carry off the Cattel and Booty. In the mean time *Meinier*

Philip Cortine.

Forces raiſed by *Meinier* againſt the *Waldenſes*.

A Soldier gives the Fugitives forewarning.

nier came to *Merindole*, and finding it forſaken by the Inhabitants, he plunders and ſets it on fire, which was uſhered in by a very cruel action; for having found there one ſingle Youth, he commands him to be tied to an Olive-tree, and there ſhot to death. He marches next to *Cabriere*, and begins to batter the Town; but, by the mediation of Captain *Poulain*, he perſwades the Towns people, upon promiſe of indempnity, to open the Gates; which being done, and the Soldiers let in, after a little pauſe, all were put to the Sword, without reſpect to Age or Sex. Many fled to the Church, others to other places, and ſome into the Wine-Cellar of the Caſtle; but being halled out into a Meadow, and ſtript naked, they were all put to the Sword, not only the Men, but alſo the Women, and many of theſe with Child too. *Meinier* alſo ſhuts up about forty Women in a Barn full of Hay and Straw, and then ſets it on fire: and after that, the poor creatures having attempted, but in vain, to ſmother the fire with their Cloaths, which for that end they had pull'd off, betook themſelves to the great Window, at which the Hay is commonly pitched up into the Barn, with a purpoſe to leap down from thence, they were kept in with Pikes and Spears, ſo that all of them periſhed in the flames; and this happened the twentieth of *April*. *Meinier* after this ſends part of his Forces to beſiege the Town of *Coſte*: but when they were juſt upon their march, thoſe were found, who, as we ſaid a little before, had fled into the Wine-Cellar of the Caſtle: a noiſe being thereupon raiſed, as if there had been ſome ambuſh laid, the Soldiers are recalled, who put every Man of them to the Sword. The number of the ſlain, as well in the Town as abroad in the Fields, amounted to Eight hundred. The young Infants, which ſurvived the fury, were for the moſt part rebaptized by the Enemy. Affairs thus diſpatched at *Cabriere*, the Forces are ſent to *Coſte*: The Lord of that Town had tranſacted before-hand with the Inhabitants, that they ſhould carry their Arms into the Caſtle, and in four places make breaches in their Walls: which if they did, he promiſes them, that he would uſe his intereſt, which he knew could eaſily prevail with *Meinier*, that they ſhould receive no damage. Being over-perſwaded, they obey; and he departs with a purpoſe ſeemingly to treat and intercede for them; but he was not gone far, before the Soldiers met him; who nevertheleſs proceeded in their march, and attacked the place. At firſt onſet they did but little, but next day they more briſkly renew the aſſault; and having burnt all the Suburbs about, they eaſily become Maſters of the place, and the rather, that the Night before, moſt had deſerted the Town and fled, having got down over the Walls by Ropes. After the victorious had put all that ſtood in their way to Fire and Sword, they run into a Garden adjoyning the Caſtle, and there ſatiate their Luſt upon the Women and young Girls promiſcuouſly, who in great fear and conſternation had fled thither; and for a Day and Night's time, that they kept them ſhut up there, ſo inhumanly and barbarouſly they uſed them, that the big belly'd Women, and younger Girls ſhortly after died of it. In the mean time the *Merindolanes*, and many others, who wandered with them over the Woods and Rocks, being taken, were either ſent to the Galleys, or put to death, and many alſo were ſtarved. Not far alſo from the Town of *Mus*, we mentioned before, ſome five and twenty Men had got into a Cave, and kept lurking there, but being betrayed, all of them were either ſmothered with ſmoak, or burnt: ſo that no kind of cruelty was omitted. Some however, that had eſcaped this butchery, got to *Geneva*, and the places thereabouts. Now when the News of this was brought into *Germany*, many were highly offended thereat; and the *Swizers*, who are not of the Popiſh Religion, interceded with the French King, that he would be merciful to thoſe who had fled their Countrey: But the King made them anſwer, that he had juſt cauſe for what he had done; and that what he did within his own Territories, and how he puniſhed the guilty, concerned them no more to know, than it did him what was done amongſt them. The Year before the *Waldenſes* had ſent the King a Confeſſion of their Faith in Writing, thereby to clear their innocence: And the Heads of their Doctrine are, *Of God the Father, Creator of all things. Of the Son, the Mediator and Advocate for Mankind. Of the Holy Ghoſt, the Comforter and Teacher of Truth. Of the Church, which they ſay is the Congregation of all the Elect, and has Jeſus Chriſt for the Head. Of the Miniſters of the Church, who they ſay are to be turned out, if they perform not their Duty. Of the Magiſtrate, whom they confeſs to be God's Miniſter, for protecting the Good, and puniſhing the Bad: that not only Honour, but alſo Tribute and Cuſtom is due to them, according to the example of Chriſt, who himſelf payed Cuſtom. Of Baptiſm, which they ſay is an external and inviſible Sign, which repreſents to us both the renewing of the Spirit, and the mortifi-*

1545. *Merindole* is burnt.

Cabriere ſurpriſed by craft. Is demoliſhed.

A honourable piece of Cruelty of *Meinier*.

The number of the ſlain.

Coſte is taken, and the Inhabitants moſt barbarouſly uſed.

The Interceſſion of the *Swizers* for the *Merindolanes*.

The King's Anſwer to the *Swiſs*.

The Heads of the *Waldenſian* Doctrine.

1545. *cation of the Members. Of the Lord's Supper, which they ſay is a giving of thanks, and commemoration of the benefits received by Chriſt. Of Matrimony, which being a holy thing, and inſtituted by God, they think ought not to be denyed to any. Of Good Works, which they teach, are to be done and practiſed, as the Holy Scriptures declare. Of falſe Doctrines, which, becauſe they lead us away from the true Worſhip, they ſay ought to be avoided. In ſhort, they alledge the Old and New Teſtament for the Rule of their Faith, and profeſs to believe all that is contained in the Apoſtles Ceeed. Laſtly, They pray the King to give credit to their relation, for that, if any other report be made of their Belief and Doctrine, they offer to prove it falſe, provided they may be heard.* The King was then engaged in a War, and therefore the Matter reſted; but Peace being made, it broke out again, and, at the inſtigation of ſome, flamed into this ſo hainous a cruelty.

The *Spaniards* marched through *Germany* into *Auſtria.*

Mention was made before of the *Spaniards*, whom the Emperour had ſent into Winter-Quarters in *Lorrain*: Theſe having done a great deal of miſchief in thoſe places, by orders from the Emperour, take the Field in the Month of *April*, and having marched to *Strasbourg*, and paſſed the *Rhine* there, they advance through *Shwabia* into *Auſtria*, to the number of Three thouſand Foot.

The Death of *Louis* Duke of *Bavaria.*

At this time died *Louis*, Duke of *Bavaria*, the Brother of *William*, leaving no Iſſue behind him; for it had been agreed betwixt them, that he ſhould not Marry, that the Inheritance might not be diſmembred. Great friendſhip and familiarity paſt betwixt him and *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*. For, as we ſaid, they were the chief of the League made againſt the Proteſtants, and the Duke of *Brunſwick* being driven out of his Countrey, fled firſt to him.

The Emperour and Cardinal *Farneſe* come to *Wormes.*

The Emperour came now to *Wormes*, *May* the ſixteenth; and next day Cardinal *Farneſe*. I dare not affirm, what the cauſe of this Man's coming was; but it was certainly thought, that he came to ſtir up a War againſt the *Lutherans*: He acted, indeed, nothing publickly, nor in his way from *Rome* did he paſs through the Duke of *Wirtemberg*'s Countrey, but reſting ſometime at *Delinghen*, a Town upon the *Danube*, belonging to the Cardinal of *Auſbourg*, he ſtruck off another way. King *Ferdinand* had written to the Duke of *Wirtembourg*, that for his ſake he would give him ſafe conduct, and be civil to him; to which the Duke made anſwer, that he had rather, indeed, he had taken any other way; but that nevertheleſs, if he had a mind to paſs through his Countrey, for his ſake he ſhould be welcome. But he, as we ſaid, took another way, and came to *Wormes* the day after the Emperour arrived. The Emperour having made Peace with the King of *France*, ſollicited alſo ſome other Potentates, that they would aſſiſt at the enſuing Council; and taking that occaſion, his Embaſſadour,

The Emperour's Embaſſie to the King of *Poland.*

whom he ſent to the King of *Poland*, declared to him, That for many Years now paſt, it had been the Emperour's chief care, that all Chriſtians in the World would undertake a common War againſt the Turk, and that now almoſt all were inclinable to it; but that the Controverſie about Religion was the only hindrance to the ſame: now that that might be removed, and that the deſire of the Proteſtants might be ſatisfied, who ſtill inſiſted upon a Council, after much pains and care, the Emperour had now procured a Council to be called at *Trent*: That therefore he beſought him, that he would ſend his Embaſſadours thither, who by their preſence might honour that ſolemn Aſſembly, and confirm the Decrees that ſhould be made therein concerning religious matters: But that becauſe the Emperour thought that the Proteſtants, who were always obſtinate, would neither forſake the Confeſſion of *Ausbourg*, nor yet obey the publick Decrees, the thing it ſelf required, that Kings and Princes ſhould interpoſe, and unleſs they did obey, fall upon them as the diſturbers both of Church and State: Now ſeeing he amongſt others had the reputation of a Pious and Chriſtian King, it was the Emperour's deſire, that he would both think of the Turkiſh War, and ſubſcribe to the Council of *Trent*, and that if the Proteſtants returned not to their Duty, he would aſſiſt him with Council and Force, which other Kings had likewiſe promiſed to

The King of *Poland*'s Anſwer to the Emperour.

do. The King of *Poland*'s anſwer was, That he longed to ſee that day, when Chriſtian Kings and Princes, putting an end to all civil and inteſtine Wars, would convert their united Forces againſt the Turk, and that then he ſhould not be the laſt: That as to the Council and Proteſtants, he would do any thing that might conduce to the tranquility of Church and State; nor would he be wanting, on occaſion, to aſſiſt the Emperour, his Friend and Allie, in his greateſt dangers.

The Pope very greedy of *Lutheran* blood.

At that time, it was written from *Rome*, That though the Pope had called the Council, and ſent his Legates already to *Trent*, yet he was ſo deſirous of a *Lutheran*

ran War, that he had promiſed an aſſiſtance of Twelve thouſand Foot and Five hundred Horſe: that Captains and other Officers were alſo ſecretly liſted by him: but when it was repreſented to him, that the Seaſon was too far ſpent for doing any important Action, and that another occaſion was to be expected, he had preſently communicated the ſame to his Commanders, and put them in hopes againſt the next Year. On *Whitſun-munday*, an *Italian Franciſcan* Fryer, preached before the *Emperour*, King *Ferdinand*, Cardinal *Farneſe*, the Biſhop of *Ausbourg*, *Granvell*, &c. and in his Sermon, digreſſing to the *Lutherans*, after he had bitterly inveighed againſt them, *It is time*, ſaid he, *moſt powerful Emperour, that at length you do your Duty: too long, indeed, have you delayed: the buſineſs ought to have been done long ſince. God has honoured you with great Bleſſings, and made you the Defender of his Church: wherefore exert your ſtrength, and utterly deſtroy that peſtilent ſort of Men. For it is not fit they ſhould longer ſee the Sun, who ſo defile and confound all things: nor muſt you ſay it ſhall be done; for now, even now, I ſay, it ought to be done, and no delay interpoſed. How many thouſand Souls do you think are in daily danger of eternal damnation, through their madneſs? all which, unleſs you apply a Remedy, God will require at your hands.* It is ſaid, that *Granvell* was offended at that alarm, either that he counterfeited diſpleaſure, or that he perceived, it gave the Proteſtants a warning to be upon their guard. Not many days after that Sermon, Cardinal *Farneſe* departed ſecretly in the night-time, and made all haſt back to *Rome*.

1545.

A bloody Sermon of a *Franciſcan* Fryer.

Cardinal *Farneſe* parts from *Wormes* for *Rome*.

Much about the ſame time was publiſhed *Luther*'s Book, written in the Vulgar Language, with this Title, *Againſt the Papacy of* Rome, *conſtituted by Satan*: in which Book he firſt anſwers the Pope's Brief; wherein, in a high ſtrain, he dehorted the Emperour from medling with the Adminiſtration of Religion, as we mentioned before: then he moſt amply refutes thoſe places of Scripture which the Pope makes uſe of for the confirmation of his Supremacy, and retorts them upon him. He put a Picture before his Book, which plainly repreſented the Subject thereof. The Pope ſitting in a lofty Chear, ſtretching forth his joyned Hands in ſolemn pomp, but with the Ears of an Aſs; a great many Devils of various ſhapes ſurround him, of which ſome ſet a triple Crown upon his Head, with a *Sir-reverence* on the top of it: others with Ropes let him down into the middle of Hell, looking dreadfully underneath: others bring Wood and Coal: and others again, in an officious manner, lift up his Feet, that he may go ſtreight and eaſily down. Not long after came forth ſome of his *Theſes*, that he had ſometime defended, of the three *Hierarchies*, the *Eccleſiaſtick*, *Politick*, and *Economick*, which he ſaith, God hath inſtituted againſt the rage of the Devil. But from all the three he excludes the Pope, becauſe he condemns and ſtifles the Goſpel, raiſes himſelf above all Laws and Ordinances, forbids Marriage to whom he pleaſes, and therefore ſays he is the Beaſt, which over *Germany* has its name from a Woolf and Bear. Nothing is fiercer, ſaith he, nothing more cruel than it: wherefore when the ſign is given, or a rumor ſtarted, all preſently run to their Arms, that they may kill it: now if perchance it were kept up in a Cage, or within a Fence, and the Governor or Judge of the place, ſhould take it out, or defend it, nevertheleſs it were to be purſued, and they that ſhould ſtop or hinder the purſuers, might be ſafely aſſaulted: In the very ſame manner, if the Pope prepare Men and Arms, and make War, he is to be reſiſted, as a cruel and raging wild Beaſt, whatſoever aids, helps and aſſiſtances he may have. For thoſe who fight for, or aſſiſt a Robber, ought to expect the Reward they deſerve. He publiſhed alſo another Picture, ridiculous enough, indeed, but a prognoſtick of what afterwards happened. The Pope in his Pontificals is riding on and ſpurring a great Sow with large Duggs: with the two firſt fingers of the right hand, ſtretched forth in the uſual manner, he bleſſes thoſe that chance to be in his way: in his left hand he holds a new reeking *Sir-reverence*, the ſmell whereof makes the Sow turn up her Snout, and, gaping, ſnatch at the Prey: but he ſcornfully and bitterly chiding the Beaſt, *I muſt ride thee, and ſpur thee too*, ſaid he, *whether thou wilt or not: thou haſt troubled me long enough about a Council, that thou mayeſt traduce and freely accuſe me: take here then that Council, thou keepeſt ſuch a clutter about.* By the Sow he meant *Germany*. Moſt Men cenſured thoſe ludicrous trifles of his, as immodeſt and unworthy of him: but he had his own reaſons why he did do ſo, and it was thought his proſpect reached farther than other mens; for there are many Propheſies to be found here and there in his Books concerning moſt weighty Matters, ſome of which the effect hath verified already, and the reſt are ſtill in the hand of God. The Emperour in the mean time employs *Granvel* and *Navis* to treat with the Proteſtants about the Council

Luther's Book againſt the Papacy of *Rome*.

A Picture ſet before the Book.

Luther's Theſes of the three Hierarchies.

The Emperour's Treaty with the Proteſtants.

1545. Council and the Turkiſh War. For that end they chuſe *Francis Burcart, Gunter* Chancelour of *Heſs, Chriſtopher Veninger,* and *James Sturmey,* who in few words repeal all their former Plea, and ſo deſire to have ſecurity for the Peace, that it may not be fruſtrated by a Decree of the Council: moreover, that the Imperial Chamber may be conſtituted according to the Decree of *Spire:* And if theſe things be done, that they would be ready to conſult with the reſt about Publick Affairs. To this the others replied, That it was not in the Emperour's power to grant their Demands, to wit, that he ſhould exempt them from the Decrees of the Council, and grant them ſuch a Peace, as might excuſe them from obeying the ſame, to whoſe Authority all are ſubject; for what excuſe could the Emperour make for that, to other Kings and Princes? or to what end ſhould there be a Council, if *Germany* alone, for whoſe ſake it is chiefly called, ſhould have the liberty to ſubmit to it or not? On the other hand, the Deputies give their Reaſons why they did not own it for a lawful Council: that their publick Declarations concerning that matter, were extant alſo: that if Aſſiſtances were to be given againſt the Turk, they had need that ſecurity ſhould be given them, that whatever the Decrees of the Council proved to be, they ſhould not ſuffer violence. To this again it was returned, That they might appear in Council, and there declare the Reaſons why they ſuſpected it of partiality: they ſhould there be heard; for it was not the Pope that had all the power: that if then the Proceedings ſeemed unjuſt, it might be refuſed; but that now they ſpake of things future, and paſs'd a judgment upon matters that were not yet in being; which was a little too great precipitancy in them. To this the Deputies ſay, That the Pope and all his Faction had already long ago condemned their Religion, and ſeverely puniſhed the Profeſſors of it: that therefore there was no neceſſity, that they ſhould come, and there make their declinatories: But that the only way to pacifie *Germany,* would be, in a mild and friendly way, to examine and inquire after the truth, ſince nothing but miſchief was to be expected from a Council, over-ruled by the Pope. *Grignian,* Embaſſadour from the King of *France,* becauſe he could not ſpeak *Latine,* drew up what he had to ſay in Writing, and had it delivered by an Interpreter, *June* the 20th. The ſum of which was, That, by God's bleſſing, the King his Maſter was reconciled to the Emperour, and that a Peace was made, which would be profitable to all Chriſtendom; That the King his Maſter, for the love he bore to *Germany,* and becauſe of his ancient League, would be extreamly pleaſed, if they alſo could agree among themſelves about Matters of Religion: for, becauſe of that difference, much calamity had befallen Chriſtendom, which daily grew greater and greater: that ſince then there was no better way of curing all thoſe Evils, than a Council, and that the ſame was already called, and almoſt began at *Trent,* the Emperour, and the King his Maſter, had reſolved, that all things ſhould be done legally and in order, and that Offences being removed, Concord might be reeſtabliſhed, and the wiſhed for Peace reſtored to *Germany:* that therefore the King beſought them, that, after the example of other Kings and Princes, they alſo would approve the Council; as being the way to procure their own ſafety. *Grignian* was an intimate friend of the Cardinal of *Tournon,* who is thought to have been the Author of this Embaſſie. For, as we ſaid before, he had been in *Flanders,* and treated there of Matters relating to the Council: and then it was ſo concerted, that the King of *France* by an Embaſſadour ſhould alſo exhort them to the Council, which the Emperour and he had already approved: for it was thought, that this would ſtrike a terror into the Proteſtants.

The Plea of *Grignian*, the French Embaſſadour.

Francis, Duke of *Lorrain*, dies.

At this time *Francis,* Duke of *Lorrain,* died, leaving behind him a young Son, two Years old. He had a Brother, named *Nicholas,* Biſhop of *Metz,* who contended with the Mother of the Child, *Chriſtina,* the Emperour's Niece, about the Guardianſhip of the Heir. The Nobility inclined more towards him, diſdaining the government of a Woman, but by the interceſſion of the Emperour, both were admitted to the Adminiſtration, yet ſo, that the Mother had the chief Authority. About the ſame time alſo died the Daughter of King *Ferdinand,* whom *Sigiſmond,* the King of *Poland's* Son had married two Years before. But glad-tydings were brought from *Spain,* of the Birth of *Charles,* Grandſon to the Emperour, by his Son *Philip;* for which there was great rejoycing made by the *Spaniards* at *Wormes:* but a few days after News came of the Death of the Emperour's Daughter-in-law. The Marqueſs of *Piſcara* came to the Emperour at *Wormes,* bringing with him ſome of the chief Quality in *Milan.* It is thought that the Emperour was then reſolved, to give the Daughter of King *Ferdinand* in Marriage to the Duke of *Orleans,*

King *Ferdinand*'s Daughter dies.

The Birth of *Charles*, the Son of *Philip*, King of *Spain*.

The Emperour's Daughter-in-law dies.

***Piſcara* comes to *Wormes*.**

and

and had therefore ſent for them, that he might learn of them the ſtate of *Milan*, which he had promiſed her in Dowry, as we ſaid before. 1545.

The Duke of *Brunſwick* chouſes the *French* King of Money.

Whilſt the Emperour is holding this Diet, the Duke of *Brunſwick* makes a Progreſs to the King of *France*. At that time *Frederick Riffenberg* was raiſing Foot-Soldiers for the Service of the King of *England*, upon the Borders of *Saxony*. The Duke of *Brunſwick* eying the occaſion, promiſes and perſwades the King, that if he did furniſh him with Money, he would eaſily diſperſe them, and thereupon got of him ſome thouſands of Crowns; but, after all, he gave no diſturbance to *Riffenberg*, and made uſe of the Money he had received to make War with againſt the Proteſtants, as ſhall be related hereafter. None of the Princes, as we ſaid before, came to this Diet, neither Proteſtant nor Papiſts, except the Cardinal of *Auſburg*: but when the Emperour himſelf was come, the Elector Palatine came alſo, and, at the deſire of the Proteſtants, made interceſſion. Now when the Emperour perceived, that they would contribute nothing towards the Turkiſh War, unleſs they were ſatisfied in the Points of the Council and Imperial Chamber, he ſent *Gerard Feldwig*, a moſt learned Man, and skilful in Languages, Embaſſadour to the Turk, to treat of a Truce. During this Diet, the Senate of *Metz* made enquiry after thoſe who, according to the Popiſh cuſtom, had not lately at *Eaſter* taken the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and ſuch as were found faulty, they baniſhed the Town.

The Emperour makes a Truce with the Turk.

The Senate of *Metz* inquire after Proteſtants.

It hath been mentioned before, how that the Clergy and Colledge of *Cologne*, appealed to the Emperour and Pope, that by that means they might put a ſtop to the attempts of the Archbiſhop. But ſeeing he ſtill went on, and would not remove the Miniſters of the Church, which was the thing they moſt deſired, they made heavy complaints of him to the Emperour, and again implored his help. About the end therefore of *June*, the Emperour, by Letters publiſhed at *Wormes*, takes them into his protection, and, under pain of proſcription, commands, that no man hinder or moleſt them in their Religion, Poſſeſſions, Revenues and Rights. Then, by other Letters, he ſummons the Archbiſhop within thirty days, either to appear perſonally before him, or to ſend his Proctor, and to anſwer the Accuſations that were brought againſt him: In the mean time he commands him to make no Stirs nor Innovations; and if any Innovations be made, that things be reſtored into their ancient and former ſtate. The ſame Commands he lays upon the Inhabitants of *Andernach*, *Bonn*, *Lintz* and *Campen*; for in thoſe places chiefly the Archbiſhop had placed Preachers to teach the people. Afterwards, *July* the eighteenth, *Paul* III. cites him in the ſame manner, that within threeſcore days he appear at *Rome*: He alſo cites *Henry Stolberg*, Dean of the chief Church of *Cologne*, and his Colleagues, all well-born Gentlemen, *James Ringrave*, *Frederick Wenden*, *Chriſtopher Oldenburg*, *Richard Bavar*, and *Philip Oberſtein*: for theſe loved the Archbiſhop, and diſapproved the action of the reſt. The Pope, indeed, for many years had entertained a prejudice againſt the Archbiſhop: which was in a great meaſure occaſioned by *Vergerio*, Biſhop of *Juſtinople*; who being Nuncio in *Germany*, as has been ſaid oftener than once before, came to *Cologne*, and hearing that he had a mind to reform his Church, took him up for it very ſharply, both in Diſcourſe and by Letters, and accuſed him of the ſame after he was returned home.

The Archbiſhop of *Cologne* is cited by the Emperour and Pope.

The Emperour takes the Clergy and Colledge of *Cologne* into his protection.

The Archbiſhop of *Cologne* is cited.

The Pope's prejudice againſt the Archbiſhop.

After many long and tedious Debates, about the Council, Peace, Imperial Chamber, and Turkiſh War, as hath been before mentioned, on the fourth of *Auguſt*, the Emperour puts an end to the Seſſion, telling them, that becauſe moſt part of the Matters could not be handled, unleſs the Princes were preſent, and that ſome of the Deputies had not full Inſtructions for acting in all things, he prorogued the Diet, and all farther action, to the Month of *January* of the following Year, and commanded all the Princes to come to *Ratisbonne*, unleſs they ſhould be detained by ſickneſs, promiſing alſo to be there himſelf. That truly he chiefly wiſhed for a pacification in Religion, but that they all knew, why nothing of it could be undertaken in this Diet: but that at length differences might be made up, he appointed another Conference of learned Men, four on each ſide, and two Moderators, whom he commanded to be at *Ratisbonne*, by the firſt of *December*, and to begin the Conference before the meeting of the Diet. Then he renewed and confirmed the Edicts of Peace of the preceding year, and ordered, that nothing ſhould be done in prejudice of them. What Money was raiſed for the Turkiſh War, by vertue of the Decree the Year before, he orders to be kept, until the War be reſolved upon, and where it hath not as yet been collected, to be forthwith

An Aſſembly and Conference appointed at *Ratisbonne*.

Conferours are appointed for the pacification of Religion.

1545. with raiſed and gathered. The Reformation of the Imperial Chamber, he refers to the next Diet. In the mean time he allows and continues their Juriſdiction. The Papiſts refuſed that Head of the Decree which related to the Conference of learned Men, nor would they therein aſſent to the Emperour, though they agreed to the reſt. The Proteſtants again repeat their former Plea, ſaying, it was none of their fault, that the point of Religion was not diſcuſſed. And what they had ſaid before, concerning their refuſing the Council and Imperial Chamber, they again inſiſt upon, urging the Decree of *Spire* the Year before, and profeſſing, that they did not admit of this Decree of the Emperours, wherein it differed from that. How the Embaſſadours of the Proteſtants, becauſe of the ſequeſtration, followed the Emperour's Camp the Year before; and how the Emperour referred the Action to another time, we mentioned already. Now in this Diet the Matter was finally decided, and all the Dutchy of *Brunſwick* adjudged to the Emperour. Who forthwith commanded Duke *Henry* to try the Matter by Law, and abſtain from Arms. But he refuſed to ſubmit, and proteſted againſt it. And when the Emperour again, in a threatning ſtrain, and under pain of the Imperial Ban, commanded him to obey, he not only refuſed, but alſo wrote back a ſharp Letter, odiouſly reflecting upon his Counſellors, *Granvell* and *Naves* eſpecially: nor yet ſatisfied, he began ſecretly to raiſe Troops, that he might recover what he had loſt, as by and by ſhall be related. From *Wormes*, the Emperour came down the *Rhine* to *Cologne*, and from thence returned home. The Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, becauſe he had been cited to appear perſonally before the Emperour, or to ſend one in his Name, within thirty days, though by the ancient cuſtom of *Germany*, and priviledge of the Electors, he was not obliged to appear before the Emperour, without the limits of the Empire, nevertheleſs ſent thither a Proctor to make his defence.

The Papiſts refuſe the Conference.

The Dutchy of *Brunſwick* adjudged to the Emperour.

The ſtubbornneſs of the Duke of *Brunſwick*.

The Elector of *Cologne* ſends a Proctor to the Emperour.

At that time the War betwixt *France* and *England* was hot, both by Land and Sea, and the *French* King was building a Fort near to *Bologne*, which he had lately loſt, that he might intercept their Proviſions; and, that the Work might not be interrupted, nor the *Engliſh* ſuffered to roam abroad, he covered it with an Army. Now it grieved the Proteſtants to ſee thoſe two Kings in War, who for ſo many Years had entertained peace together. Wherefore when they underſtood that it would not be unpleaſing to neither party, they ſent Embaſſadours to treat of Peace; to *France*, *Chriſtopher Veninger*, *John Bruino*, and *John Sturmey*: to *England*, *Lodovick Bambach*, and *John Sleidan*. When on the tenth of *September* they were come to *Amiens*, there they had the News of the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, who died the day before. He was to have been the Emperour's Son-in-law, or allied to him by Marriage, (as hath been already ſaid) and ſo a moſt firm pledge of perpetual friendſhip; but now, much about the time the Marriage was to have been ſolemnized, an accute Diſeaſe ſnatched away the Youth, in the Twenty third Year of his Age.

War betwixt the *French* and *Engliſh* at *Bologne*.

The Death of the Duke of *Orltans*.

At the very ſame time, *Henry*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, ſupplied, as we ſaid before, with *French* Gold, raiſes Troops, as ſecretly as he could; and, having muſtered Fifteen hundred Horſe, and Eight thouſand Foot, he marches towards *Rotenbourg*, a Town in the Countrey of *Bremen*, that he might joyn the Artillery of his Brother, the Archbiſhop of *Bremen*. But his attempt was in vain; for the Senate of *Bremen* had before ſent Men to defend the place. Wherefore, having marched through the Countrey of *Lunenbourg*, and done much hurt in his paſſage, he enters into his own Countrey, and takes the Caſtle of *Stembruck* upon capitulation: having afterwards waſted the Countrey by pillage and fire, he demands ſatisfaction of the neighbouring Cities of *Brunſwick*, *Hanover*, *Minden*, *Bremen*, and *Hambourg*, for the injuries received from them, and that they ſhould renounce the Conſpiracy of *Smalcalde*, for ſo he called it; if not, that they might expect the worſt. Another Body of his Forces, conſiſting of about Eight hundred Horſe, and Three thouſand Foot, having by plundering and fire haraſſed the Countrey of the Count of *Teckelnbourg*, one of the Proteſtant Allies, they paſs the *Weſer*, and joyn his Army. Whereupon he beſieges *Wolfembottle*, the chief Caſtle of his Territories, and every where makes the People ſwear Allegiance to him. The *Landgrave*, in the mean time, by orders from his Allies, raiſes in his own Territories Seven thouſand and ſome three Enſigns of Foot, and about Sixteen hundred Horſe, and with that Body, and Three and twenty Field-Pieces, marches to *Northeim*. Thither came to him Duke *Ernest* of *Brunſwick*, the Son of *Philip*, being ſent by the Elector of *Saxony* with a Thouſand Horſe, Three thouſand Foot, Six thouſand of the Forces newly raiſed

The Duke of *Brunſwick* takes the field.

He takes *Stembruck*.

The *Landgrave*'s Expedition againſt the Duke of *Brunſwick*.

in

in his Territories, and twelve Field-Pieces. Duke *Maurice* alſo, the *Landgrave*'s Son-in-law, came in, bringing with him a Thouſand Horſe, about Five thouſand Foot, and ſome Field-Pieces. The Duke of *Brunſwick* having intelligence of this, left the Siege of the Caſtle, which was valiantly defended by the Garriſon, and drew off; and having raiſed what Money he could, payed his Soldiers, who now began to fall off, and then marching forwards, came and encamped near to *Calfeld*, a Village about a Mile diſtant from the *Landgrave*'s Camp. In this ſtate of Affairs, Duke *Erick* of *Brunſwick*, and his Mother, a Widow Lady, *John*, Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, Son-in-law to Duke *Henry*, with ſome others, mediate for a Peace: But the *Landgrave* and *Saxons* affirming, that they had no power to treat of any ſuch thing, without the advice and conſent of the Confederates; they therefore addreſs themſelves to Duke *Maurice*, and intreat him, that he would perſwade his Father-in-law. This he undertook, and being come into the Camp, which was on the ſixteenth of *October*, he propounds the matter, and deſires a Treaty. The *Landgrave*, in the ſame manner, as we ſaid before, excuſes himſelf. So that next day ſome Troops of *Brunſwick*'s Horſe, draw nearer to *Northem*, and skirmiſh with the *Landgravians*, but being beaten off with great ſhot, they return into their Camp. The ſame day, towards the Evening, *Maurice* again preſſes the *Landgrave*; and becauſe he had promiſed to Duke *Henry* and his Relations, to uſe his endeavours, he deſires conditions to be propoſed, that if Duke *Henry* did refuſe them, he might have a fair excuſe from acting any farther. The *Landgrave* then offers ſuch conditions, as it was not to be doubted, but that they would be refuſed. Duke *Maurice* ſends *Chriſtopher Elleben*, and *Comerſtat*, a Lawyer, to carry the Propoſals unto him: But, in the mean time, News is brought, that the Duke of *Brunſwick* approached with all his Forces, that he might poſſeſs himſelf of a Hill adjoyning the *Landgrave*'s Camp. Howéver, the *Landgrave* got the ſtart of him, and having left three Troops of Horſe, and ſome Companies of Foot, to guard the Camp, draws out all his Army to that Hill, and not long after both parties began to skirmiſh. In the mean time Duke *Maurice* his Embaſſadours return, and acquaint their Maſter, that Duke *Henry* had anſwered frankly, that he would refer himſelf wholly to *Maurice*, and not trouble thoſe of the Proteſtant Religion any more for the future. The *Langrave* being informed of this, and Duke *Maurice* preſſing the matter hard, after ſome little debate betwixt them, the *Landgrave* tells him, that the only Conditions of Peace were, That he ſhould give ſecurity not to moleſt the Proteſtants; deliver himſelf up to *Maurice*; ſurrender into his hands his whole Countrey; and that he ſhould ſtand to what *Maurice* ſhould determine concerning the Charges and Damages of the War, and the Controverſie of *Goſlar*. The *Landgrave* gave liberty to Duke *Maurice*, as Mediator, to propoſe thoſe Conditions himſelf, telling him, that if he received them, after he had acquainted the Duke of *Saxony* and the neighbouring Cities therewith, they ſhould come to a concluſion. *Maurice* ſends again Agents with theſe Propoſals; who being returned, affirm, that there was good hopes of the matter, but that in the noiſe and tumult of War, whil'ſt there was nothing but claſhing of Arms on either ſide, nothing could be well done; and that therefore there was need of a Ceſſation, to treat of the Affair. It was now towards night, wherefore the *Landgrave* allowed a Ceſſation for the reſt of that day, and all next day, until the evening. In the mean time Duke *Maurice* had a Conference with Duke *Henry*, that he might perſwade him: but he rejected all the Conditions propoſed, offered others of a far different nature, and in a Conference with ſome of *Maurice*'s Counſellors, told them, *Within theſe three Hours*, ſaid he, *it ſhall be ſeen whether the* Landgrave, *or I, be Maſter of the World, as* Hannibal *ſaid to* Scipio: Nay, beſides, he broke the Truce, having fallen upon the *Landgrave*'s Foragers. So ſoon then as the *Landgrave* was made acquainted with the Conditions propoſed by Duke *Henry*, he breaks off the Treaty, and thanks Duke *Maurice* for his Mediation. *October* the 20th. Duke *Henry*, by ſome of his Counſellors, again ſollicits *Maurice*, and deſires a meeting in ſome convenient place betwixt the two Camps: but the *Landgrave* refuſed it, wherefore Duke *Maurice* alſo declares War againſt Duke *Henry*, as he had foretold him, by Letters from *Mulhauſen*, unleſs he did agree to a Peace. And now, in the dead of the night, the *Landgrave* ſent before a Detachment of eight Troops of Horſe, and about a thouſand Foot, with twelve pieces of Cannon, under the command of *Conrad Hanſteen*; whil'ſt he, with the reſt of the Army, and the Dukes *Maurice* and *Erneſt*, follow after. About break of day, the Van-guard came to a Paſs upon a riſing ground, not far from Duke *Henry*'s Camp, and afterwards

1545.

Maurice interceeds for Peace.

The Conditions of Peace propoſed.

A Truce granted.

Duke *Henry* breaks the Truce.

1545. wards the *Landgrave* arrived with the reſt of the Army. Here happened a ſharp conflict, and becauſe of the narrowneſs of the ground, which could only be paſſed in one place, the Fight was for ſome time doubtful: but in the nick of time, the *Landgrave* fired upon the Enemy, and beat them back: and after a Council of War, when in other places the Paſs had been opened, he advanced with part of his Army, and played upon the Enemy with his Ordinance. Then *Brunſwick* ſends a Trumpeter to Duke *Maurice*, and deſires a Parley: but the *Landgrave* giving no anſwer, marches through firſt his whole Army, and draws them up in batallia, thundering upon the Enemy with his Artillery. Then again two Meſſengers come from Duke *Henry*, and earneſtly demand the ſame thing: to whom the *Landgrave*, *There is no other condition of Peace*, ſaid he, *than that Duke* Henry *and his eldeſt Son deliver themſelves up into my hands: if they'll do ſo, well; but if not, I'll try what I can do. Go tell him this from me; and diſpatch what ye do.* Here again Duke *Maurice* applied himſelf to his Father-in-law; *All the Army*, ſaid he, *is now got through the Paſs: but what is there no hopes of Peace?* *None*, anſwered he, *unleſs Duke* Henry *and his Son ſurrender themſelves to me. If they will not, I'll try the iſſue of a Battel.* Duke *Maurice* having got this anſwer, goes and diſcourſes Duke *Henry*. Nevertheleſs the *Landgrave* proceeds to action, keeps firing, draws nearer the Enemy, and halts about five hundred yards ſhort of them, ſending Duke *Maurice* word by *Conrad Hanſteen*, that he could not deſiſt, leſt, under pretext of a Conference, Duke *Henry* might eſcape. *Maurice* ſends back word, that he muſt ſtay a little, till he had ſpoken with him, and prays him, that he would ſo long forbear. A little after he comes back, bringing word, that Duke *Henry*, with flouds of tears, bewailed his misfortune, and was willing, both he and his Son, to render themſelves priſoners; but withal, prayed him, that he would not be too harſh in upbraiding of him. When Duke *Henry*, with his Son, *Charles Victor*, was come into the *Landgrave*'s preſence, the *Langrave* told him, *Were I now in your power, as you are in mine, I ſhould not have long to live: yet I will uſe you more generouſly than you deſerve. But how came it into your mind, to diſobey the Emperour, by rejecting the Sequeſtration? for had you ſubmitted to it, you might have provided for Yourſelf and Family.* Having ſpoken to this purpoſe, he puts them both under Guards; but, in the mean while, the *Landgrave*'s Army had like to have come to blows with the Enemy, and, if the *Landgrave* and Duke *Maurice* had not with all ſpeed interpoſed, there had been a great ſlaughter. Duke *Henry*'s Forces thought of marching off in an entire Body, but becauſe there was danger leſt they might again take occaſion of coming to action, the *Landgrave* follows them, and coming up with them in an open Plain, compels them to tear their Colours, and take an Oath, that within ſix Months time they ſhould not carry Arms againſt him or his Confederates. He then takes from them all their Artillery, (amounting to eighteen pieces of Ordinance) and Ammunition; and, marching forwards, recovers *Stenbruck*-Caſtle, makes the People again ſwear Fealty to him, gives God thanks for his Victory, puniſhes *John*, Count of *Schawmbourg*, and *Otho*, Count of *Ritberg*, becauſe they had aſſiſted his Enemy; and then, having diſmiſſed his Forces, he returns home.

A Fight betwixt *Brunſwick* and the *Landgrave*.

The Duke of *Brunſwick* ſurrenders himſelf with his Son, to the *Landgrave*.

The Death of *Albert* of *Mentz*. *Maurice* purges himſelf of the ſuſpicion of betraying *Brunſwick*. *Luther*'s Book againſt the ſetting the Duke of *Brunſwick* at liberty. *William* of *Furſtenberg* is ſet at liberty. The Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave*'s Letters to the Emperour about the taking of the D. of *Brunſwick*.

At this time died *Albert*, Cardinal of *Mentz*, to whom ſucceeded *Sebaſtian Huſeſtene*; but *John Albert*, his Couſin-German, got the Biſhoprick of *Magdeburg*, who had been his Coadjutor therein before. A Report was afterwards ſpread abroad, that Duke *Maurice* had, by captious and crafty Expreſſions, drawn Duke *Henry* into theſe ſtreights; whereupon he publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, declaring, how that being deſired, he could not but aſſiſt the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave*; relates the ſeries of the whole Affair; proves, that they did him wrong, and nevertheleſs interceeds for his liberty. But *Luther* publiſhed a Book, wherein he exhorts the Princes, not to let their Priſoner go: for that that Victory, without Blood, was ſent from Heaven. Much about the ſame time Count *William* of *Furſtemberg*, having been hitherto kept Priſoner at *Paris*, upon payment of his Ranſom of Thirty thouſand Crowns of Gold, is ſet at liberty; and, taking his journey through *Flanders*, where he acquainted the Emperour with his misfortune, he returned home. The Emperour adviſed him to caſt about for ſome way how he might repair the loſs he had ſuſtained, and therein promiſed him much kindneſs. At the very ſame time died *Alphonſo Davalos*, Governour of *Milan* for the Emperour, into whoſe place ſucceeded *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, Duke of *Mantua*, who had been before Viceroy of *Sicily*. The Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave*, preſently acquainted the Emperour with the taking of the Duke of *Brunſwick* and his Son; And becauſe he had, in

contempt

contempt of all the Edicts, diſturbed *Germany* with a new War, they craved, that both he and his aſſociates, for violating the publick Peace, might be put to the Ban of the Empire, according to the Tenor and Conditions of the Sequeſtration before agreed upon. Afterwards, *October* the laſt, the *Landgrave*, being at the Siege of *Ritberg*, writes again to the Emperour, and having deſired the ſame thing as in the former Letter, which he mentions; He informs him, that after the defeat and taking of the Duke of *Brunſwick*, he had found in his Camp ſeveral Letters, concerning very weighty Matters too, and ſecret Contrivances, which ſufficiently ſhew'd, that he had deſigned ſome great thing againſt his Majeſty, or King *Ferdinand*, for that, amongſt others, there was a Letter, wherein a certain *Prince Elector* writes back to him, that upon thoſe Conditions he cannot enter into that League and Confederation, but that it is rather his duty, to diſcover ſuch Counſels, which, if he had not given him a promiſe of Secrecy, he had certainly done, let him not therefore trouble him any more with that hereafter, otherwiſe he'll diſcloſe it. That he had this, and ſome others of that kind, in his hands. And if his Majeſty thought it for his intereſt, he might ſend ſome truſty Servant; to whom he would ſhew theſe Letters, and let him take a Copy of them from the Original. The Emperour, who then was at *Bruges*, a Town in *Flanders*, *November* the ſixth, ſent *Nicholas Conritz*, to the *Landgrave*, with this Meſſage: That he heard, how *Henry*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, and his Son, came into his hands: and though he could have wiſhed, that he had accepted the Condition of the Sequeſtration, nevertheleſs, as the ſtate of Affairs now ſtood, he did not think it needful, he ſhould at preſent be puniſhed for breaking the publick Peace; that he truſted alſo, he would make ſo moderate a uſe of this Victory, that no man needed to apprehend any violence from him: He put him in mind, however, that, after the ancient Cuſtom of Princes, he would generouſly and civilly uſe his Priſoners, and not force them to any condition unjuſt or beneath themſelves, but refer all to a friendly and lawful Debate and Arbitration, wherein he himſelf would not be wanting in any thing that his Character and Quality required: and that becauſe he and his Confederates had no reaſon now to fear any danger, he ſhould diſmiſs his Forces, and keep the peace; and that if he had Complaints againſt any Man, upon the account of aſſiſting or aſſociating with his Enemy, he ſhould try it out by Law, and that therein he would do him juſtice. When, *November* the eighteenth, *Conritz* had delivered this Meſſage at *Caſſels*, the ſame day the *Landgrave* gave this anſwer: Since *Brunſwick* and his Aſſociates had by more ways than one broken the Edicts of the Emperour and Empire, he hoped the Emperour would openly declare, how ill he took ſuch proceedings: That one of the chief of his Aſſociates was *Otho*, Count of *Ritberg*, a Vaſſal and Tenant of his own, whom, upon that account, he had puniſhed: that there were ſome others alſo, on whom he might juſtly be revenged: But that the Emperour and all men might ſee how far he and his Confederates were from ſtirs, he had not attempted any thing againſt them, but had disbanded his Soldiers: ſince the caſe was ſo, and that what they had done was upon their own neceſſary defence, he earneſtly begg'd, that the Emperour would proſcribe Duke *Henry* and his Aſſociates: for though he himſelf were priſoner, yet his Auxiliaries ought to be puniſhed, from whom there was nothing but Hoſtilities to be expected: that the Priſoners were uſed civilly enough: and that he ſhould make a report of the reſt to the Duke of *Saxony* and other Confederates.

1545.

The *Landgrave's* Letter to the Emperour.

The Emperour's Anſwer to the *Landgrave* by an Embaſſadour.

The *Landgrave's* Anſwer.

The Embaſſadours, who, as we ſaid before, were by the Proteſtants ſent into *France* and *England*, diſcharged their Commiſſion very well, but at the ſame time the Emperour alſo promoted the Peace, and at *Bruges* appointed a day for the Embaſſadours of both Kings to meet. The *French* King ſent *Claud Annebaud*, the Admiral: the King of *England*, *Stephen* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; but the Treaty broke up without any ſucceſs. In the mean time, however, the Proteſtant Embaſſadours prevailed ſo far, that both Kings condeſcended to a more ample Treaty, and therefore ſent Embaſſadours; the *French* King to *Ardres*, and the King of *England* to *Calis* and *Guyſnes*. On the twenty ſixth of *November*, the Embaſſadours met midway betwixt the two Towns, under Tents in the open Fields; where, after that the Proteſtant Embaſſadours had propoſed ſome Overtures of Peace, the Matter was long and much debated betwixt them, the *French* urging chiefly the reſtitution of *Bologne*, and that the *Scots* might be comprehended in the Peace. But the *Engliſh* plainly refuſed that: the matter afterward was tranſacted betwixt the two Kings by Letters and Meſſengers; and nevertheleſs, after much treating, nothing could be effected. Wherefore, *January* the ſixth, the Embaſſadours of the Kings

A Treaty of Peace betwixt the Kings of *France* and *England*.

1546.

1546. and Proteſtants depart to their own homes. The day after, as the *French* were carrying in Proviſions to the new Fort, which, as it has been ſaid, the King had built on the Shore, the *Engliſh* attempted to have hindred them, and ſo came to an Engagement; but though many were killed on both ſides, the Fort was nevertheleſs victualled. When the Proteſtant Embaſſadours, whom I named, were in *England*, the King occaſionally in diſcourſe told them, that they were threatned with a moſt dreadful War; that he knew it for a certain; and therefore, that they ſhould acquaint their Friends therewith. A Privy-Counſellor alſo of eminent authority about the King at that time, afterwards told one of the Embaſſadours the ſame thing, naming ſome Skirmiſhers and Pickeerers that were to bring the buſineſs about. The King ſeemed alſo vexed that the Emperour had the Year before made Peace with the *French* King, and the rather, he ſaid, that it was at his ſollicitation that he had made War with *France*, becauſe of the Turkiſh League.

The King of *England* forewarns the Proteſtants of their danger.

A Meeting of the Proteſtants at *Franckfurt*.

In the Month of *January* there was a meeting of the Proteſtants at *Franckfurt*. Their Conſultations there were about the Council of *Trent*; the prolonging of their League; the Charges of the War with *Brunſwick*; the not forſaking of the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*; the ſolliciting of the Emperour in the next Diet, that he would give peace to Religion, and eſtabliſh the Imperial Chamber. In this Aſſembly the Deputies of the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* complain of the Injuries of the Clergy, and of the Commands and Citations both of the Emperour and Pope.

The Elector Palatine appoints Preachers of the Goſpel.

In the mean while the Elector Palatine appoints every-where Miniſters in Churches to Preach the Goſpel; he alſo allows the Sacrament in both kinds, and Marriage to Prieſts; and, *January* the tenth, inſtead of the Popiſh Maſs, in the chief Church of *Heidleberg*, Divine Service was celebrated in the Vulgar Tongue. The Proteſtants therefore, by an Embaſſie, congratulate with him, and thank him, that he had given a civil Anſwer to the Embaſſadours of the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*. They alſo exhort him to proceed, to profeſs the Doctrine of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, and that he would uſe his endeavours in the next Diet, that Peace and Juſtice might be eſtabliſhed. To theſe things, he makes anſwer, That he was always deſirous of peace, and will be ſo as long as he has life: That it grieved him much the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* ſhould be ſo moleſted, eſpecially in his old age: that therefore when they ſhould ſend Deputies to the Emperour, the Clergy and Senate of *Cologne* to intercede for him, he would ſend Deputies along with them: That for many Years paſt he had hoped for an accommodation in Religion: but becauſe he perceives that the matter is dangerouſly delayed, and no great hopes appear, he could no longer fruſtrate the wiſhes and expectation of his people: that therefore he had ſet about a reformation of Doctrine and Ceremonies, which he reſolves for the future to advance, and openly profeſs. *January* the ſeventeenth, the Deputies of the Electors who are called, of the *Rhine*, becauſe their Territories reach to the *Rhine*, who are *Metz*, *Cologne*, *Treves*, and the *Palatine*, met at *Weſel*. The *Palatine* here urged the Electors of *Metz* and *Treves*, that they would joyn with him and *Brandenbourg*, and ſend Embaſſadours to intercede for the Elector of *Cologne*: but they, fearing to give offence, declined it.

A Meeting of the Electors of the *Rhine* for the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*.

A Report of a War againſt the Proteſtants.

The *Landgrave*'s Letter to *Granvell*.

A Rumour began to be ſpread abroad at this time, that the Emperour, underhand, was preparing for War: wherefore, by Letters dated the twenty fourth of *January*, the *Landgrave* acquaints *Granvell*, that it was not only talked of in *Germany*, but that News came alſo from *Italy* and other places, that the Emperour and Pope were preparing for a War againſt the *Lutherans*, that they intended to defend the Council, commence the War in the beginning of the Spring, and fall upon the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, from *Lower Germany*, upon *Saxony*, from *Bohemia*, and upon *Upper Germany*, from *Italy*: that the Emperour was alſo to have Ten thouſand Foot, and ſome Troops of Horſe, who were to wait upon him as his Guards to *Ratiſbonne*: that this was more than a popular Rumour, ſince it was publickly talked of by Colonels, Captains and Officers of the Army, of whom ſome bragg'd, that they had already received Money from the Emperour: That now ſeeing the Emperour was at peace with *France*, and, as moſt ſaid, had made a Truce with the Turk, it ſeemed ſtrange to many, for what end he ſhould raiſe Forces: That when he and the reſt of the Confederates reflect upon the Pacification made firſt at *Norimberg*, and afterwards confirmed at *Ratiſbonne*, *Spire*, and other places, they cannot be perſwaded that that Report is true, eſpecially conſidering that they had done the Emperour and King *Ferdinand* good Services againſt the Turk, and other

other enemies alſo: nevertheleſs, that he thought fit in a friendly manner to give him an account of theſe things, which by frequent Letters and Meſſengers were beat into him and his Allies: that it is poſſible malicious men may report the like things of him and his Confederates to the Emperour, which may give occaſion of diffidence and ſtirs, and put them both to charges: However, that he made no doubt but he would give him an Anſwer as to theſe things, and that as he had formerly been a Counſellor to Peace, ſo he would ſtill continue to encline the Emperour that way. *February* the eighth, *Granvell* writes an Anſwer to the Points above-mentioned: That the Emperour had neither made any agreement with the Pope, raiſed Soldiers, nor paid Money to any Officer: although it ſhould not ſeem ſtrange to any, if he raiſed ſome ſmall Body of Men, at this time, when Affairs are in ſuch a doubtful ſtate, and when neighbouring Kings and Princes are levying Forces; who can blame him, if he endeavour the ſafety of his Provinces? but that he wondred men ſhould be ſo impudent as to report ſuch things of the Emperour, whoſe inclination to peace and quietneſs cannot but be obvious to all men: that he himſelf knew very well, how much he had laboured, that *Germany* might enjoy a ſetled and firm peace: that the ſame was now his purpoſe and reſolution, and that therefore a Conference was appointed to be held at *Ratisbonne*: that the report of the Ten thouſand Men, whom he was to bring to *Ratisbonne* with him to the Diet, was too ſilly to need a refutation; though if he did do ſo, it would not be without a precedent, ſince he came formerly to *Ausbourg* ſo attended, nor yet without reaſon, there being various reports brought unto him of the Affairs and State of *Germany*: but that the rumour was falſe; for that now the Emperour was ready for his Progreſs into *Germany*, and intended to ſet out with a very ſmall Train, as thinking all men ſaw into his intentions, and that none might blame him for doing otherwiſe. That the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* himſelf is evidence how graciouſly and mildly the Emperour treated him, and how lovingly he endeavoured to reclaim him: for though he lye under grievous accuſations, yet the Emperour had done no more in his caſe, but what in reputation he could not avoid: that he lately alſo ſent him word by *Naves*, that he ſhould deſiſt, and expect the Sentence of the Diet of *Ratisbonne*: for, indeed, neither was it juſt what he attempted, nor did it become the Emperour, to bear with thoſe things in him, for which he had moſt graciouſly admoniſhed him before: that for his part he wiſhed all proſperity to Chriſtendom in general, and chiefly to *Germany*.

1546.

Granvell anſwers the *Landgrave*.

About the end of *January*, the *Landgrave*, and *Frederick*, Elector Palatine, met at *Franckfurt*. They of *Ausburg*, having had intelligence from many places of the Preparations the Emperour and Pope were making for War, had ſent *Sebaſtian Scherteline*, a Soldier, and much devoted to their intereſts, to the *Palatine* and *Landgrave*, that he might ſecretly inform them of thoſe things: and he, having had Audience of them ſeverally, prevailed, that they ſhould both repair thither to conſult together, as they did, the Palatine bringing with him *Otho Henry*, his Couſin-German. A few days after, the Proteſtant Embaſſadours came thither alſo from *France* and *England*, and gave the *Landgrave* and Confederates an account of their Embaſſie. Next day after, being the fourth of *February*, the *Landgrave* departed, and went to wait upon the lately created Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who was but at a Mile's diſtance from thence, that, amongſt other things, he might entreat him, to bend his Councils and Actings in the Diet of *Ratisbonne*, to the procuring of the peace and tranquility of *Germany*. Not long after, the Aſſembly of *Franckfurt* was diſſolved, and, according to a Decree paſt, the Proteſtants ſent Deputies to the Emperour and Clergy of *Cologne*, to intercede for the Archbiſhop. Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony* was not of the Proteſtant League, yet he had a Deputy at *Franckfurt*, one *Chriſtopher Carlebitz*, a Gentleman of great Learning, who, upon the diſſolution of the Aſſembly, haſtened away immediately to the Emperour. He was at that time in *Guelderland*, and had had intelligence brought him before, that thoſe of the League of *Smalcalde*, had conſpired againſt him at *Frankfurt*; nor were there wanting thoſe, who (according to the Proverb) poured Oyl into the Fire, ſaying, that ſuch Aſſemblies of States and Princes, were held in contempt of his Authority. *Naves*, as hath been ſaid, having been ſent from the Emperour, to the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, came from thence to the Elector of *Mentz*, and Prince *Palatine*, and upon the Road meeting caſually with *Renard*, Count of *Solmes*, an active and induſtrious Soldier, they fell into diſcourſe about the preſent ſtate of Affairs, and of the Reports brought to the Emperour. When *Solmes* began to tell

A Meeting of ſome Princes at *Franckfurt*. *Sebaſtian Scherteline.*

Deputies from the Proteſtants are ſent to the Emperour and Clergy of *Cologne*.

The Proteſtants accuſed of a Conſpiracy.

The Conference of *Naves*, and *Renard*, Count of *Solmes*.

1546. tell him, what ſort of Rumors were diſperſed all over *Germany* of the Emperour, he denied all, affirming no ſuch thing to have ever entered his thoughts: that he was ſo great a lover of Peace, that, to the prejudice of his own Affairs, he was now going to the Diet of the Empire: nor did he doubt, but ſhould the *Landgrave* come to him, he would be kindly entertained, and that it was his opinion, that by all means he ſhould come: for in ſo doing, ſince, perhaps, he intended not to be at *Ratisbonne*, he might juſtifie himſelf and party, know the Emperour's thoughts from his own mouth, and freely diſcourſe of publick Affairs: nay, and that by that means alſo, all the ſuſpicion and diſtruſt, raiſed by rumours and reports on both ſides, might be mutually removed: but that, if he deſired a Conference, he would do well to come with a ſmall Attendance, and by that generous and frank proceeding, ſhew how much he relied upon the Emperour's Honour and Integrity. So ſoon as the *Landgrave* had underſtood this from *Solmes*, he writes to *Naves*, *February* the twentieth, and, to remove all ſuſpicion, he partly declares what was done at *Franckfurt*; and then tells him, that there had been a Report raiſed of the Emperour, as if he intended a War, and that, amongſt other Commanders, he had ſent Orders to *Albert*, Marqueſs of *Brandenbourg*, to raiſe about a thouſand Horſe: but that the Count of *Solmes* had, upon his relation, aſſured him, that it was a falſe Rumour: and that, becauſe *Granvell* alſo wrote the ſame thing, he would rather truſt them, than the flying Reports of the Vulgar: for he and his Allies were in very good hopes, that the Emperour would by no means recede from the Acts and Decree of *Spire*, eſpecially ſeeing there was no cauſe why he ſhould: That as to the Conference whereof *Solmes* ſpake to him in his Name, he was not againſt it, but that he muſt firſt acquaint his Allies with the Matter, of whom he would be willing that ſome, though but a few, were preſent thereat.

The *Landgrave*'s Letters to *Naves*.

The Conference of learned Men at *Ratisbonne*. Preſidents, Colloquutors and Witneſſes of the Conference.

We told before, how the Emperour had appointed a Conference of learned Men, to be held at *Ratisbonne*, and commanded all to be preſent by the beginning of *December*: but he prorogued it afterward to the thirteenth of the ſame Month. Upon the Emperour's account came thither, *Peter Malvenda*, a *Spaniard*, *Eberard Billick*, a Carmelite Frier, *John Hofmeſter*, an Auguſtine Frier, and *John Cochleus*, Divines: *George Loxan*, *Caſpar Caltentan*, *George Ilſinger*, and *Bartholomew Latome*, Witneſſes and Hearers, which number the Emperour had encreaſed, for before there were but two appointed, as hath been ſaid. From the Proteſtants came *Bucer*, *Brentzen*, *George Major*, *Ethard Snerfius*, Divines: *Volrat* Count *Waldeck*, *Balthazar Gutlingen*, *Laurence Zouchey*, a Lawyer, and *George Volchemere*, Witneſſes. The Papiſts had *Ambroſe Pelary*, a Dominican, and the Proteſtants *John Piſtorius*, *Martin Frecht*, and *Vitus Thierry*, ſupernumerary. The firſt of *January* came *Maurice* Biſhop of *Aichſtadt*, appointed Preſident of the Conference by the Emperour, and ſome days after *Frederick*, Count of *Furſtemberg*, his Colleague.

The Conference begins.

At length, on the twenty-ſeventh day of *January* the Conference began, and the Preſidents having premiſed a few things, relating to their own perſons, the burden impoſed upon them, and the delay, exhorted the Divines, that in ſo weighty and ſo holy a Matter, they would not be ſwayed by paſſion, but act ſincerely, having before their eyes the Fear of God, and a reſpect to Unity and Concord: laſtly, they promiſed Diligence, Fidelity and Uprightneſs. They afterwards told them, that it was the Emperour's command, that the Confeſſion of the Proteſtants, exhibited heretofore at *Ausbourg*, ſhould be handled in this Conference, omitting the three firſt Articles, Of the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Word, and Original Sin: for that the former two were not controverted, and that this laſt had been ſufficiently debated already: But that the other Heads of Doctrine ſhould be handled in order; to wit, Of Juſtification, the Remiſſion of Sins, the fulfilling of the Law, Faith, Good Works, Merit, the Sacraments, Purgatory, Praying for the Dead, the Worſhipping and Invocation of Saints, Relicks, Images, Monaſtick Vows, the Single Life of Prieſts, the Diſtinction of Meats, Holy Days, Eccleſiaſtical Traditions, the Church, the Power of the Keys, of the Hierarchy, and the Authority of the Pope, Biſhops and Councils. Theſe things thus ſtated, the Proteſtants, who ſaw what kind of Adverſaries they had to engage with, deſired that all their Conference and Acts might be taken in Writing by Clarks and Publick Notaries, that the Emperour and Princes might underſtand the whole Matter, and the Arguments and Probations of either ſide. But the Preſidents, on the other hand, alledged, that that would be too tedious, and that it would be enough, that the chief Points were only ſet down; beſides, they would have nothing that paſs'd to be divulged,

The Heads of Doctrine to be chiefly handled.

The Conditions of the Conference.

and

and appointed the Forenoon for the Conference. After much debate, it was agreed upon, that two on each ſide ſhould take in Writing all that was ſaid; that the Acts ſhould be put into a Cheſt, to be kept ſecret, and communicated to none, unleſs the reſt were preſent. The Preſidents allow this to be done, provided it were the Emperour's pleaſure, from whom they had no Inſtructions as to that Matter. • The Proteſtants alſo accept the ſame Conditions, yet ſo, that they may have liberty to acquaint their own Princes with what it concerns them to know, and what they may deſire to be informed of by them. This order being taken then, *Peter Malvenda*, a *Pariſian* Divine, on the fifth day of *February*, began, and having made a long preamble in the commendation of the Emperour, he largely handled that Point of Doctrine concerning Juſtification, and in a very ſcholaſtick manner too. But *Bucer*, interrupting, told him, that was contrary to the Law of the Conference, and the Method preſcribed by the Emperour; that their Doctrine, the Confeſſion of *Ausbourg*, lying before them, he ſhould out of that Book pitch upon the Chapter of Juſtification, and if he had any thing to ſay againſt it, either refute or object in order. However, he went on, and concluded, aſcribing much to Man's Free Will, and affirming, that Man is not juſtified by Faith alone, but by Hope and Charity alſo. Next day *Bucer* ſhew'd, that five Years before the Article of Juſtification had been adjuſted in the Conference of *Ratisbonne*, and declared what the Emperour and the reſt of the Princes and States at that time decreed concerning it, which he deſired might be recorded; then obſerving the Order preſcribed by the Emperour, he repeated the ſame Article, and divided it into four Heads: That a man is not juſtified before God through his own Works or Merits, but that he is freely juſtified through Chriſt by Faith, when he believeth, both that he is received into Grace, and that his Sins are pardoned through Chriſt: That Chriſt by his Death made ſatisfaction for our Sins: That God doth impute Faith for Righteouſneſs: theſe things he proved and illuſtrated by Teſtimonies from Scripture; ſhew'd wherein he agreed, and wherein he differed from *Malvenda*, and confuted his Arguments. *Billick*, the *Carmelite*, ſeconded *Malvenda*, and, amongſt other things, refuted what *Bucer* had ſaid of Juſtification, denying that it had been ever adjuſted. *February* the thirteenth, *Malvenda* anſwered *Bucer*, and concluded theſe three points; that Works do diſpoſe and prepare for Juſtification: that Charity is the form of Righteouſneſs: that the Works of men juſtified, conſummate Juſtification, and deſerve Eternal Life. Whileſt theſe things were under debate, *February* the fifteenth, the Emperour's Letters are brought to the Doctors, wherein he enjoyns them, that *Julius Pflugg*, Biſhop of *Hamburg*, ſhould be admitted amongſt the Preſidents; that the number both of the Diſcourſers and Witneſſes ſhould not be encreaſed by ſupernumeraries; that no Clarks ſhould take the Acts in Writing, but ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the Preſidents; that all ſhould take an Oath of Secrecy, and not to diſcloſe the Affairs of the Conference to any Man living, till they were reported to the Emperour and States of the Empire; that what was agreed upon, ſhould be ſubſcribed by both Parties, but what remained ſtill under controverſie, ſhould be marked down in as few words as might be, relating only in general the chief Points that were thereupon urged by either party, and be given to the Clarks to be kept. When the Letter was read, the Proteſtants deſired time to conſider; and in their Anſwer, of the ſecond of *March*, ſay, that they were not diſpleaſed with the third Preſident, provided their Princes alſo approved him: Then they demanded leave to proſecute their Anſwers, which were not as yet finiſhed; that the Point concerning the former Accommodation at *Ratisbonne* might be inſerted into the Journals; that *John Piſtorius* might be continued Clark, and that many Queſtions might not in debating be confuſedly propounded at one and the ſame time, but that one after another handled in order: But that as to the Point of ſo ſtrict a Secrecy, they could not oblige themſelves to it, ſince it was part of their Inſtructions, that from time they ſhould acquaint their Principles with the ſtate of the Conference. Theſe things were long and much debated, whil'ſt the Preſidents, on the one hand, alledged, that the Emperour's Commands muſt be obeyed; and the Proteſtants, on the other, that they could not recede from the Inſtructions of their Princes: ſo that the Preſidents, at length, ſignified to the Emperour in Writing, what they demanded. In the mean time the Duke of *Saxony*, who approved not the Conditions of the Conference, when he came to know them, recalled his Deputies, that he might examine the whole Affair. Theſe being gone, *Bucer* alſo, that he might make a Report of what was done to the *Landgrave*, departed *March* the

1546.

Malvenda treats of the Point of Juſtification.

Bucer anſwers *Malvenda* as to the Article of Juſtification.

Billick the *Carmelite*.

Malvenda anſwers *Bucer*.

The Emperour's Letter to the Doctors.

Pflugg admitted amongſt the Preſidents.

The Conference is broken up.

1546. the twentieth. This extreamly vexed the Preſidents, who as they had before adviſed thoſe who were preſent to ſtay, ſo now, ſome having dropt off, they moſt earneſtly dealt with and intreat the reſt that remained, by all means to expect the Emperour's Anſwer: but they excuſed themſelves, ſaying, that there was no ſtaying for them now the chief of their Colleagues were gone, but that if the Conference continued, they ſhould be ready upon all occaſions for the future. The Papiſts afterwards publiſhed Books, wherein they bitterly enveighed againſt them for this matter: But *Bucer* ſometime after fully anſwered all their Reproaches, and handled at large all that can be ſaid of Man's Juſtification. The Embaſſadours of the Prince *Palatine*, and Elector of *Brandenburg*, joyned with the Embaſſadours of the Proteſtants, who were ſent to the Emperour to intercede for the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*. The ſum of their deſire was, that the Emperour would refer the Archbiſhop's Cauſe, to the reſt of the Cauſes of Religion, and annul the Action commenced by the Clergy of *Cologne* againſt him; ſeeing that if any violence were offered to him, they could not deſert him. They had their Audience of the Emperour at *Utricht* the ſix and twentieth day of *February*, and *March* the ſecond he ſent them his Anſwer by *Naves*: that hitherto he had ſhew'd him all good will; that both perſonally, and by his Embaſſadours, he had admoniſhed him, that he would behave himſelf fairly and tolerably towards the Clergy and other States of the Archbiſhoprick, which was no more but his Duty: but that though he had given great hopes, and was very free in promiſes, yet ſlighting all theſe things, he had acted ſo violently, that, for the protection and ſafety of the whole Province, and his own Reputation's ſake, he was neceſſitated to apply a Remedy, and that truly, a very mild and lawful one, which he would not have made uſe of neither, but that having in vain tried all other courſes with him, he would not yet ſo much as defer until the enſuing Diet at *Ratisbonne*, but went on in contempt of all his Edicts and Commands, truſting to a certain frivolous Appeal, which was neither admitted by any body, nor could in any manner take place: that if he had had a mind to make uſe of that refuge, it had been but juſt, that he had been quiet in the mean while, and waited for his and the States of the Empire's deciſion: but that when he refuſed to do ſo, it behoved him to put a ſtop to his career, and that he had weighty and good grounds for his ſo doing; nor did he doubt but that if they knew the whole matter, they would be of the ſame opinion, ſince it was well known to them how mildly and gently he had ever behaved himſelf in all the common cauſes of the Empire, and how ſollicitous he had been for the publick good: That, nevertheleſs, he took in good part this Embaſſie, as thinking it might contribute to the peace and reconciliation of Religion: that therefore, if the Archbiſhop would deſiſt, and obey his Orders, no man ſhould have any cauſe to find fault with his conduct, and that in the enſuing Diet he would make uſe of the Councils of the Princes and States in that particular: that it was his deſire, the Princes ſhould, laying aſide all excuſes, come to it in perſon; that he himſelf was ready to ſet out upon this Journey, and that though he was hindred by his health, nevertheleſs, that once for all, an end might be put to their Controverſies, he would decline no labour nor trouble.

The Proteſtant Embaſſadours with the Emperour in favour of the Elector of *Cologne*.

The Emperour's Anſwer to them.

We told you before, that the Council was appointed to meet at *Trent*, the fifteenth of *March*, the Year before. Thither the Pope ſent his Legates, *John Maria de Monte*, *Marcello Cervino*, and *Reginald Pool*, an *Engliſh-man*, all Cardinals. Thither alſo came in behalf of the Emperour, but not at the day appointed, *James Mendoza*, a *Spaniard*; who having made a large Speech in praiſe of the Emperour, and of his great Zeal and good Intentions towards the Church of *Rome* and Council, he excuſed his Maſter's abſence, offered them his Labour and Services in his Name; and withal told them, that the diſtance of Place, and difficulty of the Journey, was the cauſe why the Biſhops, whom the Emperour had ordered to come from *Spain*, were not yet arrived. This was done during the Diet of *Wormes*, mentioned above. The Cardinals Legates return him anſwer: That though they never queſtioned the Emperour's Piety, yet his Speech had been very acceptable to them: and that ſince the Pope, the true Vicar of Chriſt, and Succeſſor of *Peter*, the Prince of the Apoſtles, had, with the advice of the Emperour, called that Council, for curing the publick Evils, and eſpecially thoſe of *Germany*; they hoped, that the Emperour would take care that nothing ſhould be determined concerning Religion at *Wormes*, but that all things be referred to the Council; for that that was a Matter that highly concerned both the peace of his Conſcience, and his Reputation: But that, if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, not only the ancient Cuſtom

The Pope's Legates ſent to *Trent*.

Mendoza's Speech to the Fathers in Name of the Emperour.

The Cardinals anſwer *Mendoza*.

ſtom of the Church, but the Law of God and Man alſo would be violated, a pernicious Precedent introduced, and the Dignity of the Council utterly vilified: that as for himſelf, his perſon and preſence was very acceptable unto them. However, ſince moſt part of the Members were late in coming, there was nothing done that Year, unleſs that in the *Advent* (which is the time immediately preceding the Birth of Chriſt) ſome Monks preached to the Fathers, according to the uſual cuſtome. The Pope alſo in his Bull of *Indulgences*, emitted the Thirteenth of *December*, bewails the Miſery of the Times, which he affirms to be ſo great, by reaſon of over-ſpreading Hereſies, that all the pains, labour, and care that poſſibly he can and does take, does not all ſatisfie himſelf: that therefore he had called a Council, that the Wounds of the Church, which wicked Hereticks had made, might be healed: that now, ſeeing the ſalvation of all men depends upon it; and then, that the Fathers of the Council, aſſiſted by other mens Prayers, may be the more acceptable to God; He exhorts all and every one, that forthwith they betake themſelves to Repentance; confeſs their Sins to a Prieſt; three days a Week ſubdue the Fleſh by faſting, and the ſame days be preſent at Divine Service; or if their Health do not allow it, that they beſtow ſomething on the Poor. That the poorer ſort ſay often over their *Pater noſter*, and then receive the Sacrament. To thoſe that obey, he grants Free Pardon and Remiſſion of Sins, and commands all Biſhops to declare the ſame to the People. The ſeventh of *January* after, when the number of the Biſhops was encreaſed, the Council commenced: And when they were all met in the chief Church, after Maſs, the Cardinal-Legates, whom we named, read a Speech to the Fathers, telling them, that for three cauſes the Council was called; That Hereſies might be rooted out; the Diſcipline of the Church reſtored, and Peace reſetled: That the blame of the preſent Calamities ought to be imputed to the Clergy; for that no Man did his Duty, nor minded God's Husbandry as he ought; and that therefore Hereſies were ſprung up like Briers: and that though they themſelves had raiſed no Hereſie, yet becauſe they had not laboured the Land, ſowed the good Seed, and rooted out the growing Tares, they were in the ſame fault: that they ſhould look about them, and every one examine his own Conſcience, whether or not he had done his Duty: that certainly all the blame lay at their doors, that the Diſcipline of the Church was neglected. That a third Evil was War, and that this was a puniſhment inflicted by God for the neglect of Religion and Diſcipline: that the Church was now afflicted not onely with Turkiſh and Foreign Arms, but alſo with Domeſtick and Civil, whileſt either Kings themſelves were at War, or they, who had made defection from their own Paſtors, confounded all Order, and made havock of the Goods of the Church: That they themſelves had given occaſion to all theſe Evils, when, through Avarice and Ambition, they had introduced into the World moſt pernicious Principles of living: That therefore God's Judgment was juſt, in ſmiting them ſo at this time, and that yet the puniſhment was far leſs than what they had deſerved: that happy were they, indeed, who ſuffered for Righteouſneſs-ſake, but that they could pretend to no ſuch thing, who deſerved a far more heavy Judgment: That all and every one, then, ſhould confeſs their Faults, and ſtudy to appeaſe the Wrath of God; for that unleſs they acknowledge them, there was no hopes of amendment, and then it was in vain to hold a Council, and in vain alſo to implore the Grace and Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt: That it was, truly, a great Bleſſing of God, that he had given occaſion of beginning a Council, whereby, as *Jeruſalem* of old, after a long Captivity; ſo the Church, after a long and violent Storm, being brought into a ſafe Harbour, might be repaired: That *Eſdras*, *Nehemiah*, and the reſt of the leaders, when they were returned home, ſeriouſly admoniſhed the People of *Iſrael*, that confeſſing their own, and the ſins of their Forefathers, they ſhould implore the Mercy of God; that the ſame Example was to be imitated by them: that there were men in thoſe days who hindred and laughed at the *Jews*, who were repairing *Jeruſalem*: that in this Age alſo there would not be wanting thoſe that would endeavour and do the ſame thing: and that, becauſe they bore the Office of Judges, they muſt have a care not to be ſwayed by Paſſions and Affections, but to lay aſide all hatred and friendſhip, not to determine any thing for the love or favour of man, nor flatter the ears or deſires of any, but to aſcribe all Glory and Honour to God alone: for that all Ranks and Orders of Men

1546.

Preaching Monks acted the firſt part in the Council.

A Bull of Indulgences.

The commencement the Council.

The firſt Seſſion.

1546. had ſtrayed from the way, nor was there any that did good, no not one. That the eyes of God himſelf, and his Angels, were upon this Aſſembly, and that the thoughts of no man's heart could be hid from them: That they ſhould then act with ſincerity, and that thoſe Biſhops who were ſent by Kings and Princes, ſhould, indeed, obey their Inſtructions, but have, in the firſt place, the Fear of God before them, and not be biaſſed either by love or hatred: for that ſince it was for the ſake of Peace they were met, all Faction and Contention ſhould be baniſhed.

The Decree of the firſt Seſſion.

After this Oration was made, the Decree of the Seſſion was next read by *John Fonſeca*, a *Spaniard*, Biſhop of *Caſtrimarino*. Therein all that profeſs the Chriſtian Religion, are admoniſhed to reform their Lives, to fear God, often confeſs their Sins, frequent the Churches, and pray for the Publick Peace: That Biſhops and all other Prieſts be diligent at their Prayers, and every Lord's Day, at leaſt, ſay Maſs, and pray for the Pope, the Emperour, and the whole State of Chriſtendome: that they alſo faſt, and relieve the Poor. That in the chief Church the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt be ſaid every Thurſday, and in time of Oblation, all be intent upon the Prieſt, and refrain from talking. That the Biſhops alſo live ſoberly, uſe no luxury in their Tables, and avoid all vain and idle Diſcourſe, accuſtoming their Families to do the like; that in Speech, Apparel, and all their Actions, they may appear honeſt and decent: and that becauſe it is the chief deſign of the Council, that the darkneſs of Errour and Hereſie, which for ſo many Years have over-ſpread the World, being diſperſed, the light of Truth may ſhine out, all Men, but eſpecially the learned, are admoniſhed, to conſider with themſelves, what way chiefly that may be done: That in giving their Opinions, they ſhould obſerve the Decree of the Council of *Toledo*; act modeſtly, not with clamour and noiſe; not be contentious, nor obſtinate, but ſpeak what they have to ſay calmly and ſedately.

The ſecond Seſſion of the Council of *Trent*.

The next Seſſion was on the fourth of *February*. In it nothing was done, but that they made a Profeſſion of their Faith, and appointed the eighth of *April* for the next Seſſion; for many more were ſaid to be upon their way to come to the Council: they thought it fit then to ſtay for them, that the Authority of the Decrees might be of the greater force.

Luther choſen Umpire betwixt the Counts of *Mansfield*.

Whileſt theſe things were acting at *Trent*, *Luther*, being invited, goes to the Courts of *Mansfield*, to take up a difference that was betwixt them, concerning their Bounds and Inheritance. It was not, indeed, his cuſtome to meddle in affairs of that nature, having ſpent his whole Life in ſtudies: but ſeeing he was born at *Iſleben*, a Town within the Territories of *Mansfield*, he could not refuſe that Service to the Counts and his Native Countrey. Before he arrived at *Iſleben*, which was about the end of *January*, he was indiſpoſed in health, nevertheleſs, he diſpatched the Affair he was ſent for, and ſometimes preached in the Church, where he alſo took the Sacrament. But on the ſeventeenth of *February*, he began to be downright ſick in his Stomach. He had three Sons with him, *John*, *Martin*, and *Paul*, beſides ſome Friends, and amongſt theſe *Juſtus Jonas*, Miniſter of the Church of *Hall*: and though he was grown now weak, yet he dined and ſupped with the reſt. Diſcourſing of ſeveral things at Supper, amongſt other things he put the Queſtion, Whether in the Life to come, we ſhould know one another? and when they deſired to know his Opinion as to that. What was the caſe, ſaid he, with *Adam*? He had never ſeen *Eve*; but when God made her, lay faſt aſleep: but ſeeing her, when he awake, he asks not, who ſhe was, or whence ſhe came, but ſays, *this is fleſh of my fleſh, and bones of my bones.* Now how came he to know that? but that being full of the Holy Ghoſt, and endued with the true Knowledge of God, he ſpake ſo: after the ſame manner, we alſo ſhall be renewed by Chriſt in the other World, and ſhall know our Parents, Wives, Children, and every thing elſe, much more perfectly than *Adam* knew *Eve*. After Supper, having withdrawn to Pray, as his cuſtom was, the pain in his Stomach began to encreaſe. Then, by the advice of ſome, he took a little Unicorns-horn in Wine, and, for an Hour or two, ſlept very ſweetly upon a Couch in the Stove: when he awoke, he retired into his Chamber, and again diſpoſed himſelf to reſt, after he had taken leave of his Friends that were preſent, and bid them, Pray to God, ſaid he, that he would preſerve to us the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel; for the Pope and Council of *Trent* are hatching Miſchief. All being huſh'd, he ſlept a pretty while, but his Diſtemper increaſing upon him he awoke, after Midnight complaining of the ſtoppage of his

Whether we ſhall know one another in the life to come.

his Stomach, and perceiving his end drawing nigh, in theſe words he addreſſed himſelf to God. 1546.

Luther's Prayer before his death.

O God, my heavenly Father, and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, God of all Conſolation, I give thee thanks, that thou haſt revealed unto me thy Son JESUS CHRIST, *in whom I have believed, whom I have confeſſed, whom I have loved, whom I have declared and preached, whom the Pope of* Rome, *and the multitude of the Ungodly, do perſecute and diſhonour: I beſeech thee, my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, receive my Soul: O heavenly Father, though I be ſnatched out of this Life, though I muſt now lay down this Body, yet know I aſſuredly, that I ſhall abide with thee for ever, and that no man can pluck me out of thy hands.*

Luther's death.

Not long after he had made an end of that Prayer, having once and again commended his Spirit into the Hands of God, he in a manner gently ſlept out of this Life, without any bodily Pain or Agony, that could be perceived. And ſo *Luther*, to the great grief of many, died in his own Countrey, (which for many Years he had not ſeen) the eighteenth of *February*. The Counts of *Mansfield* deſired, indeed, to have buried him within their Territories, becauſe there he had his Birth; but by Orders from the Prince Elector, he was carried to *Wittemberg*; and five days after honourably buried there. He was about Sixty three Years of Age; for he was born the Tenth of *November*, 1483. of honeſt and well-reſpected Parents, *John* and *Margaret*. His firſt Rudiments of Learning he had at home, afterwards, being ſent to *Magdeburg* and *Iſenach*, he far outſtript all of his Age. Next he came to *Erfurdt*, and applied himſelf wholly to *Logick* and *Philoſophy*: and having ſtayed there ſome time, without acquainting his Parents and Relations, he put himſelf into a Monaſtery of *Auguſtine* Friers, and bent his whole ſtudies to *Divinity*, abandoning the ſtudy of the Law, to which he had addicted himſelf before. Now there was a new Univerſity eſtabliſhed at *Wittemberg*: wherefore *Stupitius*, whom we mentioned in the firſt Book, being Rector thereof, invited *Luther*, that he might come and profeſs Divinity there. He was afterwards ſent to *Rome*, by thoſe of his Order, that he might ſollicite a Suit of Law, that they had depending there; and that was in the Year, One thouſand five hundred and ten. Being returned home, at the inſtigation of his Friends, he took his Doctor's Degree, Duke *Frederick* being at the Charge of it. How eloquent and fluent in Language he was, his Works ſufficiently teſtifie. The *German* Language, his own Mother-Tongue, he much beautified and enriched, and in it he merited greateſt applauſe, for he turned out of *Latine* into *Dutch*, things that were thought could not be tranſlated, uſing moſt ſignificant and proper words, and in one ſingle Diction ſometimes expreſſing the emphaſis of a whole Sentence. In one place, writing of the Pope, how he had prophaned the Lord's Supper, and cauſed Maſs to be ſaid alſo for the Dead: he ſaith, that with his Maſs he had not only pierced into all the corners of the Chriſtian World, but even into Purgatory itſelf: but he uſeth a *Dutch* word, which repreſents a noiſe, ſuch as may be made by the ratling of dead Mens bones, when one hurls or ſhoots at, and ſuddenly throws down a pile of them. He was a Man of a moſt undaunted Spirit. When he began firſt to Preach concerning Indulgences, he was ignorant what it might tend to, as he himſelf confeſſes, and medled with nothing but that; wherefore he wrote very humbly then to the Pope and others: but when he advanced more and more in the knowledge of the Scripture, and found that his Doctrine was agreeable to the Word of God, he bore the brunt of his Adverſaries malice, and the hatred of the whole World, with an unſhaken courage, and ſtood unmovable, like a brazen Wall, deſpiſing all danger. When the Emperour, being crowned by *Clement* VII. held a Diet at *Ausbourg*, a fearful Storm ſeemed then to threaten, as we mentioned in the Seventh Book; but he, in the mean time, both privately and publickly comforted all his Friends, and applying the 46th *Pſalm* to the preſent juncture, *God*, ſaid he, *is our refuge and ſtrength*, &c. That old Enemy of Mankind, is now, indeed, buſie at work, applying all his Engines: and our power is but weak, nor can we long withſtand ſo great a force: But that Champion whom God himſelf choſe, hath taken up Arms and fighteth for us: if you ask who that is; know that it is *Jeſus Chriſt*, who muſt needs conquer and triumph: Though the whole World ſwarm alſo with

His dead Body is carried to *Wittemberg*. The Birth and Life of *Luther*.

He was ſent to *Rome*.

Luther's Eloquence in the *German* Language.

His Conſtancy and Courage.

1546. Devils, we are not therefore diſmayed, but with aſſured confidence expect a joyful iſſue: and though *Satan* foam and rage, yet ſhall he be able to do nothing againſt us: for he is judged, and the Word alone makes all his Arms to fall: that Word our adverſaries ſhall not rob us of, but whether they will or no, ſhall leave it with us: for the Lord is in our Camp and in our Battels, and defends us by his ſpiritual gifts and graces: if they take away thy Goods, Children, and Wife, bear it patiently: for they get nothing thereby, and to us there is an immortal Kingdom prepared. That Pſalm which, as I ſaid, he applied to thoſe ſad and diſmal times, he paraphraſed alſo into *Dutch* Rhyme, and ſet a Tune for it, very agreeable to the Subject, and proper to excite and elevate the mind: and therefore, ſince that time, it is frequently ſung amongſt the other Pſalms. That the Decree of *Ausbourg*, ſuch as it is, was made, he blames for it Pope *Clement*, and his Legate *Campegi*, in a Book which he afterwards publiſhed: but ſpeaks very honourably of the Emperour, whoſe Name and Authority they made uſe of, though, he ſays, he was innocent.

The Authors of the Decree of *Ausbourg*.

THE

1546.

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK XVII.

The CONTENTS.

John Diazi, *going with* Bucer *to the Conference at* Ratisbonne, *is murdered by the procurement of his Brother* Alphonso. *The* Landgrave *being admitted to a Conference with the Emperour, tells him what kind of a Council it was that the Protestants demanded, and having excused himself, that he could not be present at the Diet, is very friendly dismissed by the Emperour. The Pope, having pronounced sentence against the Archbishop of* Cologne, *thunders him with Excommunication. A Report is spread abroad, that the* Emperour, Ferdinand, *and the* Pope, *are making great Preparations against* Germany. *Decrees are made by the Fathers at* Trent. *In that Session* Peter Danes, *Embassadour from the* French *King, makes an harangue. The* Emperour *cunningly sollicites some Cities of* Germany, *and the* Switzers *also. The Protestants having heard his answer, arm. The Articles of the League betwixt the* Emperour *and* Pope *are related: the* Emperour *is so inflamed by the* Pope, *that he makes no head against the encroaching* Turk, *but bends all his Force against the Protestants. The Castle of* Erenberg *and Town of* Donawert *being taken, the* Emperour, *by Proclamation, puts the Duke of* Saxony *and* Landgrave *to the Ban of the Empire. The* Pope's *Army comes to the* Emperour's *assistance.*

MEntion was made a little before of the Conference at *Ratisbonne*. Now *John Diazi*, a *Spaniard*, with leave from the Senate of *Strasbourg*, went thither with *Bucer*. For many Years he had followed his studies at *Paris*, and applied himself to the *Sorbonne*-Divinity: but falling upon the Books of *Luther* and others, and being indefatigable in reading the Scriptures, he began more and more to nauseate that Doctrine: and, at length, that he might profit the more, he left *Paris* and came to *Geneva*, where *Calvin* was then Minister. After some stay there, he went to *Strasbourg*: and because *Bucer* perceived him to be a Man of much learning and unwearied study, being within some Months after to go to the Conference at *Ratisbonne*, he proposed to the Senate, that they would be pleased to send him with him, as a Companion and Fellow-labourer. Being come then to *Ratisbonne*, in the Month of *December*, he went to pay a visit to *Peter Malvenda*, we spake of before, whom he had known at *Paris*. He, as all in amaze, lamented and bewailed to see him in those parts, and in the company of Protestants too, who would triumph more for one *Spaniard* brought over to their party, than for some thousands of *Germans*. Wherefore he began to admonish him to have a care of his Reputation, and not cast so foul a blemish upon Himself, his Countrey and Family. *Diazi* answered modestly, commending only the Protestant Doctrine, and so at that time departed: but when some days after he returned again, according as they had appointed, *Malvenda* set all engines at work to deter him; and having spoken much of the power of the Pope, he layed before him at large, what a grievous thing his Excommunication was: and then seeing the Emperour was to be there within a little time, he advised

John Diazi went to the Conference at Ratisbonne.

John Diazi's Conference with Malvenda.

1546. adviſed him not to ſtay his coming, which, perchance, might be dangerous to him, but that he would go meet him, fall at the feet of the Emperour's Confeſſor, and beg pardon for the offence he had committed; and in that he promiſed to aſſiſt him. Whereunto *Diazi* made a reſolute and brisk Anſwer, affirming, that the Doctrine of the Proteſtants was the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and bewailing the miſery of his Native Countrey, *Spain*, that lay under ſo much darkneſs; he alſo reproved *Malvenda* and his companions, for impugning the truth, and giving the Emperour bad Counſels. He ſeriouſly adviſed him to deſiſt, told him, that he would take none of his counſel, but that, with the grace of God, he would, in ſpight of all danger, profeſs and perſiſt in that Saving Doctrine. When *Malvenda* ſaw, that he was throughly confirmed, *Your coming hither, was in vain*, ſaid he; *for nothing will be determined here: but if you had had a mind to do good to the Publick, as you boaſt, indeed, you ſhould have gone to Trent.* After this *Diazi* always ſhunned his company. In the mean time *Malvenda*, having written to the Emperour's Confeſſour, gives him an account of the whole Matter, and earneſtly adviſes him, that he would preſently prevent this growing evil. One *Marquina*, a *Spaniard*, who was lately come from *Rome*, was preſent when the Letter was delivered: and he being informed of what was laid to *Diazi*'s charge, began to excuſe him, as having been familiarly acquainted with him: But returning home ſome few days after, he relates to *Alfonſo*, the Brother of *Diazi*, a Lawyer at *Rome*, what he had heard from the Emperour's Confeſſour. In the mean time *Diazi* went from *Ratisbonne* to *Newbourg*, a Town belonging to the Prince Palatine, *Otho Henry*, and ſeated upon the *Danube*, twelve Miles above *Ratisbonne*. The cauſe of his going, was, that he might correct at the Preſs, the Sheets of a Copy which *Bucer* had given to a Printer of *Newbourg* to be printed. *Alfonſo*, his Brother, being moved by *Marquina*'s Diſcourſe, and perhaps alſo, by ſome Mens Letters, immediately prepares for his Journey, and, with all ſpeed, comes firſt to *Ausbourg*, and then to *Ratisbonne*, till being informed where *Diazi* was, he haſtens thither, and gives him an account of the reaſon of his ſudden and unexpected coming. Afterwards he makes uſe of the very ſame Arguments almoſt, that *Malvenda* had plied him with before at *Ratisbonne*. When he could not prevail that way, he promiſes him a yearly Penſion out of Church-Livings, provided he would go with him to *Rome*. When that would not take neither, ſome days after, he comes and tells him, that he was convinced, and pretends to be in love with the Doctrine of the Goſpel he profeſſed; praying him withal, that he would leave *Germany*, that abounded with learned Men, and needed not his Labour, and go with him to *Rome*, where he might do good to many: that they would take *Trent* in their way, where there were many learned and judicious Men, who would be very glad of his Converſation and Acquaintance: that then they would proceed to *Rome*, and *Naples*; ſo that many by his means being inſtructed in the right way in ſeveral places of *Italy*, it might be an occaſion, that the ſame Doctrine ſhould be alſo propagated in *Spain*. Wherefore he prays and beſeeches him, that he would comply with him in that, promiſing to defray the Charges of the Journey, and to furniſh him with all Neceſſaries. *Diazi*, overjoyed at this, both for his own and Brother's ſake, writes of it to *Bucer* and others at *Ratisbonne*, and demands their Advice. They write back to him again, and counſel him not to go with him. *Alfonſo*, then, failing in his hopes, prays him, to go with him, at leaſt, to *Ausbourg*. *Bucer* in the mean time comes to *Newbourg*, upon his Journey homewards, as we ſaid before, and entreats him not to move a ſtep from thence, nor did he himſelf budge out of the Town until *Alfonſo* departed, which was *May* the twenty-fifth. Now the day before *Alfonſo* went away, he entertained his Brother very kindly, exhorted him to conſtancy, and reckoned himſelf happy, that in a few days he had by his diſcourſe profited ſo much in the true knowledge of God: He beſought him to write to him now and then; promiſed him all kindneſs; forced fourteen *Duckets* upon him, whether he would or not; and ſo, with many Tears ſhed on either ſide, departs, and goes to *Ausbourg*, ſix Miles diſtant, by Waggon. Next day, having by good Words and a little Money, ſtayed the Waggoner ſome time, that he might get before him, he takes the ſame way he came, and having bought an Axe of a Carpenter, whom he accidentally met upon the Road, *March* the twenty-ſeventh, by break of day he comes to *Newbourg*, and leaving his Horſes without the Gate, with the Poſt of *Ausbourg*, whom he had brought with him, he enters the Town, accompanied by his Man, a bloody Ruffian, and goes ſtreight to his Brother's Lodging. The Servant, that he might not preſently be known,

Malvenda's Letter to the Emperour's Confeſſour.

Diazi goes to *Newbourg*.

Alfonſo, *Diazi*'s Brother comes into *Germany*.

The *Cain*-like and traitorous Mind of *Alfonſo*.

known, had put on the Habit and Cap of a Poſt, and going before, knocks at the door, and asks for *Diazi*, for whom he ſaid he had Letters. Being let in, he went up ſtairs, whileſt *Alfonſo* ſtayed below, to watch, that none might come and prevent their deſign. *Diazi* being awakened, and told, that a Poſt was there from his Brother, ſtarts out of Bed, and in his Cloak and Night-cap only, ſteps into the next Chamber: preſently comes the Fellow, and delivers him a Letter, when it was hardly as yet day: The purport of the Letter was; That he was mightily concerned for the danger he was in: that he ſhould look to himſelf, and have a care of *Malvenda*, and ſuch other Enemies of the Goſpel. Whileſt *Diazi* was reading the Letter, the Murtherer ſtanding at his Back, ſtruck the Axe, that he had hid under his Coat, with all his force into the right ſide of his Head, even up to the handle, ſo that all the Organs and Veſſels of his Brain being broken and diſordered by the ſudden blow, he died without ſpeaking a word. The *Ruffian* leaves the Axe ſticking in the Wound, and getting preſently down ſtairs, haſtens out of Town with his barbarous and inhumane Maſter. There they mount on horſeback at the Gate, and with all ſpeed poſt away to *Bothmey*, a little Town half-way betwixt *Ausbourg* and *Newbourg*, where, taking the freſh Horſes which they left there on purpoſe, they come back to *Ausbourg*. One *Claude Senarcley*, a young Gentleman of *Savoy*, by chance lay in the ſame Room with *Diazi*, but the Murther was ſo ſilently committed, that he heard nothing of it, till the murtherer, going down ſtairs, made a noiſe with his Spurs; at which, he ſtarting out of Bed, and coming into the next Room, there found a ſad and doleful Spectacle lying before his eyes. The Report of this horrid and unheard-of Villany was immediately ſpread all over *Newbourg*; where ſome Courtiers, that had a love for *Diazi*, taking Horſe, purſued the Malefactors; and being come to *Ausbourg*, and no News of them there, were about to return home, as deſpairing of ſucceſs: but one of their number, *Michael Herffer*, a ſtronger man than the reſt, with all ſpeed followed the purſuit, and whileſt the murtherers, quite ſpent with the Journey, were taking a little reſt in a Village, he got before them to *Inſpruck*, whither they were coming, and informs the Magiſtrate of the whole matter. Not long after they arrived alſo, where, being apprehended, he accuſes them of Murther and Parricide, and writes an account of all his Proceedings to his Prince, *Otho Henry*. The Prince, hereupon, ſent two of his Counſellors from *Newbourg* to *Inſpruck*, with Orders to manage the Proceſs. *April* the firſt, they came thither by Poſt, and that the Fact might be put out of all doubt, bring with them *Diazi*'s Night-cap, the bloody Axe, ſtill daubed over with the gore, and his Brothers Letter that was brought to him. But before they arrived, *Alfonſo* had leave given him, to write to ſome Friends, of the condition he was in. *April* the ſecond, the Deputies of *Newbourg*, having laid open the whole Matter before the Magiſtrates, demand Juſtice to be done upon the Priſoners, or if they denied the Fact, that they ſhould be put to the rack. Theſe refer them to other Judges, before whom, when they had appeared, the Priſoners had Counſel aſſigned them, and theſe Advocates ſpun out the Matter from day to day; till at length the Accuſers were ordered to bring in their Indictment in *Latin* and *Spaniſh*; whileſt, in the interim, it was given out, that Letters were come from the Emperour, as he was upon his Journey to *Ratisbonne*, commanding a *Nolle Proſequi*; becauſe, that he would have the Matter to be brought to a tryal before Himſelf and his Brother, in the next Diet. When nothing elſe could be obtained, *Otho Henry*, and the *Elector Palatine*, require the Senate of *Inſpruck*, to ſend the Priſoners with ſecurity to *Newbourg*, where the Crime was committed: but, by the Emperour's Letters, they excuſe themſelves. At the time the Murther was committed, the Emperour came to *Spire*, on his Journey to *Ratisbonne*: And whileſt he ſtopt at *Deux-pontz*, a Town belonging to *Wolffgang*, Prince Palatine, the Princeſs his Wife, Daughter to the *Landgrave*, at that time lay in: The Emperour gave her a Viſit, and having paſs'd ſome Compliments upon her, diſtributed large Preſents amongſt the Women; but becauſe he had nothing about him, that was fit to give the Lady herſelf, he ſent her a Preſent afterwards from *Spire*, whither he came about the latter end of *March*.

1546.

John Diazi is killed by his Brother's means.

What was done with the Ruffians at *Inſpruck*.

The Emperour comes to *Spire*, on his Journey to *Ratisbonne*. He viſits the D. of *Deux-pont*'s Lady, Daughter to the *Landgrave*.

The *Landgrave*, as we ſaid before, had been adviſed, by *Naves*, to come and wait upon the Emperour, whileſt he was on his Progreſs to *Ratisbonne*: *Granvell* had put him in mind of the ſame thing alſo, in the Month of *February*, when the Emperour was at *Maeſtricht*. Having then obtained a ſafe Conduct from the Emperour, he came to *Spire*; whither came alſo the Elector Palatine, and *William Maſſen-*

1546. *Maſſenbach*, Embaſſadour from the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; and this was on the twenty-eighth day of *March*. The *Landgrave* therefore went to the Emperour, and his Chancelour, ſpeaking in his Name, had a private Conference with him, wherein, having told the reaſon and occaſion of his coming; We have Advice, ſaid he, moſt mighty Emperour, not from one Place only, nor out of *Germany* alone, but from foreign Countreys alſo, that your Majeſty, at the Pope's inſtigation, are hatching bad purpoſes againſt the Confederates of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion: It is a current Report alſo, that in the Treaty of Peace, you perſwaded the *French* King, to aſſiſt you in puniſhing them: nay more, that you ſollicite the *Turk* for a Truce, that you may the more conveniently accompliſh your Deſigns; and that therefore a Council, it is ſaid, was called by the Pope, and is begun, that by vertue of the Decrees, that are quickly to paſs there, the Matter may be put into execution. Now that which makes us give ſome credit to this Report, and does not a little ſtartle us, is the Proceſs carried on ſo vigorouſly againſt the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and that heavy Proclamation publiſhed againſt him, at the Suit and Importunity of his Enemies. And foraſmuch as we ſo freely contributed our aid and aſſiſtance to your Majeſty againſt the *French* and *Turks*, and were ready to have done greater things, as we made it appear at *Spire*; becauſe we contributed alſo more than our Anceſtours were accuſtomed to do, and that your Majeſty, both at *Spire* and *Ratisbonne*, gave us large aſſurances of Peace, Liberty, and Property; theſe are things we did not at all look for. We are, nevertheleſs, in good hopes, Sir, that before your Majeſty leave *Germany*, you will, by a National Council of the Empire, cauſe Religion to be ſetled, according to the Warrant of God's Word; and if, perhaps, the difference cannot be taken up, that you will command the Peace, which was promiſed to us at *Spire*, to be inviolably obſerved, and that in ſuch manner, that no Decree of the Council, nor Diet of the Empire, may be able to alter or annul it. To theſe things the Emperour made anſwer, by *Naves*, That there had, indeed, ſeveral Reports been brought to him of them, as if they intended ſome Stirs, but that he did not believe them, eſpecially after that he had ſeen his Letters to *Naves*, and that he believed them far leſs now: That he could bring no proof of what he ſaid, concerning the *French* King: that he had only a Peace with him, and nothing elſe: that it was the humour of the *French*, to brag and talk raſhly of things: That he moved the *Turk* to a Truce, chiefly for the ſake of *Germany*: for ſince that in almoſt all Diets, Grievances had been repreſented of the heavy Burdens and Charges, and the Poverty of the People, he looked upon that to be the moſt proper way, that, during the Truce, they might have time to treat of carrying on the War againſt him abroad, and of ſetling Religion at home: However, that there was nothing as yet determined in the matter, but that he would diſcourſe his Brother about it: That, after a great deal of labour and pains he had been at, the Council, which for ſo many Years they had importuned him about, was now met: that whatever he had done in that Affair, was with a very good intention to the Publick: and that it was very ill done in ſome, who, perhaps, put a contrary interpretation upon it: That he had uſed the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* kindly, but that he was unwilling to put the leaſt ſtop to his Proceedings: That he himſelf was witneſs of what preparation he was in for a War: That he had none about him but his Friends and Servants: That he raiſed no Troops: and that the reaſon why he had ſent for him, was, becauſe he looked upon him as a lover of Peace: and that therefore he deſired to know of him, how he thought Matters of Religion might be compoſed, or what he did believe might be obtained from his Confederates: but that if at preſent he was unwilling to give a poſitive anſwer as to that, he would appoint Commiſſioners to confer with him about the matter. With that the *Landgrave* ſpeaking himſelf, If, Sir, ſaid he, I could contribute any thing to the Peace and Safety of *Germany*, and to the preſervation of true Friendſhip betwixt your Majeſty and all the States of the Empire, I would, certainly, ſpare no Labour nor Pains on my part, and for that cauſe I chiefly came hither: I ſhould have been glad, indeed, that more of the Confederates had been here, but becauſe of the narrowneſs of the time, that could not be; for the Elector of *Saxony* is at a great diſtance, and *James Sturmey* is detained by ſickneſs. I believe, indeed, your Majeſty has had various Reports brought unto you, but, really, Matters are no otherwiſe, than as I wrote to the *Hier Naves*. For we entred into no Reſolution againſt your Majeſty at *Franckfort*, but all we did, was only, how we might perſevere in our Religion, and be able to defend ourſelves againſt unjuſt Violence: We had intelli-

The *Landgrave* comes to the Emperour.

The *Landgrave*'s Speech to the Emperour.

The Emperour's Anſwer to the *Landgrave*.

The *Landgrave*'s words to the Emperour.

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gence of the *French* King, as if in view of the affinity of the Duke of *Orleans* with your Majeſty, he had promiſed you Supplies againſt us: That your Majeſty ſued to the *Turk* for a Truce, was a thing many wiſe men wondered at, and could not but conclude, it was for ſome great Matter, ſeeing you were at peace with the King of *France*: but now that your Majeſty ſays, you do it for the ſake of the Publick, I have nothing, indeed, to ſay to the contrary: for it is long ſince *Germany* ſtood in need of ſome eaſe from the great Charges it hath been at: We did, indeed, earneſtly demand a Council, but it was a free, pious Council, and that in *Germany* too: now that we do not reckon the Council of *Trent* for ſuch, we fully declared to your Majeſty at *Worms*; for all *Laicks*, as they call us, being excluded, the Biſhops and others, who are bound by Oath to the Pope, take to themſelves ſolely the Power of Judging and Decreeing: That I ſhould propoſe ſome way for accommodation in Religion, is a thing, Sir, I dare not venture upon, without the concurrence of my Allies; and I'm ſure, that if I did ſo, I ſhould have but little thanks from either ſide for my pains: but, in the mean time, provided it draw not into conſequence, I do not refuſe a Conference with ſuch as your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to appoint for that purpoſe. The truth is, I have no great hopes in the Council, but believe, that a Provincial Aſſembly of *Germany* might not prove unuſeful; for other People differ too much from us as yet, in Opinions and Doctrine; but in *Germany* matters are now come to that paſs, that they cannot be changed: ſo that nothing could be better, than if your Majeſty would allow a liberty of Religion there, but ſo, that all ſhould live together quietly and in peace. I make no doubt, but that the Conference you appointed at *Ratisbonne*, was done by your Majeſty with a very good intent: but I had it from thoſe that were preſent, How ſome bitter Monks, bring again under debate, Points that were adjuſted ſome Years ſince in the ſame place, and are of ſo bad a Life and Converſation, that no good at all can be expected from them. Without all doubt, the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* is a good Man, and does what he does, purely becauſe he thinks it his Duty, eſpecially ſeeing the Decree of the Diet at *Ratisbonne*, commits the care of the Reformation of his Church to him; which, truly he ſet about in a very moderate manner, taking away no more than what was neceſſary ſhould be, and making but very ſmall Alterations in the Goods of the Church. Now the *Book* he publiſhed for that purpoſe, agrees with the *Holy Scriptures*, and is backed by the *Teſtimonies* of the *ancient Doctors*, *Tertullian*, *Auguſtine*, *Ambroſe*, and others, who lived neareſt the Age of the Apoſtles: if any harſh courſe then be taken againſt him for that matter, it will be a warning to others, who have made far greater Alterations. To this the Emperour replied, That he paſſed by the Treaty of *Franckfort*; neither did believe, the things that were told him of it, nor had given any cauſe why he ſhould; but that yet he was much better ſatisfied by his diſcourſe: That he had, indeed, procured a Council to be called, that it might both be beneficial to the Publick, and that the Fathers, who were there, might of their own accord reform themſelves: and that it was none of his deſign, that violence ſhould be offered to thoſe of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, becauſe of any Decree that might paſs there: that the Conference of *Ratisbonne* was appointed for that very reaſon, which had begun very well, indeed, if it had continued ſo: That the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, though he had promiſed to ſuperſede and delay, did nevertheleſs proceed, and force men to do as he would have them: That it was the intent of the Decree of *Ratisbonne*, that the Biſhops ſhould reform their own Churches, but not introduce a new Faith and Religion: and that it was added, beſides, that they ſhould draw up a formulary of Reformation, and give it in to be conſidered of in the next Diet of the Empire: but that he having turned out the ordinary Miniſters and Paſtors of the Church, had of himſelf appointed new ones: nay, and more, that he withheld the Revenues and Stipends of the Canons, and appropriated part of them to himſelf, carrying all things, by his Edicts, with a high hand, ſo that the Clergy being neceſſitated to implore his help and protection, he could not but according to the Power and Character he bore, put a ſtop to him, by contrary Edicts and Commands: that, in fine, he was well-pleaſed, that the Conference betwixt his Commiſſioners and him, ſhould in no ways be captious nor enſnaring. To which the *Landgrave* made anſwer, That it exceedingly rejoyced him to ſee his gracious Majeſty ſo well-affected towards *Germany* and his Aſſociates, and, that he prayed God, he might perſevere in the ſame mind. For, ſaid he, if your Majeſty, according to that excellent Judgment God has endowed you with, do but ſeriouſly conſider, and weigh with yourſelf,

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Monks the diſturbers of the Peace.

The Emperour's Anſwer to the *Landgrave*.

The *Landgrave* again ſpeaks to the Emperour.

1546. how advantageous *Germany* is to your Majeſty, your Kingdoms and Provinces, you'l find that there is nothing more to be wiſhed for, than that all Ranks and Qualities may rejoyce and delight in you, their chief Magiſtrate, and your Majeſty again uſe them as loving and dutiful Subjects. For, truly, if *Germany* happen to be weakened, it will redound chiefly to your Majeſty's diſadvantage. I have likewiſe moſt joyfully heard what your thoughts and intentions are concerning the Decrees of the Council; but that they ſhould reform themſelves, is a thing, I fear, not to be expected; for they are bound by Oath to the Pope, judge alone in their own cauſe; and though they ſtand in need chiefly of a reformation, yet they look upon that as a thing can do them no great good, and which will prove prejudicial to their yearly Revenues: I doubt things are not carried at the Conference of *Ratisbonne*, in the way and method they ſhould be; for not only Copies of the Proceedings are denied, but alſo in the beginning, our Commiſſioners were not allowed to have Clarks and Notaries. As to the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, I can ſay no more, but what I have already ſaid; He is a Shepherd, and therefore deſires to give good and wholſom Food to his Flock: He thinks, that to be his Duty, and therefore cauſed a Form of Reformation to be drawn up; nay, and thoſe who are now his Adverſaries, and eſpecially *Gropper*, were in the beginning moſt deſirous of a Reformation; but when they find it is come to that, they ſhuffle and draw back. Here the Emperour interrupting, Ha, ſaid he, what can that good Man reform? He has hardly a ſmattering in the *Latine Tongue*; In all his life-time he never ſaid but three Maſſes, of which I myſelf heard two: nor does he know ſo much as the very Rudiments of Learning. But he carefully peruſes *German Books*, anſwered he, and, what I know for a certain, he underſtands Religion. To which the Emperour again replied; To bring in a new Faith and Religion, is not to reform an old. Nor does he profeſs, ſaid the *Landgrave*, to have embraced any new Religion, but to have reſtored the ancient and true one, as it was left unto us by Chriſt and his Apoſtles: that he hath turned out ſome and promoted others to Cures in the Church, is a Duty belonging to his Charge: for if a Miniſter be either of a ſcandalous life and converſation, or unlearned, it is certainly the Biſhops part to ſubſtitute a fit man in his place: there are a great many vacant Churches in the Biſhops Lands, as I can affirm, where, for want of Paſtors, the People are neither taught nor ruled, but lead a diſſolute and barbarous Life, liker to Beaſts than Men. That he intercepts ſome of the Revenues of the Clergy, he gives this reaſon; That he had contributed a great deal of Money to the maintaining of the War againſt the *Turk* and *French*: now it is the cuſtom of the Empire, for Magiſtrates to lay Taxes upon their Subjects on ſuch occaſions, and that therefore he was not to be blamed; but as it is commonly given out, that he does it upon a religious account, that is a malicious Aſperſion of his Enemies, to render him odious. Next day, the *Landgrave*, *Granvell*, *Naves*, and *Masbachen*, met at the *Elector Palatine's* Lodgings. There *Naves* begins the diſcourſe, repeats ſomewhat of the Conference the day before with the Emperour, declares the reaſon of their preſent meeting; and ſhews, that when the Emperour, out of his earneſt deſire of peace and concord, had appointed a Conference at *Ratisbonne*, the Divines had of themſelves broken up and departed. To this the *Landgrave* made anſwer, That he knew nothing as yet of their departure; but that they had written to the Elector of *Saxony* and himſelf, what uneaſie Conditions were propoſed to them, when the Preſidents would neither ſuffer them in the beginning to have Clarks, exhibit any Copy of the Proceedings, nor to ſend home any account of them: that he did hear alſo how immodeſtly the conferring Monks behaved themſelves, who not only recinded what had been agreed upon before, took away all hopes of agreement, but alſo gave ſcandal and offence by their leud Lives and Converſation: that he did not as yet know whether or not his Deputies were therefore gone; but that he had not recalled them. Next ſpoke *Granvell*, and having premiſed ſome things concerning the Emperour's good intentions, and deſire of peace, he partly excuſes what was objected touching the Conditions of the Conference; nevertheleſs, that they were forbid to write home what they thought fit to be imparted, was a thing, he ſaid, they had no orders for from the Emperour. But the *Landgrave*, having pray'd them to wave thoſe things and come to the matter in hand, makes mention of that Decree made two Years before at *Spire*, concerning Peace and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, urging chiefly, a Provincial Council of *Germany*, as the fitteſt means for ſetling and quieting Religion: and becauſe the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and *French*, differed ſo much from the *Germans*,

The ignorance of the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* obſerved by the Emperour.

The Emperour to the *Landgrave*.

The Conferences of ſome Princes.

Granvell ſpeaks.

The *Landgrave* anſwers.

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in the matter of Doctrine, it was his opinion, that a General, or, as they call it, an Oecumenical Council, would be but of little uſe: but let things happen as they pleaſed, whether a reconciliation could or could not be effected, that yet the Decree of *Spire* ought not to be recinded: that the ſtate of Religion was ſuch now in *Germany*, that if any attempted to bear it down by force, it would coſt many and many a thouſand Lives, which would redound to the great loſs of the Emperour, whoſe Power was mightily encreaſed by the Forces of *Germany*, and to the no ſmall Joy and Benefit of other Nations, and eſpecially the *Turks*, our Enemies. The Decree of *Spire* was ſuited to the times, ſaid *Granvell*, and it was none of the Emperour's fault, that it had not its effect: but that it was well enough known, at whoſe door it lay: In Private and National Councils, Vices and Manners only are reformed; but not a word of Faith and Religion: Now there is nothing but Sects and Diviſions, when all Men have not the ſame thoughts in matters of Faith; ſo that to the Debates of this Nature, not only the *Germans*, but all other moroſe Chriſtians alſo have a juſt right: That moſt part of Divines, are a moroſe, awkward and obſtinate ſort of Men, unfit to diſpatch any buſineſs; that therefore Princes and Great Men ought to be admitted, and ſome middle way found out of according Doctrines: nor do you yourſelves allow a liberty of Religion, ſince they who differ from you in Opinion are impriſoned and fined: Now though the Emperour be above all things deſirous of agreement, yet he cannot grant any thing that is impious; for if all things were left to the diſpoſal of the promiſcuous multitude, the chief Magiſtrate himſelf could no longer be ſafe. It is unwiſely done in me, ſaid the *Landgrave*, to ſpeak of ſuch weighty Matters in the abſence of my Aſſociates; However, ſince there is no body here upon the catch, I will go on. I think that the Decree of *Spire* was made by the Emperour, with a very good intent: and ſince our Adverſaries promiſed then to comply with it, they ought not now to retract. In the next place, becauſe we gave the Emperour good aſſiſtance againſt the *French* King, we hope, that what was then granted and confirmed under Hand and Seal, is not to be violated: Now there is nothing that ought to put a ſtop to a National Council: do we not profeſs the ſame Faith that the Apoſtles, that the *Nicene* Council, and *Athanaſius*, profeſſed; and are not our Divines agreed about the chief Points of Faith? There was, indeed, ſome diſpute amongſt them, concerning the *Lord's Supper*, but that is now quite huſhed: there is none but confeſſes, that the Body and Bloud of Chriſt is really there received: There are *Anabaptiſts*, *Davidians*, and I know not who beſides, but thoſe are puniſhed by Law: there is no need then that foreign Nations ſhould alſo be preſent, when theſe things are determined; though, if they propoſed to themſelves the knowledge of the truth, that were chiefly alſo to be wiſhed: that certain middle Opinions were eſtabliſhed, and that by Men of Honour and Quality, I am not much againſt it, but do not think, that it can well be done without Divines: However, I make no doubt, but that if the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel were preached, the Sacrament given in both kinds, and Church-men allowed to marry, as *Paphnutius* of old urged in the Council, a reconciliation might be accompliſhed: I know no place where men are forced to be of our Religion: we do not, indeed, ſuffer a variety or diverſity of Doctrine in one and the ſame place; but we compel no man, nor, upon that account, deprive any of Life or Goods. Now, if men of our Religion were ſuffered to live quietly, and allowed their Churches apart in your Dominions, I ſhould be content, for my own part, to allow the ſame liberty to thoſe of your Perſwaſion throughout all my Territories: but becauſe you will by no means grant that, we alſo are willing, that there ſhould be an equality in thoſe matters: what then I ſaid before of the Decree of *Spire*, and a Council of *Germany*, I ſay again, that I look upon it as the beſt courſe that can be taken. There is no man living, a greater lover of Religion than the Emperour, ſaid *Granvell*, nor will he for fear or favour of the Pope, ſtep the leaſt out of the way of Equity and Juſtice: nay, he hath alſo obſerved the Decree of *Spire*, notwithſtanding the other Party and the Pope too were highly offended thereat; for which reaſon alſo the *Hier Naves*, and I, lie under envy and ill will enough: But now, in a National Council, I cannot ſee who is like to be the Judge; for all men do not underſtand the Scripture in the ſame ſence: and becauſe there ſeems to be but little hopes in a Conference, other ways, certainly, are to be thought on: ſome Points are ſetled, indeed, already; but again, many are ſtill under controverſie; and then *Bucer* gives a larger interpretation to the Points adjuſted, than the thing itſelf will bear: Now, if men go on at that rate,

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Granvell's words.

Divines are awkward and obſtinate.

The *Landgrave's* words.

The Opinion of *Paphnutius* about the Lord's Supper and marriage of Prieſts.

Granvell ſpeaks after the *Landgrave*.

1546. it may be eaſily judged what ſtate *Germany* will be reduced to. You tell very acceptable News, ſaid the *Landgrave*, when you ſay, that the Emperour is not at all influenced by the Pope; and would to God he might bring the Pope to know his duty: Heretofore, the Biſhops of *Rome* honoured the Emperour as their chief Magiſtrate, but now Emperours are bound to them by an Oath of Obedience. In all Controverſies, the Word of God ought chiefly to be the Judge, which is not obſcure, provided the mind of man would ſubmit to it. For it lays Sin open before us, invites us to Repentance and Amendment of Life, and offers to us Chriſt, who took away the Sins of the World, in whoſe Name alſo we are to pray to God the Father, that he would beſtow his holy Spirit upon us: This is the Faith and Doctrine which hath always continued in the Church, as the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Apoſtles Creed*, and ſeveral Hymns and Songs about the Benefits of Chriſt, that are uſed in Churches, do ſufficiently demonſtrate: Nor is it to be minded here, what the Opinion of the greateſt part is, but what is true. For when at *Jeruſalem* moſt of the Apoſtles and Diſciples would have had the Gentiles, to whom the Goſpel was preached, circumciſed, *Peter* only, and *Paul*, *James* and *Barnabas* were of a contrary opinion, and, having convinced the reſt of their error, aboliſhed that yoke of the Law; at which time the greateſt part of the Aſſembly was over-ruled by, and yielded to the judgment of a few, that were in the right. We do not, indeed, give Rules to other People, but heartily wiſh, that the *Germans*, at leaſt, might agree amongſt themſelves. I ſhould not, truly, be againſt the finding out and laying down of ſome middle ways, but ſo, that the Decree of *Spire* ſhould ſtill be in force, in ſo far as concerns the Peace and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice: Now, in other things, it is to be conſidered, what may lawfully, according to the Word of God, be eſtabliſhed; and what not. But I wiſh the Prince Elector, my Kinſman and Friend, who has been preſent at ſeveral Diets, and knows what has paſs'd, would now be pleaſed to ſpeak what he thinks fit to the purpoſe. Then, he having ſpoken ſomewhat as to the Emperour's good intentions, declared his opinion to be, that the Conference at *Ratisbonne* was well begun, and that if it were renewed, and the Points already agreed upon brought no more under debate, he thought matters might be brought to a tolerable accommodation. The Emperour, anſwered *Granvell*, is very much for an accommodation, as hath been oftener than once ſaid before: for he knows, that unleſs that can be accompliſhed, the Publick muſt needs ſuffer; and though the Emperour reap not the leaſt profit from the Empire, and be, beſides indiſpoſed in health, yet, for the ſake of *Germany*, he hath undertaken this Progreſs: He entertains no ſecret Deſigns with the *French* King, or any elſe, nor is he come to ask Supplies, but to do all the publick good he can. The Kings of *England* and *France* are both raiſing Forces, which is a thing much to be ſuſpected: beſides, the death of the Emperour's Daughter-in-law, hath cut him out work enough to do in *Spain*: Nevertheleſs, he hath laid aſide the care of all theſe things, that he may repair to the Diet, but if none of the Princes meet there, what can he do alone? He is much called upon and implored to interpoſe his authority and reform things, and yet no body comes to the place appointed for publick deliberation: It would do very well then, my Lords, ſpeaking to the *Elector Palatine*, and *Landgrave*, if you, who make the chiefeſt Figure amongſt the reſt, would go thither, and be preſent at the Diet. Though, perhaps, ſaid the *Landgrave*, the Emperour have no great Revenues from the Empire, yet is it to be reckoned nothing, that he hath aid and aſſiſtance given him againſt the *Turk*, the King of *France*, and others; that the Dignity of the Empire procures him great Authority with all other Kings; that he can always levy Forces and raiſe vaſt Armies in *Germany*, which is not allowed to others? Our Adverſaries are more clamorous than we, and yet acquieſce not to ſafe and ſound Councils. On our parts, we have approved the Decree of *Spire*, and demanded, that the Points which five Years ſince were agreed upon at *Ratisbonne*, ſhould be confirmed, and entred upon record, and admitted alſo all the juſt and reaſonable Conditions of the laſt Conference: they, on the contrary, have accepted none of theſe things, nor will they condeſcend to any terms: nay, and at *Wormes* they openly proteſted againſt the Conference. Now, for my own part, it is not poſſible that I ſhould go to *Ratisbonne*, the Charges will be ſo great: Beſides, there is a difference depending betwixt the Elector of *Saxony*, and Duke *Maurice*, which, as it is referred to me, becauſe it could not be taken up by Commiſſioners appointed on both ſides, it is of great concern to be adjuſted; nevertheleſs, I ſhall ſend Deputies with ample Inſtructions to the Diet.

The *Landgrav's* Anſwer.

Granvell's Anſwer.

The Elector Palatine's Opinion in this Conference.

The *Landgrave's* Speech.

The *Landgrave* Arbitrator betwixt the Dukes of *Saxony*.

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The Conference thus breaking up, ſome hours after *Naves* came back to the *Landgrave*, to aſſure him, that the Emperour was pleaſed with that days Conference; he again preſſed him, that he would come to *Ratisbonne* in perſon, and asked him, if he was willing to wait upon the Emperour again towards the Evening. He declined not the propoſal, and ſo ſoon as he was come, the Emperour gave him thanks by the mouth of *Naves*, firſt for his coming thither, and then becauſe he perceived, that the *Elector Palatine* and he were deſirous of concord: He told him, moreover, that he thought the Conferrors would again return to *Ratisbonne*, which, if they did not, he would call them thither: but that he deſired, in the mean time, that he would come to the Diet in perſon, if not in the beginning, yet about the latter end of it at leaſt: That he himſelf, laying all other things aſide, had now ſpent three whole Years in *Germany*, that he might make all things quiet there. To this the *Landgrave* anſwers, that the firſt news he heard of the departure of the Conferrors was that day, and that he had told him what he judged might be the cauſe of it: that if it was his Majeſty's deſire, and if his Allies thought fit, that the Divines of both parties ſhould return, his, amongſt the reſt, ſhould not be abſent: But that he could not go thither in perſon, becauſe he had been at great Charges in the War of *Brunſwick*; that he had lately married a Daughter; that he was to be Umpire betwixt the Dukes of *Saxony*; that he could not travel, but with a great Retinue; and that in his abſence his Countrey might be in danger from the Confederates of his Priſoner, the Duke of *Brunſwick*. To all this the Emperour made reply, that it was not his purpoſe, to put him to any unneceſſary Charges, but that he was very deſirous he might come, becauſe he thought his preſence would have a very great influence upon all the Tranſactions, and by that means the *Saxons*, and others, would be excited to do the like: nor needed he to be afraid of the Confederates of Duke *Henry*; for that neither were they ſo powerful, nor though they were, and did attempt any thing, would he himſelf ſit ſtill and ſuffer any man to diſturb the publick peace. The *Landgrave* having urged again his former Reaſons, told his Majeſty, that he could not promiſe any thing; but that he would ſend thither Repreſentatives, who ſhould make it their buſineſs to promote the Peace: but that if in every thing they could not obey and comply with his Majeſty's deſires, he prayed him not to take it ill, but think, that what they did, was not out of any obſtinacy or perverſeneſs, but meerly out of fear of offending the great God; ſince this Life being but very ſhort and uncertain, it was fit men ſhould think of Eternity. The Emperour taking a little notice of the care and pains he himſelf had been at, told him, that the Affair of *Saxony* might be put off, and earneſtly preſs'd him again, that nothing might hinder him from coming; for that, by his good advice and example, he might incline his Allies to moderation and condeſcention, and that ſo their Conſultations might have a lucky beginning. After this, the *Landgrave* having complained of ſome who had aſſiſted the Duke of *Brunſwick*, gives a ſhort relation of the whole matter, and how that he was made priſoner; tells his Majeſty, that Duke *Maurice* and he had received Injuries from them: that they were, indeed, a ſort of fickle and reſtleſs men, born to create troubles: that the night before, one of that number, *Frederick Spede*, had come and told him, that if he would give him the hearing, he would diſcover to him ſome ſecret and crafty Councils, that were a hatching: but that diſtruſting the man, he had refuſed him audience, and told him, that he might ſend him what he had to ſay in Writing. At theſe words, the Emperour fell into a great paſſion againſt *Spede*: and ſo the Conference ended, and the *Landgrave* being, with great expreſſions of friendſhip, diſmiſſed by the Emperour, took his leave, and departed firſt to *Heidelberg*, and then home. But the Emperour continued his Journey ſtreight-way to *Ratisbonne*; and much about the ſame time, to wit, the firſt of *April*, the Deputies of the Proteſtants aſſemble at *Wormes*, to conſult about their Affairs; but becauſe the Emperour had courteouſly diſmiſſed the *Landgrave*, who had acquainted the Duke of *Saxony* by Letter, with all that had paſs'd; *April*, the twenty-third, they break up, that at *Ratisbonne* whither otherwiſe they were going to the Diet, they might conſult of the ſame Affairs. In this Aſſembly, they of *Ravensbourg* entered into the Proteſtant League.

April the eighth, was the third Seſſion of the Council of *Trent*. In it the Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* are reckoned up, and declared to be Canonical, to the leaſt tittle: the Ancient and Vulgar Tranſlation of the Bible only is enjoyned to be made uſe of in the Churches and Schools: It is alſo enacted, that no man preſume

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The Emperour adviſes the *Landgrave* to come to the Diet.

The Emperour thanks the *Landgrave*.

The *Landgrave*'s Anſwer to the Emperour.

The Emperour to the *Landgrave*.

The *Landgrave* to the Emperour.

The Emperour to the *Landgrave*.

The *Landgrave*'s Anſwer.

Spede's foppiſhneſs.

The *Landgrave* takes leave of the Emperour.

An Aſſembly of the Proteſtant Deputies at *Wormes*.

They of *Ravensbourg* enter into the Proteſtant League.

The third Seſſion of the Council of *Trent*, and the Acts of it.

1546. preſume to interpret Scripture according to his own private ſence and apprehenſion, but that therein all men follow the conſent of the Church and Fathers. All *Printers* and *Bookſellers* are commanded alſo, not to Print or Publiſh any thing, without a Licence from their Ordinary. It is furthermore decreed, that no man abuſe Texts of holy Scripture, to idle, fabulous and profane Uſes, to ſuperſtitious Charms and Enchantments, nor in ſcurrilous and ſlandering Phamphlets and Libels; and the ſeventeenth of *June*, is appointed to be the day of the next Seſſion.

The Speech of *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, in the Council.

Don Franciſco de Toledo was Embaſſadour there from the Emperour, who having made a long Speech in his Maſter's commendation, importing how acceptable that day had been to the Emperour, whereon the Pope began the Council, he told the Fathers, that he was made Colleague to *Don Diego de Mendoza*, who being taken with an Ague, was gone back to his former Embaſſie at *Venice*; and having profeſſed his own readineſs to ſerve them, ſaid, that it was their parts to pray to God, that he would ever continue this ſo holy harmony and conſent of minds between his Holineſs and the Emperour, for the publick good, that ſo mens vices being reformed, and hurtful weeds rooted out of the Lord's field, it might again be rightly cultivated and fructifie.

The Pope's Letters to the Biſhops of *Switzerland*.

April the eleventh, the Pope wrote by *Jerome Franco*, whom he then ſent back into *Switzerland*, to the Biſhops of *Sitten* and *Coyra*, and ſome other Abbots, ſignifying to them, that ſince all the Prelates of Chriſtendom were called by him to a General Council at *Trent*, it was but juſt, that they who repreſent the *Helvetian* Church, ſhould in the firſt place repair thither: For that the People of that Nation were, above all others, dear unto him, as being, in a manner, the peculiar Children of the Apoſtolick See, and Defenders of Eccleſiaſtick Liberty: That a great many Biſhops were already come to *Trent*, from *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, and that their numbers daily encreaſed; ſo that it was an unbeſeeming thing, that thoſe who lived at a great diſtance, ſhould have come before them who were neighbours: that their Countrey was in many parts infected with Hereſie, and therefore ſtood the more in need of a Council: that they ſhould now therefore make amends for their paſt remiſneſs by diligence, and haſten thither without longer delay, if they would not incurr the Penalties preſcribed by Law, and the crime of neglect of Duty, and ſlighting the Obedience they promiſed to him by Oath: That his *Nuncio* would tell them the reſt, whom he prayed them to give credit to.

The *Switzers* highly commended.

The Archbiſhop of *Cologne* excommunicated by the Pope.

The Clergy and Colledge of *Cologne*, vigorouſly purſued their Proceſs at *Rome* againſt the Archbiſhop. So that on the ſixteenth of *April*, the Pope pronounced ſentence againſt him; That foraſmuch as unmindful of his own ſalvation, he had ſeveral ways offended againſt the Rules and Doctrine of the Church, and Apoſtolical Traditions, againſt the Rites and Ceremonies of the Chriſtian Religion, in the Church accuſtomed, contrary to the Cenſure of *Leo* X. publiſhed againſt *Luther* and his Adherents; he therefore deprives him of the Communion of the Church, of his Archbiſhoprick, and all other his Benefices, Priviledges, Dignities, and Faculties, charging and commanding all People within his Territories and Juriſdiction, not to obey him in any thing for the future: he alſo abſolves them from their Oath of Allegiance to him, enjoyns him ſilence, and awardeth him to pay to the contrary Party all the Coſts of Suit. The Biſhops of *Liege* and *Utricht*, with the Univerſity of *Louvain*, were joyned with thoſe of *Cologne* in the Action. This Sentence was in the Month of *Auguſt* following printed at *Rome*.

The Emperour's coming to *Ratisbonne*.

So ſoon as the Emperour came to *Ratisbonne*, and was informed of what had paſs'd in the Conference by the Preſidents thereof, he was extreamly offended at the departure of the Divines, and by his circulatory Letters over *Germany*, complains much of it, and earneſtly preſſes the Princes to come themſelves in perſon. From the Proteſtants there came only Deputies: there were alſo preſent, Duke *Maurice*, Duke *Erick* of *Brunſwick*, *John* and *Albert* of *Brandenbourg*, the Biſhops of *Trent*, *Ausbourg*, *Bamberg*, *Wirtsbourg*, *Paſſaw*, and *Hildeſſeim*. About the latter end of *May*, King *Ferdinand* came thither alſo. *June* the ſecond, the Proteſtants make application to the Emperour, complain of the Murder of *John Diazi*, and demand Juſtice to be done upon the murderer: all the Emperour told them was, that he would adviſe about it with his Brother, and when they had applied themſelves to *Ferdinand*, his Anſwer was to the ſame purpoſe. With the Proteſtants were the Deputies of the *Prince Palatine*, the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, *Munſter*, *Norimberg*, *Ratisbonne*, and *Norlinguen*. The third day after, the Emperour aſſembles all the States, and in his Speech tells them the reaſons of calling the Diet. That it was known to them, how that moſt weighty Affairs of the Empire, becauſe of the abſence

Diazi's murder unrevenged.

The Emperour's Speech at *Ratisbonne*.

ablence of many, remaining undetermined in the former Diet of *Wormes*, had been referred to this Aſſembly; but that he did not himſelf come at the appointed day in the beginning of *January*, it was partly becauſe of his indiſpoſition, and partly becauſe the Conference began later than he had expected: That he had had reſpect alſo to the bitter Winter-ſeaſon, and was unwilling to put them to any unneceſſary charges: and that though he had buſineſs enough to do at home, yet he had undertaken the Journey, and was the firſt that came, contrary, indeed, to his expectation; ſince the reſt, according to his example, ought to have preferred the publick before their own private concerns. However, that he was ſtill confident, that they who were detained by ſickneſs would come, and the reſt ſend their Deputies with full power and commiſſion. That moreover, there had been a Conference of learned men appointed at *Wormes*, which had, indeed, commenced and given him ample hopes, that it would have continued; ſo that when he and the other Princes had met here, they might have found the Conferours minding their buſineſs, and have taken cognizance of what had been tranſacted by them: but that now *they* themſelves were ſenſible, that the Conference was diſſolved and broken up without any fruit. That ſeeing now it was his earneſt deſire to pacifie *Germany*, by removing all diſſenſions about Religion, he prayed them to communicate to him, what more they thought it fit for him to do in the caſe, that at length he might, in diſcharge of his duty and truſt, enact ſomewhat for the publick good. That moreover, ſince it was abſolutely neceſſary to the Empire, that the Judicature of the Imperial Chamber ſhould be reformed, and ſeeing the manner how that was to be done, was already preſcribed by Law, he did require, that they whoſe right it was, ſhould provide Aſſeſſors, and defray all the charges, and not put him to more expences, who was already overburdened with charches upon account of the Empire; for that it was an intolerable thing, and without precedent, that *Germany* ſhould be without Laws and Juſtice. That the Debate about the Turkiſh War was alſo put off to this time, but that laſt year the French King had ſent him advice, that there was hopes of obtaining a Truce, and promiſed his aid and aſſiſtance for procuring it: and becauſe that not long ſince the States had given him ſupplies, and that in many places the Crop did not anſwer expectation, he had thought it convenient to give *Germany* a little relief, that it might be able, when occaſion required, to ſupport the neceſſary charges; ſo that by the mediation of the French King he had made Truce with the Turk for one year: but that now ſince it expired at the end of *October*, and was otherwiſe often violated, as he was informed by his Brother King *Ferdinand*, nor was it known what the iſſue thereof might prove, it was wholly his opinion, that ſeeing the matter required it, they would now perform what formerly they had promiſed concerning ſupplies: and that he, on his part, would do all that lay in his power both by counſel and acting for the ſafety and protection of the Empire. It is the cuſtom of the Electors to communicate and conſult together; but at this time the Deputies of the Electors of *Mentz* and *Treves* ſeparated from thoſe of *Cologne*, the *Palatine*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenbourg*, ſtruck in with the Papiſts, and having conſulted the matter, approved the Council of *Trent*, and entreated the Emperour that he would maintain the ſame, and perſwade the Proteſtants to go thither, and ſubmit themſelves to the Judgment and Decrees thereof. The Proteſtants on the other hand beſeech the Emperour that he would maintain Peace, and the equal adminiſtration of Juſtice, that he would refer the matter of Religion to a lawful Council of *Germany*, a Diet of the Empire, or a Conference of learned men to be managed according to a preſcribed Rule and Method; alledging that the Council of *Trent* was not the Council that was decreed and promiſed them in the Diets of the Empire. Whilſt theſe matters are under debate, a ſudden report flies abroad of great preparations for War, that were making by the Emperour, King *Ferdinand*, and the Pope. For ſince the Emperour had peace with the King of *France*, and the Turk had granted a Truce for this year, it was thought a fit time to attempt ſomewhat. Some Biſhops and the Emperours Confeſſour were ſaid to have had a great hand in this, as being ſet upon it by the Pope. When the Emperour had fully then ſet his mind upon War, on the 9th day of *June*, he diſpatched the Cardinal of *Trent* in all haſt to *Rome*, to ſollicit the Pope to make good his promiſed Aids. Within two days after he diſmiſſed all his Colonels, Captains and Officers, with money forthwith to raiſe men. He had before ſent Orders to *Maximilian* Count of *Buren* to levy all the Horſe and Foot he poſſibly could in the Low Countries. He ordered alſo Marqueſs *Albert* and Marqueſs *John* of *Brandenbourg*, with *Wolfgang*,

1546.

Truce with the Turk, by the mediation of the French King.

A Diviſion amongſt the Electors.

The Proteſtants opinion of the Council of *Trent*.

A conſtant report of a War againſt the Proteſtants.

The Cardinal of *Trent* is ſent to *Rome* to ſollicit the promiſed aſſiſtance.

The Preparations of War.

1546. *Wolfgang* Maſter of the Teutonick Order, to raiſe Horſe; for though theſe two were of the Proteſtant Religion, and *John* even of the League, yet becauſe the Emperour gave it out that he undertook not the War upon the account of Religion, but to puniſh ſome Rebels, they offered him their ſervices: and this *John* was the Son-in-law of *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, who was a Priſoner, as we have often ſaid already. The Proteſtant Deputies alarmed at this news, and being concerned for the common danger of *Germany*, intreat the reſt of the States of the Empire, to joyn with them and intercede with the Emperour, that he would lay aſide the thoughts of War: but that was in vain; for the Repreſentatives of *Mentz* and *Treves*, flatly refuſed it. The *Landgrave*, who had moſt carefully pried into all matters, by Letters now and then gave advice to *Ratisbonne* of what he had found himſelf, and what he had word ſent him of from ſeveral places, giving advice that thoſe few Troops of Horſe that had been raiſed upon a ſuſpicion of War, might be ſtill kept on foot, and more levied; but becauſe the Emperours demands were ſo far from any ſhew of hoſtility, that they ſeemed to be all lenity and peaceableneſs, they did not dream of any War for that year. However, when the thing it ſelf began to make it apparent, that it was no vain report, when not only in *Germany*, but in *Italy* Forces were raiſing, and the Spaniſh Troops upon their march, *June* the 16th they wait upon the Emperour, and ſeeing all places were full of the noiſe and preparations of War, they deſire to know, whether theſe things were done by his Majeſties command or not: for ſeeing there was no talk of his making War upon the Turk, nor againſt any other forreign Prince, they could not but wonder what the meaning of ſo great preparations was; with them were the Deputies of the Electors of *Cologne* and the *Palatine*. The Emperour ordered *Naves* to give them his Anſwer, That it was to no purpoſe to repeat how affectionate the Emperour had ever been to *Germany*, and how great a lover he had always been of Peace, ſince his firſt inauguration into the Magiſtracy: That his inclinations were ſtill the ſame, nor had he any other deſign, but that the States ſhould agree among themſelves, and that Peace and Juſtice might flouriſh in the Empire: That they who obey'd him in that matter, might expect all kindneſs from him; but that if any did otherwiſe, he was reſolved to uſe his power and authority to reduce them. The day following he wrote Letters to moſt of the confederate Proteſtant Cities, eſpecially to *Strasbourg*, *Norimbourg*, *Ausbourg*, and *Ulm*, to this purpoſe: *I make no doubt*, ſaith he, *but that you are ſufficiently convinced how dear* Germany, *our common Country, hath always been to me, and how great pains and charges I have been at, to the great prejudice of my own Kingdoms, to have that ſad and dangerous difference about Religion taken up. In which affair, truly, I have not ſought my own private intereſt, but made it my ſtudy always, that all diſcord and diſſenſion being removed,* Germany *might flouriſh with Peace: for the Decrees which at every turn I renewed, are a ſufficient evidence of this, though ſome put another interpretation upon my actions, and falſly impute to me other deſigns. In the adminiſtration of this my Government, it has been alſo my care always to protect and defend the Free Cities, leſt their liberty might have been oppreſſed by ſome, who would not have ſlighted the occaſion, if any had offered, of accompliſhing that end, which I believe you your ſelves in your own wiſdom have oftener than once obſerved from paſt tranſactions. Now though ſome have often offered at ſeveral things prejudicial to you, the reſt of the States and my ſelf, yet becauſe I could not without a great ſtir redreſs them, I bore with them, in good hopes, that ſome time or other I might reap the fruit of this my lenity, to the benefit of the publick: which would indeed have proved ſo, had not ſome by ſecret and ſtrange tricks hindered all Reconciliation, not that they either love Religion, or reſpect the glory of God, but that under a Cloak of godlineſs, wherewith they cover their own Knavery, they might oppreſs the reſt of the States, and get their poſſeſſions into their own hands: for they have already uſurped the Eſtates of ſome, and ſtill violently detain them, to the great prejudice of many. And now they have brought things to this paſs, that Juſtice being trampled upon, they ſtand in aw of nothing, but even attack and beſpatter my Power and Authority, with no other intent, but that partly by force, and partly by treachery and craft, they may ſubdue the States of the Empire, and eſpecially the Free Cities. I am convinced of this by their own Speeches, for they brag, and as I am told by credible perſons, threaten me with open Force and War. And the many falſe, ſeditious, and ſcandalous Libels and Pictures which they publiſh and vend, that they may kindle Faction, and animate the people againſt me, are a good argument of their intentions. So that now I am paſt all hopes, that ever I can reduce them to duty, or reclaim them from their inſolencies by lenity and Patience. For hitherto I have prevailed ſo little by this courſe, that in ſo many years time, they are not only not become better; but grown worſe and worſe,*

Albert and *John* of *Brandenbourg* take charge under the Empetour.

The *Landgrave*'s Segacity.

The Proteſtants ask the Emperour about the warlike preparations.

The Emperor anſwers the Proteſtants.

The Emperour's Letter to the Proteſtant Cities.

worſe, more obſtinate, rebellious and deſperate. Which is a thing, indeed, that tends directly to the ruine of the State, and if means be not uſed to prevent it in time, Germany *will certainly fall from its ancient liberty, into a moſt grievous bondage and ſlavery: Now that's a thing I can no longer ſuffer nor bear with, nor could I any way be juſtified, if I ſhould do ſo. For the preſervation therefore of my own Dignity, the maintaining of Peace and Juſtice, and that this imminent danger may be diverted from hanging over your heads, I am reſolved to reduce into duty thoſe diſturbers of the Publick, and to reſtore* Germany *to its ancient luſter and liberty. I thought fit to acquaint you with this my reſolution, that you may not liſten to thoſe, who, perhaps, may traduce me, as if I had other intentions. For I ſolemnly proteſt, that I have no other deſign than what I have now declared to you. And therefore, I truſt, you will not be wanting to me on your parts, that both their ſaucineſs may be curbed, and that you may recover your ancient Dignity. If you do ſo, you may expect from me all good will and kindneſs, and of this I ſhall make a more ample Declaration, if you ſend me any Embaſſadour to that purpoſe.* The Emperour wrote alſo to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, to the ſame effect: and the very ſame day the Letters were written, *Granvell* and *Naves* ſent for the Deputies of the Cities I mentioned, and having diſcourſed them ſeverally, much to the ſame purpoſe, told them, that this War was not deſigned againſt the free Cities, but againſt ſome Rebels who were guilty of High Treaſon, had contemned the Emperour's Authority, invaded the Eſtates and Poſſeſſions of ſome Princes and Biſhops, and who, if occaſion did offer, would not ſpare the free Cities neither. That therefore they adviſed them to be true and faithful to the Emperour, and not aſſiſt his Enemies, that the Emperour might have no cauſe to be offended with them to whom he wiſhed well: that they ſhould with all expedition acquaint their Principals with theſe things, and exhort them to continue in their duty; and that the Emperour would himſelf write and ſend Embaſſadours unto them.

1546.

The Emperour writes to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*. *Granvell* and *Naves* diſcourſe the Deputies of the Proteſtant Cities.

The ſame day a Decree paſs'd at *Trent*, that a Divinity Lecturer ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the Abbeys and Monaſteries of Canons Regular and Monks, and that ſome Benefice ſhould be annexed, as a Stipend to the Office: but that no man be admitted to that place, but he whoſe learning, good life and converſation the Biſhop or Abbot is aſſured of: and becauſe the preaching of the Goſpel is no leſs neceſſary, than the reading of Divinity, the Biſhops and all other Guides of the Church are enjoyned to teach the People, or if any lawful impediment hinder them, that they ſubſtitute another in their place: Paſtors and Curates are likewiſe commanded, that every Lord's-day at leaſt, they inſtruct the People in thoſe things that are neceſſary to Salvation, exhort them to Vertue, and deter them from Vice: A Penalty is appoined for thoſe that neglect their duty: and the Biſhops are admoniſhed to be diligent in examining what Doctrines are taught, and that if, perhaps, Hereſies or erroneous Opinions be broached, they take a courſe according to Law, to prevent the danger of them. Then a Decree is made touching Original Sin, all the guilt whereof, they ſay, is waſhed away by Baptiſm: That in thoſe who are baptiſed, there remains, indeed, a diſpoſition to ſin, or concupiſcence; and that though St. *Paul* call that ſometimes ſin, yet he does it not as if it were really and properly ſin, but becauſe it inclines men to ſinning: But that the Virgin *Mary* is not to be comprehended in the Decree, and that as to that particular, what *Sixtus* IV. heretofore defined, is to be obſerved. And, to conclude, the nine and twentieth of *July* is appointed to be the day for the next Seſſion. Now *Sixtus* IV. in the thirteenth Year of his Pontificate, made a Decree, whereby he excommunicates, as Hereticks, thoſe who teach, that the Virgin *Mary* was conceived in Original Sin, and that the Feſtival of her Conception, appointed by the Church of *Rome*, was not to be obſerved; which Decree is extant in the Extravagants of the Canon Law. In this Seſſion of the Council, the *French* Embaſſadour, *Peter Danes*, made a Speech, wherein, having extolled the Merits and Zeal of the Kings of *France* towards the Church of *Rome*, from *Clouis*, the firſt Chriſtian King, and downwards, he enlarged in the Praiſes of King *Francis*, who being deſcended of ſuch Anceſtors, was inferiour to none of them in dutifulneſs to that See, having entertained a conſtant friendſhip with *Leo*, *Adrian*, *Clement*, and now with *Paul* III. And in all this tempeſt and agitation of Religion, ſuffered no alterations within his Dominions, becauſe he would have the deciſion of the whole matter referred to the Church: for though he was naturally a moſt gracious and merciful Prince, yet had he inflicted moſt ſevere Puniſhments upon thoſe who through private raſhneſs had preſumed to diſturb the ſtate of the Church: by which ſtrict care and animadverſion he had gained this point, that now he could put all [illegible] into their

A Decree of the Council of *Trent*.

The Office of Paſtors.

Decrees concerning Original Sin.

The Decree of *Sixtus* IV. concerning the Virgin *Mary*.

The Speech of the *French* Embaſſadour.

1546. hands in a peaceful and quiet ſtate: For in it there was no ſtrange nor new Doctrines, nor any thing but what had been introduced and ſetled by ancient cuſtom and diſcipline: and ſince it had been always his opinion, that there was nothing more beneficial to the Publick, than that the Pope of *Rome*, as Succeſſour of St. *Peter*, ſhould be Head of the Church, to whom all others ſhould ſubmit and refer themſelves, he had always been careful, that none ſhould impeach his Supremacy. And that though he had been many times ſollicited by large offers, to do other ways, and follow the example of another, who had done ſo, yet nothing could ever ſhake him in his reſolutions: but that ſo ſoon as he had heard that ſome Fathers were met to celebrate the Council, which was lately called, he had preſently ordered ſome of his ſelect Biſhops to repair hither; and that when the Decrees made in ſome Seſſions were brought into *France*, he had diſpatched hither him and his Colleagues to declare his will and pleaſure unto them. Firſt, then, That it was his deſire, that once for all they would eſtabliſh what ought to be followed and believed by all men in general, in matters of Religion. In the next place, That they would preſcribe to all Church-men a moſt ſtrict and auſtere Rule of Life and Manners, aſſuring them, that whatever they decreed in thoſe matters, ſhould by the King's command be punctually obſerved all over *France*: That, moreover, becauſe the Kings of *France* had merited very much of the Church of *Rome*, they would not ſuffer any alteration or diminution to be made in thoſe Rights and Priviledges which the Kings of *France* had conſtantly enjoyed from the time of *Louis the Debonnair*, the Son of *Charlemaigne*. Laſtly, That they would confirm all the Rights, Priviledges and Immunities of the *Gallican* Church, the protection whereof was tranſmitted to him from his Predeceſſors.

He means the King of *England*.

The Demands of the *French* King.

June the twenty-fourth, *Lazarus Schuendi* came from the Emperour to *Strasbourg* with the Letters we mentioned a little before, and other more ample Inſtructions, having met the reſt we named on his way. But the Senate having diſmiſſed him, not long after writ back to the Emperour, acquainting his Majeſty, that the reaſon why they did not preſently give their anſwer to *Lazarus*, was, becauſe of the difficulty of the Matters propoſed, which concerned not them alone, but others alſo: that what his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay of his good Intentions towards *Germany*, they gave him their moſt humble thanks, praying him to continue in the ſame mind, and not to liſten to thoſe who would incite him to a Civil War: that it was a great grief to them, to find in his Majeſty's Letters, that he complained of ſome who did not do their duty, and were diſobedient and diſloyal: but they hoped ſtill, that none of their Religion was any way guilty of ſo hainous a crime: nor was it our fault, ſay they, that differences about Religion are not ended: for when in the Diet of *Ratisbonne*, five years ſince, ſome Points were agreed upon, and the queſtion put by your Majeſty to the States, whether they would have them to paſs into a Law or not, you may remember, Dread Sir, that we and many others gave our aſſent; which was in all likelihood a very good beginning of an accommodation; but that others, by the ſuggeſtions of the Pope refuſed, and referred all to *Rome*: there was no more done neither in other Diets afterwards, through the oppoſition of our adverſaries, who not only did not approve of the Conference your Majeſty appointed a Year ago at *Worms*, but ſtruck out alſo of the Decree all the words relating thereunto. We make no doubt neither but that your Majeſty has been informed by the Papers we exhibited, of the reaſons why the laſt Conference broke up, and how we are not to be blamed for it: How deſirous alſo of agreement were they whom your Majeſty appointed to be Conferrors, were there nothing elſe to ſhow it, may ſufficiently appear from this, that the point of Juſtification, agreed upon five years ſince, was by them ſtoutly impugned again, nor would they allow it to be adjuſted. What our wiſhes are, and how very deſirous we are of peace, God Almighty knows, from whom, in our daily Prayers, we beg it in our Churches: But ſince the laſt Diet of *Ratisbonne*, our adverſaries have not admitted of any Treaty, but referred all to the Pope, whoſe Votaries they are, and to the Council. Now it is the Pope's deſign, by force, and a kind of high hand, to retain the Errors which have occaſioned theſe diviſions in the Church, and, indeed, he ſo orders all things, that we cannot refer our cauſe to his deciſion: whence it is apparent enough, that they do us wrong, who blame us ſtill, that our diviſions are not healed: beſides, it is not kindly done, to accuſe ſome of robbing the Church, under a pretext of Religion; for your Majeſty knows very well, by the late years tranſactions, and the cauſe has been often heard before you, why the Proteſtant Confederates, could no longer ſuffer that Monaſtick

The Anſwer of thoſe of *Strasbourg* to the Emperour.

ſtick Life, which was ſo extreamly degenerated, within their Dominions, but converted into better uſes the Revenues belonging unto it: But our adverſaries, when poſſeſſed of the Goods of the Church, are ſo utterly careleſs of its concerns, that in many places of their Dominions, there are either no Miniſters at all, or ſuch as are, are for nothing more unfit, either in regard of their Learning, or of their Lives and Converſation. It is well enough known alſo, how they order Schools, and what care they take of the Poor. Nor is it to any purpoſe to mention, how they hook in to themſelves and accumulate the Revenues of ſeveral Churches, that nothing may be wanting to their Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs. Wherefore though ſome, perhaps, of our Profeſſion do not in all things rightly diſpenſe the Revenues of the Church, yet that is not at all to be compared to thoſe things, which now for many Ages they have committed: ſo that the thing itſelf calls for a Remedy, to wit, that theſe Revenues be diſtributed according to the *Word of God*, and the *Decrees of the Primitive Church*; to which we are, indeed, moſt willing to contribute our endeavours: Beſides, your Majeſty hath made Decrees both at *Ratisbonne*, and lately at *Spire*, how, for the publick peace, theſe Goods ought to be diſpoſed of: for if there be any that have not obſerved a juſt meaſure therein, we make no doubt, but if they be brought to a tryal for it, and have a fair hearing, they'l willingly ſubmit to an equitable ſentence, and give no occaſion, that *Germany* ſhould therefore be waſted and ruined by an inteſtine War. It is objected to thoſe of our perſwaſion, that they have ſubverted the adminiſtration of Juſtice; but you are not ignorant, Great Sir, why they complained of the Judges of the Imperial Chamber, and how earneſtly they have ſued for a Reformation of that Judicature; which, though it hath been often promiſed, yet was never as yet accompliſhed. And therefore, for peace-ſake, you lately turned them out of Commiſſion at *Spire*, and preſcribed a manner, how the Chamber ſhould hereafter be eſtabliſhed. This Regulation we alſo approved, and in the other Diet of *Wormes*, declared ourſelves ready to ſubmit to its Juriſdiction: But our adverſaries, as your Majeſty well knows, conſtantly refuſed, and had rather have no Juſtice at all: at their door then all the blame ought to lye; for if matters were carried in the manner your Majeſty preſcribed, which is the thing we chiefly deſire, and accordingly have given Inſtructions to our Deputies in this Diet of *Ratisbonne*, there is no doubt, but that they who think that our Brethren have offended againſt the Decrees of *Ratisbonne* and *Spire*, might have right and juſtice done them. For effecting of that, we offer our endeavours, nor will we aid or abbet any that are refractory and regardleſs of their duty. We have never diſcovered neither any of our party, that aſpired to your Majeſty's dignity, attempted to oppreſs others, or bragg'd and threatened, as if they intended open force. And, indeed, we cannot but think, that ſuch things are frequently ſuggeſted to your Majeſty, by the Pope and his Miniſters, for the hatred they bear to our Religion: However, we preſume, that your Majeſty has had proofs oftener than once of our love and fidelity to your Intereſts, in thoſe Wars we engaged in againſt Foreigners: and would to God, that he, who now exaſperates your Majeſty againſt us, had been always as true to you, as we have been; ſome Wars then certainly had never been made, or had been ended much ſooner than they were. Now, how theſe men behaved themſelves towards your Majeſty in theſe Seditions and Wars, that broke out in *Germany*, ſince you were Emperour, and then, how freely thoſe of our perſwaſion ſent in their Supplies againſt the *Turk*, is every where known, but more eſpecially in your Provinces of *Auſtria*. Since we make no doubt then, that thoſe States are clear of the Crimes they are charged with before your Majeſty, and that if they were brought to a fair tryal, they could make their innocence appear to you and the whole World; we moſt earneſtly beſeech your moſt gracious Majeſty, the Father of our Countrey, by all that is ſacred, and by the ſafety and preſervation of *Germany*, that you would deſiſt from thoſe ſo great Preparations, and bring them againſt whom you are ſo grievouſly informed, to a fair tryal, in the ancient manner obſerved by your Predeceſſours, which we hope your Majeſty will never recede from. If you'l be pleaſed to do ſo, we are very confident your Majeſty will find, that they have had wrong done them, and that they have been upright in their intentions towards their Prince. Caſt an eye, we beſeech your Majeſty, upon the ſad condition of *Germany*, wretched, indeed, both through a long ſcarcity and dearth of all things, and alſo becauſe of the *Turk*, that formidable and perpetual enemy of the Empire: Conſider, Sir, what fidelity the Parents of thoſe great men have ſhew'd to your Anceſtours, how true themſelves have always

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1546. been to you and your Brother, King *Ferdinand*, when againſt the *Turk*, and your other Enemies, they aſſiſted you, even more liberally than any of the reſt, and are ſtill ready to do the ſame: Conſider ſeriouſly with yourſelf, how bloudy and diſmal a War this is like to prove, what ſad Evils and Calamities it will bring upon multitudes of innocent People, Babes, Children, Women, and the like; and do not at the inſtigation of thoſe men, who, that they may preſerve their own Dominion and Power, are our implacable Enemies, bring things to ſuch a paſs, that renowned *Germany*, or, indeed, any part of that Loyal Countrey, being weakened and exhauſted of all its ſtrength, ſhould become unable any more to reſiſt or put a ſtop to the progreſs of the cruel *Turk*. We therefore humbly beſeech your Majeſty to hearken to the Prayers of your Petitioners, whereby you'l confer upon us the greateſt favour we can receive: And if any man, after a fair hearing and tryal, ſhall, contrary to Law and Equity, refuſe to obey your Commands, we will be ſo far from approving what he does, that, according to our allegiance, we will to the utmoſt of our power, aſſiſt your Majeſty, whom God has ſet over us, as our ſupreme Lord and Maſter, in reducing of him.

Duke *Maurice* has a private Conference with the Emperour.

Duke *Maurice*, who came to *Ratisbonne*, *May* the twenty-fifth, having had a long Conference with the Emperour in private, on the twentieth of *June* departed; but what the ſubject of that Conference was, will afterwards of itſelf appear. The Deputies of the Proteſtants, finding all things tending to open War, and not daring to conſult together, about their neceſſary Affairs, nor to write to their Principals, for fear of danger, drop off one after another, and return home. *June* the fifteenth, the Emperour ſends *John Muſcher*, Treaſurer of *Upper Burgundy*, Embaſſadour to the *Suizers*; And after he had premiſed ſome things of his good will towards them, his affection towards the Publick, eſpecially towards *Germany*, and of his deſire of the peace thereof, he acquaints them, that ſome Princes, under pretext of the Goſpel, did many ſeditious things, overturned all Law, that there being no adminiſtration of Juſtice, they might boldly act what they pleaſed: that their boldneſs was now come to ſuch a height, that they attempted againſt his Honour and Dignity, threatened open Violence and War, and gave no obſcure intimations, that it was their deſign, in his abſence, to invade and oppreſs the common Countrey: That for theſe reaſons, he was forced to take Arms, that for the dignity of his Place and Character, he might free the Publick from danger, and reſtrain their inſolence; nor did he doubt, but that God Almighty approved his endeavours: that he expected the reſt of the States whoſe ſafety and preſervation lay at ſtake, would aſſiſt him with their aid and council: That he therefore intreated them, that they would not ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded by his adverſaries, who ſpightfully broached many odious and evil things of him, nor at their inſtigation act, or ſuffer any thing to be acted within their borders, whereby this his purpoſe might be hindered or retarded: For that it was a War undertaken for the welfare of all *Germany*, and for no other cauſe. That they ſhould therefore perſiſt in the ancient Amity and League that was betwixt them: that he would do nothing contrary to it himſelf, nor ſuffer that any of his ſhould; but be ready upon all occaſions to give them Teſtimonies of his Love and Favour, as hitherto he had done, which as by many other inſtances, ſo chiefly it might be underſtood by this, that he never made Peace with any other Kings or Potentates, but that they were comprehended in it.

The Emperour's Embaſſie to the *Suizers*.

The Proteſtant Deputies return home.

The Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the Towns of *Upper Germany* riſe in Arms.

The Towns of the *Upper Germany*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, hearing of the Emperour's Anſwer, which *Naves* made in his Name, as we mentioned before, wrote inſtantly to the Duke of *Saxony*, and the *Landgrave*, the Heads of the League, and acquainting them with what was doing, promiſe all the aſſiſtance and fidelity they can; they raiſe as many Foot as poſſibly they could, and were, indeed, the firſt in Arms. Their Army was divided into two Bodies; the one, that of Prince *Ulrick*, conſiſting of Four and twenty Enſigns of Foot, and many Gentlemen amongſt them: and the other, that which the Towns hir'd and paid. When theſe had joyned at *Ulm*, *June* the twenty-firſt, they march to *Gunſperg*; and, being next day drawn up, they encamp in two Bodies. The Commanders were *John Heideck*, *Schertelin*, *Balthazar Gutling*, *Sebaſtian Beſſerer*, *Matthew Langemantel*, *John Harder*, and *Joyce Roſenberger*. Theſe take an Oath of the Forces of the Cities, as the cuſtom is, obliging them to certain Conditions, and command them to obey and take their Orders from *Schertelin*, until the Princes, the Heads of the League, ſhould come themſelves. Then having gone to *Wirtemberg's* Men, and done the like with them, they appoint *Heideck*, upon the ſame conditions, to be their

The firſt of the Proteſtant Commanders.

their Commander. This being done, *Balthazar Gutling*, a Gentleman by Birth, and Counſellor to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with the conſent of all the reſt, ſpake to his Princes Men to this purpoſe. *Gentlemen, and moſt dear Fellow-Soldiers, The Pope of* Rome, *Satan's Vicar, is again about raiſing a Combuſtion, ſuch as may conſume and utterly deſtroy* Germany, *our Native Countrey; and to this he is moved, not only by the bitter and irreconcilable hatred wherewith he perſecutes the true Religion, but alſo by revenge for the Calamities he ſuffered ſome years ago, when* Rome *was taken and ſackt by the* Germans. *He hath therefore ſpurr'd on* Charles, *our moſt mighty Emperour, to make War againſt our Princes and States, who are joyned together in league, in hopes that by force, and all manner of cruelty, he may compel them to ſubmit to his Religion, and to obſerve the Rites of his Diabolical Worſhip. For, indeed, it is reported for a certain, that that proud and accurſed ſlave of Satan, hath already a conſiderable Body of choice Horſe and Foot in Arms, whom he intends to ſend to the Emperour; it goes current alſo, that the* Spaniards *are upon their march againſt us: now what havock and deſolation, what miſery and miſchief, our Countrey is to expect from foreign Soldiers, all men of ſence foreſee: Our Princes and States therefore, knowing it to be their duty, not only to protect and defend their Subjects from all violence and injury, but alſo to labour and provide, that they be not deceived by any falſe Religion, and thereby endanger their own Salvation, have fully reſolved, by the help of God, to ſtand upon their defence, and reſiſt this War, which is brought upon them, contrary to all expectation, nay, and to former Promiſes and Covenants too. And therefore they have liſted you and others for Soldiers, with all the expedition they could. But becauſe the Heads of the League are as yet abſent, though within a few days they will be with us, the moſt illuſtrious Prince* Ulrick, *Duke of* Wirtemberg, *in the mean time, that all things may be done in order, and no opportunity given to the Enemy of doing us any prejudice, hath appointed* John Heideck, *a Gentleman of an honourable and illuſtrious Family, to be your Captain, in place of himſelf. Him therefore, according to the Oath you have taken, ye ſhall obey, and in all things ſo behave yourſelves, that the glory and renown which our Forefathers, fighting valiantly againſt foreign Nations of old, purchaſed with their beſt Blood, may be by us alſo handed down to our Poſterity. All things elſe we ſhall commit to the care of the Almighty, who without doubt will in this ſo juſt a cauſe and defence, order all matters, as to his Divine Majeſty it ſhall ſeem moſt conducing to our ſafety and welfare.* The Reader has been told before, that the Proteſtant Deputies left *Ratisbonne*, when they found there was no good to be done in the Conference there: but Forces being now raiſed, as we ſaid, they meet at *Ulm*, there to conſult what was to be done. Therefore, *June* the one and twentieth, they write to the Doge and Senate of *Venice*, and, complaining of the Pope's injuſtice, beg, that they would not allow his Troops a free paſſage through their Territories, and by former inſtances put them in mind, what they and the reſt of *Italy* were to expect, if the Pope's Forces did encreaſe. They write alſo to moſt of the Nobility of *Germany*, and urge them not to put a ſtop to the Soldiers who repaired to their Camp: And being informed, that the *Griſons*, and thoſe of *Tyrol*, were much troubled at the approach of foreign Soldiers, by Letters, dated the laſt day of *June*, they entreat them alſo, that they would hinder their paſſage, and for that end promiſe to ſend them aſſiſtance. They demand Aid likewiſe from the Citizens of *Norimberg*; but they excuſe themſelves as not able, ſeeing they were hardly ſtrong enough to defend their own borders. They, moreover, *July* the ſecond, give orders to *Scherteline*, to fall upon the Enemy, that were raiſing Men near the foot of the *Alps*; and laſtly, they ſend Embaſſadours to the *Suizers*.

1546. *Balthazar Gutling's* Speech to the Soldiers.

A Meeting of the Proteſtant Deputies at *Ulme*.

Their Letters to the *Venetians*, the Nobility of *Germany*, the *Griſons*, and thoſe of *Tyrol*.

It has been ſaid before, that the *Cardinal of Trent* was by the Emperour ſent in poſt haſte to *Rome*. By his means and ſollicitation, then, the League, which had been before conceived and drawn up in Writing, is *June* the ſix and twentieth, concluded and agreed upon on theſe Conditions. *Whereas for many Years* Germany *hath perſiſted in great Errours, ſuch as threatened extraordinary danger; for the averting of which, a Council hath been called, that commenced at* Trent *in* December *laſt, and whereas the Proteſtants reject and diſown the ſame, therefore the Pope and Emperour, for the glory of God, and the Publick Good, but eſpecially the Welfare of* Germany, *have entered into league together upon certain Articles and Conditions: And in the firſt place, that the Emperour ſhall provide an Army, and all things neceſſary for War, and be in readineſs by the Month of* June *next enſuing, and by Force and Arms compel thoſe who refuſe the Council, and maintain theſe Errours, to embrace the ancient Religion, and ſubmit to the Holy See: but that in the mean time, he ſhall uſe his endeavours, and try all means, to accompliſh that, if he can, without a War: That he ſhall make no Peace nor Capitulation with them, upon Terms prejudicial to the Church and Religion. That the Pope, beſides the hun-*

The Emperour's League with the Pope againſt the Reformed.

1546. *hundred thouſand Ducats, which he hath already advanced, ſhall depoſite as much more in the Bank of* Venice, *to be employed by his Lieutenants, in the War only, and for no other uſe: but if no War happen, he ſhall receive his Money again: that, moreover, he ſhall in this War, maintain at his own charges, for the ſpace of ſix Months, twelve thouſand* Italian *Foot, and five hundred Horſe, who ſhall be commanded by a General and other inferiour Officers commiſſioned by him: but if the War be ended before ſix Months expire, he is no longer to be obliged to keep his Forces in pay. That the Emperour, by virtue of a grant from the Pope, may for this Year, raiſe one half of the Church Revenues all over* Spain; *That he may alſo ſell as much of the Abbey-Lands of* Spain, *as do amount to five hundred thouſand Ducats; but all this only for the uſe of the preſent War, and upon condition alſo that he morgage to them as much of his own Lands: and becauſe this is a new thing, and without a preſident, he ſhall at the diſcretion of the Pope, give all the ſecurity he can: That if any one endeavour to hinder this their deſign, they ſhall joyn their Forces, and aſſiſt one another againſt him; and to this both ſhall be obliged, ſo long as the War continues, and ſix Months after it is ended. That all may freely enter into this League, and ſhare both in the Profit and Charges of the War: That the Colledge of Cardinals ſhall alſo ratifie this League; and that what is ſaid of* June, *is to be underſtood of the Month of* June *this preſent Year.* And this League both Parties ſigned; a Copy whereof *Jerome Franco,* the Pope's Nuncio, produced afterward in *Suizerland,* as ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

The Church Revenues in *Spain* given for maintaining a War againſt the *Lutherans.*

Much about this time the *French* King makes Peace with the King of *England,* leaving *Buloigne* in his hands, till the Money he owed him ſhould be payed: And *Henry,* the Dauphin of *France,* having a Daughter then born to him, who was named *Iſabel,* for confirmation of this new friendſhip, the King of *England* is invited to be Godfather. At that time alſo the Cardinal of St. *Andrews* in *Scotland* was about dinner-time killed in his own Caſtle, by a Gentleman, whoſe Brother he had too ſeverely uſed for *Lutheraniſm:* after the ſlaughter was committed, the murderer fled into *England.* *July* the third, the Pope wrote to the *Suizers,* and inſinuating into their favour, upon account of the intimate friendſhip that he and his Predeceſſours had entertained with them, he bewaileth, that ſome of them, through the craft of the Devil, and the arts of Rebels, were ſnatched away from the Apoſtolick Religion and him, like dear Children out of the boſom and embraces of a moſt loving Father: nevertheleſs, that it was a great bleſſing of God, that many of them continued ſtedfaſt and conſtant in the Faith towards God and his Church, that ſo others who had been ſeduced by the perſwaſions of wicked men, might have an example ſet before their eyes, and at length return to the Religion of their Forefathers: for it was a great argument of God's goodneſs towards them, that in this diſſenſion about Religion, they lived in peace together, whereas upon that occaſion grievous commotions were raiſed in other places: for the quieting whereof, he had from the very beginning of his Pontificate, applied all Remedies, and made uſe of greateſt lenity: that he had lately betaken himſelf to the laſt refuge, by calling a General Council, and appointing it to be held at *Trent,* a Town of *Germany,* where that vicious Seed of Hereticks moſt encreaſed: to which Town they might ſafely come, and there, if they pleaſed, maintain their own intereſts: That he had hoped, that that being ſo auguſt an Aſſembly, to which Chriſtian Kings and People had always payed a great deference, and the Congregation of ſo many Biſhops, who, under the conduct of the Holy Ghoſt, treated of Matters of Religion, no man would be ſo wicked, as not to ſubmit to ſo great an Authority, and preſently, forſaking all erroneous *Doctrines,* yield to the judgment and deciſion of the Catholick Church: That he entertained ſtill the ſame opinion of them, and hoped, that by reaſon of their domeſtick peace, thoſe of them who had continued faithful and conſtant, would obey the Council: and that the reſt, who not deliberately, but by too much credulity had been led away into errour, would not ſlight the Authority of the Aſſembly: which, that they would do, and repair to the Council, as unto a Celeſtial Congregation, wherein God himſelf preſided, he now again earneſtly exhorted them, as he had done before: But that it was a great grief unto him, that there were not a few in *Germany,* and of the number of thoſe alſo who were reckoned Princes, that not only with pride and inſolence deſpiſed the Council, but reproached and reviled it alſo, declaring that they would not ſubmit to its Decrees: that it chiefly therefore grieved him, to ſee himſelf neceſſitated by the ſtubbornneſs and obſtinacy of thoſe deſperate men, to ſeek a remedy by Arms. For that he could no longer ſuffer neither the loſs of ſo many Souls, which periſhed daily through Hereſies, nor this oppreſ-

Peace betwixt *France* and *England.*

Henry, the Dauphin of *France,* has a Daughter.

The Cardinal of *Scotland* killed.

The Pope's Letter to the *Suizers.*

oppreſſion of the Chriſtian Religion: the one whereof belonged to his Paſtoral Office, and the other concerned the Dignity of his Place and Character: And that whil'ſt he was often caſting about in his thoughts for a remedy, and making his Prayers to God, that he would diſcover to him a way, it happened moſt opportunely, that the Emperour, a moſt religious Prince, being provoked by the ſame Crimes, in a manner, of wicked men, as he himſelf was, had reſolved to revenge the cauſe of Religion by Arms: for when, by his means, and at his interceſſion, a Council was granted to *Germany*; it ſeemed to him, that they who refuſed and ſlighted it, deſpiſed alſo what he had done, and ſet light by his authority: that therefore he had willingly embraced this occaſion, as offered by Heaven; and was reſolved with all his own and the Revenues of the *Roman* Church, to further and aſſiſt the Emperour's laudable inclinations: for that ſhould he do otherwiſe, ſhould he act negligently and remiſsly, there was no doubt to be made, but that God would require at his hands, as at the hands of a Father, the Souls of ſo many Children, corrupted and undone by the treachery of Hereticks: that therefore he made known to them this his purpoſe and reſolution, that they might both ſee the anxiety that overburdened him, and joyn their Wiſhes and Prayers with him, that is, with God and Religion. That they were famous for many noble Exploits, but that a more honourable Name they could not procure to themſelves, than by entertaining their ancient Amity with God, according to the example of their Forefathers, by paying their wonted Love and Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, which had always gratified and obliged them; and laſtly, by contributing their Aid and Aſſiſtance, which he earneſtly begg'd of them, in this ſo juſt and religious a Cauſe. 1546.

The Embaſſadours of the Proteſtants of *Upper Germany*, on the fifth of *July*, came to *Baden* from *Ulme*, to a Convention of the *Suizers*, and having delivered their Meſſage, were put off to the Month of *Auguſt*. Their Demands were, That they would not grant a Paſſage to foreign Soldiers through their Countrey; And that, if there was occaſion, they would permit their Subjects to ſerve them in the War. The Men of *Brunſwick*, *Goſlar*, *Hildeſſeim*, and *Hannover*, by orders from the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave*, demoliſhed *Wolffembottle*, the chief Fort of *Henry Duke of Brunſwick*, which to this time he had kept by a good Garriſon. In theſe ſtirs and commotions, the Elector Palatine, by his Embaſſadour, Sir *Wolff Affenſteyn*, made application to the Emperour at *Ratisbonne*, and deſired to be informed what the Cauſe of the War was, and againſt whom theſe Preparations were making: he diſſwaded him alſo from hoſtility, and begg'd, that he might have leave to mediate. Some days after, the Emperour ſent him this Anſwer by *Granvell* and *Naves*, That it was no difficult thing for him to know, both what the cauſe of the War was, and againſt whom it was deſigned. Afterwards he objected the ſame things almoſt, that he had before alledged in his Letters to the Free Towns, That they would not obey him; that not only in *Germany*, but in foreign Parts alſo, ſome had contrived and plotted many things againſt him, under a colour of Religion; that they would be bound by no Laws; that they had invaded other mens Poſſeſſions, and eſpecially Church-Lands, diſpoſing of them in a tyrannical manner, with no other intent, certainly, than that by a kind of hereditary right they might tranſmit Biſhopricks, and other Eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Poſſeſſions, to their Children and Off-ſpring, was it credible, that they, who committed ſuch things, would abide by any fair and lawful tryal, and was it not rather their intention, by raiſing Broils and Troubles, to baffle all Juſtice and Cenſure? that there was not the leaſt hopes of amendment, and that he himſelf knew, what lenity he had uſed, and how many faults he had pardoned them; that, nevertheleſs, all he had got thereby, was, that growing more inſolent, they tampered with the reſt of the States, and ſtirred them up to Rebellion: That he knew not by what Arts they did do ſo: but that it might be eaſily perceived by any, how unworthy a thing it was, and how juſtly to be lamented by him: That ſince they, without any regard to Law or Juſtice, acted arbitrarily and by violence, trampling upon the Decrees of the Empire, there was no other way now to be eſſayed, but that which was familiar and common to themſelves, that's to ſay, Force and Arms: that therefore it was his purpoſe, by this War, not only to ſettle Religion, but alſo to compoſe all other differences, reſtore the Peace and Liberty of *Germany*, and to ſecure thoſe under his protection who did their duty, but ſeverely puniſh all diſturbers of the publick peace, and oppreſſours of liberty, according to their demerits.

The Embaſſadours of the Proteſtants to the *Suizzers*.

Wolffembottel is demoliſhed.

The Prince *Palatine* enquires after the cauſe of the War.

July

1546. *July* the tenth, the *Elector Palatine* ſent this Anſwer of the Emperour's, which he had received the day before, to the Duke of *Saxony*, the *Landgrave*, and Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and laying before them the danger that hung over *Germany*, eſpecially from ſtrangers, if the War ſhould riſe to any height, He beſought them to condeſcend and grant what poſſibly they could: for though the countenance of Affairs looked very ſad and diſmal, yet it was his opinion, that if they would ſubmit to the Emperour, and comply with him in ſome things, it would be a very fair way towards an Accommodation: That he underſtood the Emperour might be appeaſed, if they would firſt beg his Pardon for their Offences; next, if what had been done amiſs by any of them were reformed; and laſtly, if that they poſſeſſed any thing of other mens, they would refer it to the Emperour, or any body elſe that might be judged proper, to determine the matter: wherein, if he could do them any ſervice, he promiſed to uſe all his endeavours. In the mean time the Duke of *Saxony* and the *Landgrave*, who were much ſurprized and alarmed at this ſo ſudden and unexpected a revolution; eſpecially ſeeing the Emperour had gone lately from *Spire* in a moſt friendly manner: having got certain Advice how all things went, with great diligence raiſe Forces themſelves, and write to their Confederates to do the like; and not to ſuffer themſelves to be taken off by the crafty Councels of ſome. Having met alſo to conſult about their Affairs, they wrote to the Emperour to this effect, We have learnt from our Deputies, ſay they, whom at your Command, Moſt Gracious Soveraign, we ſent to *Ratisbonne*, that when thoſe of our Profeſſion and League, had heard of the Preparations that were making for War, they made their earneſt Addreſs to your Majeſty, That you would take care that *Germany* ſhould not ſuffer: and though you made ſuch an Anſwer then, that we might have very juſtly entertained ſome ſuſpitions upon it; yet ſtill we were in good hopes, that the War was not deſigned againſt us, nor any other State of the Empire; becauſe that being by your Majeſty ſummoned to come to that Diet, we ſent Deputies thither with full and ample Commiſſions, who both conſulted about your Demands, and freely gave their opinions; ſo that we did not apprehend there was the leaſt cauſe given of diſpleaſure: Beſides, Sir, your Anſwer given then, has no relation to what is paſt, but only to the future, whilſt you declare your reſolution to ſettle the Commonwealth, and by vertue of your Authority to puniſh thoſe that are refractory and diſobedient: wherefore we had no reaſon in the World to think, that before you made known your Demands, and received our Anſwer, you were preparing for War: but when by ſeveral conjectures, eſpecially your Letters to ſome Princes and free Towns, and the Speeches of *Granvell* and *Naves*, we came at length to know, that your deſign was to puniſh ſome diſobedient Princes; and that it was the general report, that the whole ſtreſs of the War was intended againſt us: it grieved and troubled us very much, as it ought indeed, and therefore we thought fit to write to your Majeſty in our own juſtification. And in the firſt place, Sir, we can truly affirm, that we and our Confederates have always born the publick Burdens impoſed upon us, more than others, when ſome were even exempted: beſides, we uſed our endeavours that you ſhould obtain the Supplies which you demanded in the laſt Diet of *Spire*, and contributed to them our ſelves: and now that after all theſe offices performed, we ſhould be accuſed of diſobedience, we cannot but be much grieved and troubled at it. We could have wiſhed, and indeed it was but reaſon, that we had been accuſed firſt, and brought to a Hearing, before it ſhould have come to a War, and our Accuſation have been made publick: for ſo we might eaſily have cleared our Innocence, and refuted the Calumnies of thoſe who have in this manner informed you againſt us. It is well known how kindly you treated both of us, lately at *Spire*, and five Years ſince at *Ratisbonne*, ſo that no Rebellion or baſe Practice can be objected unto us: We inſiſt not upon this, that at your Requeſt we put the Dutchy of *Brunſwick* under Sequeſtration a year ago, and thereby run a great risk of our Lives and Fortunes; nor are you neither ignorant, Sir, when you were Created Emperour at *Franckfort*, how you bound your ſelf to the Empire, what you promiſed by your ſolemn Oath, and how the Laws of the Empire are to have their effect againſt thoſe that are accuſed of the Crimes, which you object to us: but now that without a Hearing you are preparing to uſe open force againſt us, we will refer that to God, and when we come to underſtand what it is you accuſe us of, ſhall ſo anſwer, that all men may know that we are wronged, and make it appear that you, at the inſtigation of the *Roman* Antichriſt, and of the impious Council of *Trent*, have undertaken this War, for the oppreſſion of the

The *Elector Palatine* deſires to reconcile the Proteſtants to the Emperour.

Saxony and the *Landgrave* arm.

The Proteſtants Letters to the Emperour.

The Authors of the War againſt the Proteſtants.

the Goſpel, and of the Liberty of *Germany*, and for no other Cauſe whatſoever: The condition of our Affairs does require, that we ſhould repreſent this unto you; and ſo you are to take it: For it would have been far more agreeable to us, to have pleaſed you by all the Teſtimonies of ſincere Duty and Affection. 1546.

The Emperour's Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Cologne.*

July the ſeventh, the Emperour by Letters acquaints the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, That for the welfare of *Germany*, that is, that the Publick Peace, Right, and Juſtice, the Dignity of his own Character, and the Liberty of the Empire might be recovered, (all which ſome ſeditious People had almoſt already overturned, and, unleſs they were reſtrained, would certainly do ſo) he was forced to take Arms, that he might reduce them to their Duty: And becauſe he was told, that they made it their whole Buſineſs to allure the Archbiſhop and others into their Confederacy, he commanded him, in the firſt place, that he ſhould make Proclamation throughout his whole Province, and uſe his endeavours that no Subject of his ſerved in theſe Wars, unleſs under the Emperour himſelf, or his Commanders, who ſhould for that effect ſhew authentick Commiſſions. In the next place, That if any were already gone into the Wars, he ſhould forthwith recal them, and command them to live at home, expecting the Emperour's Pleaſure: That he ſhould ſeverely puniſh thoſe that did not obey, and ſo behave himſelf, that the Emperour might perceive, that he loved the Peace and Quiet of *Germany*; but that if he did otherwiſe, he threatned him with great Dangers, and the loſs of all he had. So ſoon as the Archbiſhop received theſe Letters, he publiſhed them in all places, and commanded that they ſhould be obeyed; ordering Publick Prayers alſo to be ſaid in all Churches, That God would avert the Judgment that was hanging over *Germany*. About the ſame time the Proteſtants ſend Ambaſſadors to the Kings of *England* and *France*, who, as has been ſaid, had lately made Peace, to ſollicite them for Succours. In the mean time, after that the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* had written privately to the Emperour, as we ſaid before, they publiſh a Declaration, *July* the thirteenth, wherein they alledge, That this War was a War of Religion, and that it was the Emperour's Deſign, under a certain colour and pretext of Rebellion, and as if he intended but to puniſh a few, to divide and break the Confederates, that ſo he might afterwards more eaſily deſtroy them one after another. For confirmation of this, they bring ſeveral Proofs, and give a Relation of what King *Ferdinand*, *Granvell*, *Naves*, and others, had privately ſaid at *Ratisbonne*, to wit, That the Contempt of the Council was the cauſe of this War. They affirm alſo, That the Emperour had ſent Letters to the Magiſtrates of *Ravensberg*, who had lately received the Reformed Religion, That they ſhould within a few days deſiſt from their Enterpriſe, elſe he threatned to give their Town and Lands to be plundred by his Soldiers; but that the Meſſenger was recalled with his Letters, when he was upon the Rode, leſt it might become publick, that Religion was the Ground of the War. That the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* alſo was, for attempting a Reformation, excommunicated by the *Pope*, and deprived of all his Eccleſiaſtical Poſſeſſions and Dignities, and is threatned almoſt with the very ſame by the Emperour; What was that, if not a plain Declaration of the Cauſe of the War? For it was no light Report that went about, That the Cardinal of *Ausbourg*, a great Incendiary in theſe Troubles, was by force to be put into his place: That it was alſo given out by ſome, That when they were once vanquiſhed and ſubdued, Forces ſhould be diſperſed all over *Germany*, to ſee that the Decrees made in the Council, concerning Religion, ſhould in the Emperour's Name be obeyed and put into execution: Moreover, that many Letters gave an account, That the Archbiſhop of *Toledo* chiefly, and many other Prelates of *Spain*, did contribute vaſt Treaſures for the carrying on of this War, which they would not certainly do, if any Secular Intereſt were the cauſe of it: That it was known beſides, what ſort of a Decree it was that paſt at *Ausbourg* ſixteen years ſince, when the Emperour declared, That he could not endure that Sect and Doctrine of *Luther*, but that he and his Friends would hazard all they had, Life, Strength, Blood and all, that he might deſtroy it Root and Branch: For ſhould they, indeed, be ſubdued, which God forbid, then would it ſoon appear, that no favour was to be ſhewn to this Religion, but that rather having killed their Miniſters, raviſhed their Wives and Children, they would again reſtore Monks and Friars, and the reſt of that filthy Rout: That it was not lawful for the Emperour to uſe violence againſt any State, nor to proſcribe any Man without a Trial, nor yet to call into *Germany* Strangers or Foreign Forces, nor indeed to aſpire to any Hereditary Right or Succeſſion to the Empire; becauſe to theſe

The Proteſtants ſend Ambaſſadors to the Kings of *England* and *France*.

Saxony and *Landgrave* publiſh a Declaration concerning the War.

The Biſhop of *Ausbourg* a great Incendiary.

1545. Conditions he was bound by a ſacred and ſolemn Oath: For could he in right do otherwiſe, there would be no laſting Form of Government in the Commonwealth: That they could not imagine what the Cauſe of his Quarrel was: *For as for my part,* ſaith the Duke of *Saxony, all the Difference that he and his Brother King* Ferdinand *had with me, was two years ago wholly ended at* Spire, *and to cement our Friendſhip,* Eleanor *the Daughter of* Ferdinand *was freely promiſed to my eldeſt Son, provided we could agree about Religion. The Emperour approved of that then, and when I was returning home from the Diet, he ſent* Granvell *and* Naves *to my Lodgings, to complement me in his Name, and to aſſure me of his Kindneſs, and of his Good-will towards my Perſon, Children, and whole Country. What Crime can I have been guilty of ſince that time, that he ſhould form ſuch cruel Reſolutions againſt me? But the truth is, this is our Caſe, as we ſaid before, we refuſe the Pope's Counſel, and therefore incur his Hatred: However, he had no reaſon to act ſo, nor to deſign ſuch things againſt the Houſe of* Saxony; *for he knows, that after the Death of* Maximilian, *this Imperial Dignity being offered to my Uncle* Frederick, *he by his Vote and Intereſt ſecured it to him; not to mention many other good Offices which at ſeveral times the Family of* Saxony *have done to the Houſe of* Auſtria. *But if, perhaps, he be offended, that I turned* Julius Pflugg *out of the Biſhoprick of* Numburg; *as to that, I both aſſerted my Right in a Publick* Manifeſto, *and referred my ſelf to any unſuſpected Judges and Arbitrators that the Emperour might appoint. Now, as for my part,* ſaith the *Landgrave, I was fully reconciled unto him five years ago at* Ratisbonne; *and if that ſome years paſt I intended to make War againſt the Biſhops, and did after aſſiſt my Couſin the Duke of* Wirtemberg, *in the recovering of his own; for all that, and whatever alſo I might have publickly or privately acted againſt the Statutes and Written Laws of the Empire, I had a Pardon in due form: What then ſhould be the Cauſe of Prejudice or Animoſity, I cannot at all imagine. Beſides, when I was to wait upon him lately at* Spire, *he was ſo gracious and obliging to me both in Countenance and Speech, that I could not perceive the leaſt ſign of Diſpleaſure in him. It was ſtipulated betwixt us five years ſince at* Ratisbonne, *That if at any time he ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Duke of* Cleve, *I ſhould not at all meddle in the matter: He made War afterwards againſt him, and I performed what I promiſed; and when afterwards he received the Duke of* Cleve *into favour again, which was before* Venlo, *he pardoned all that had ſerved under him, or aſſiſted him in his Wars. But if he be offended at our Abſence, and that we did not come to* Ratisbonne, *both of us made our Excuſes; the Duke of* Saxony *by Ambaſſadors, and I perſonally, in a Conference at* Spire. *But what Liberty or Form of Government is there then in* Germany, *if that ſhould give a good Cauſe for War, when not only in former Diets, but in the very ſame Diet alſo of* Ratisbonne, *ſeveral Princes were abſent? And as for the War of* Brunſwick, *we cannot be blamed; for it is lawful for all Men to withſtand Force by Force. We frequently moved, and earneſtly deſired in ſeveral Diets, That a Reſtraint might be put upon his Boldneſs: but unleſs it were fair Words and Letters, we could obtain nothing: And nevertheleſs, the Publick Letters which at our deſire King* Ferdinand *wrote to Duke* Henry, *were accompanied with other Private ones, whereby Duke* Henry *was given to underſtand, that he was not to obey them. Theſe Letters, under the King's own Hand, were found in* Wolffembottel, *and, if need were, could be produced. Now had we acted with the ſame ſeverity againſt the Duke of* Brunſwick, *as the Emperour does now againſt us, though innocent, there would have been no War at all: But becauſe he attacked us, who are obnoxious and expoſed to great hatred upon account of the Goſpel and our Religion, all his Treſpaſſes were connived at. Nor is the Emperour ignorant, that we both put the Province we had taken under Sequeſtration, and offered our ſelves to ſubmit to the Verdict of Arbitrators appointed by his Majeſty, concerning the Defence we undertook againſt him. If he had followed this courſe, and had not, in contempt of the Emperour's Edicts, rejected the Sequeſtration, and raiſed new Stirs, but come to a fair Trial at Law with us, all would have gone in the right way: For if, being caſt, we had not ſubmitted to the Sentence, then would the Emperour have had a good and lawful Cauſe of putting the Laws in execution againſt us; whereas for what now he does, he has none. Nay more, ſince the time Duke* Henry *and his Son were made Priſoners, the Emperour never demanded any thing of us upon that account: We are not then to be accuſed of Undutifulneſs. Now if it be laid to our charge, That we hinder the Courſe of Juſtice, it is the greateſt wrong can be done to us; for ſince, for many years paſt, none were admitted to be Judges and Aſſeſſors in the Imperial Chamber, but the ſworn Enemies of our Religion; that theſe ſlighting all Tranſactions and Agreements, gave Sentence againſt us and our Confederates in Cauſes of Religion; that in Civil Cauſes alſo they would do us no Juſtice, we did no more but what we might lawfully do, in refuſing*

them

them as ſuſpect and our Enemies; offering withal to give more ample Reaſons for our declining them, before Judges choſen for that purpoſe. Nothing then can be objected to us as to that: Beſides, it was decreed at Spire *two years ſince, That the Chamber ſhould be equally conſtituted; and it cannot be imputed to us and our Aſſociates, that it is not done. It is known alſo to the Emperour, that in the Diet at* Worms *laſt year, none did more oppoſe that Decree of his, than thoſe very Princes who would ſeem to be moſt dutiful and obedient, for that very Reaſon, That becauſe they are our Adverſaries, they might be our Judges. We are, moreover, informed, That it is laid to our charge as a Crime, that we endeavour to bring over ſome of the Nobility to our Party: But it is ſtrange that we ſhould be blamed for that; it being manifeſt from the Records of the Empire, that it was the Practice of our Forefathers to aſſociate to themſelves not only the Nobility, but the Biſhops alſo. And grant there were any fault in that, is it therefore lawful, without a fair Trial, to make War againſt us? Now, though the Emperour be excepted in that Hereditary League which is betwixt the Houſes of* Saxony, Brandenbourg, *and* Heſſe, *yet it is ſtill ſo to be underſtood, provided he abuſe not his Power and Authority. Let* Albert *and* John, *Marqueſſes of* Brandenbourg, *who have engaged in the Emperour's Service againſt us, ſeriouſly conſider then what they do, and remember the Oath they are tied by: We have thought fit to make this known to them, and to thoſe alſo, who being our Vaſſals, ſerve under them in this War. Nor will it excuſe them to pretend, that it is the Emperour's Deſign only to puniſh ſome Princes for their Diſobedience; ſince they themſelves know, that no ſuch thing can juſtly be objected to us. But if the Emperour had laid any Crime to our charge, as in reaſon he ought to have done, and we could not have juſtified our ſelves, there would have been no neceſſity then of uſing ſuch Artifices, or of ſolliciting our Confederates to a Defection; ſeeing if the Crime had been proved, moſt part would have forſaken us of their own accord, and few would have ventured a Riſque with us in a bad Cauſe. Furthermore, when two years ſince we, with others, concluded to aſſiſt the Emperour againſt the* French *King, he then promiſed, That ſo ſoon as that War was ended, he would march into* Hungary *in Perſon againſt the* Turk: *But now when the* Turks, *as it is reported by many, do with vaſt Armies make Incurſions into* Hungary *and the adjacent Countries, and have beſides ſtrong Garriſons in* Buda *and* Peſt, *the poor Wretches of that Country are left as a Prey to the cruel and barbarous Enemy, and no care taken of them, that the Blood of thoſe who profeſs the Name of Chriſt may, in the mean time, with more eaſe be ſhed in* Germany. *This being ſo, we are in good hopes, that moſt Men will pity and commiſerate our Condition, and not joyn with our Enemies, who have no other intent than to ſtifle the Light of the Goſpel amongſt us, as we ſee it is in all other Places of their Dominions, and to bring us under the worſt kind of Bondage and Slavery; but that they will accept of moderate Pay with us, rather than ſerve in the Armies of the* Antichriſt of Rome *and his Adherents, whoſe chief Endeavours are, that even with the Ruine and Deſtruction of* Germany *they may again eſtabliſh their impious and impure Doctrine. And ſince now we are forced, after we have earneſtly begg'd for Peace, and are convicted of no Crime, to defend our ſelves againſt unjuſt Violence, we truſt that God Almighty will ſide with Truth againſt Falſhood, and in this his own Cauſe be our Chief Leader and Standard-bearer againſt the wicked Contrivances of the Pope: For to him alone we wholly commit our Cauſe, praying his Divine Majeſty that he would confound the Devices of blood-thirſty Men, and more and more promote his own Honour and Glory.* 1546.

The ſame day they write to *John* Marqueſs of *Brandenbourg*, wiſhing him, as being one of the Proteſtant League, which might be proved by his own Letters, and then as an ancient Confederate of theirs alſo upon a particular account, not to take Arms againſt them, but to act and demean himſelf according to the Articles and Covenants of the League; for that otherwiſe they would divulge the Matter, and publickly accuſe him of tranſgreſſing his Duty. To which he made anſwer, That he denied not but that he ſerved the Emperour, ſince he had given him aſſurance that his Deſign was not againſt the Religion: That he was indeed of the *Smalcaldick* League, but in ſo far only as concerned the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion: That as to the private League, the Emperour was expreſly therein excepted; which being ſo, that they had no reaſon to find fault with him for his Service, nor to accuſe him of having done any thing contrary to his Honour and Obligation. Having received that Anſwer, they publiſh a *Manifeſto*, and, amongſt other things, refute what he had ſaid of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, proving by his own Letters, that he was bound to aſſiſt them and the Confederates, if Matters ſhould come to that paſs, although it might be pretended and given out that Religion was not the Cauſe of the War, as the Emperour now did.

The Proteſtants Letters to the Marqueſs of *Brandenbourg*.

Brandenbourgs Anſwer.

A *Manifeſto* againſt *Brandenbourg*.

1546. Wherefore they caution all men, but eſpecially Collonels, Officers, and Soldiers, not to ſerve under a Man who had violated his Faith and Promiſe.

July the thirteenth, the Pope emitted a Bull, wherein having ſaid much of his own Care and Zeal for the Publick, the Salvation of Mens Souls, the obſtinacy of Hereticks, who ſlighted and rejected the Council that now was begun, and made a pernicious War againſt all pious and good men: he exhorts all Men in general, to give themſelves to faſting and praying, confeſs their Sins, chuſe what Confeſſor every one pleaſed, and then receive the Sacrament, that ſo God might be prevailed with, to proſper that War, which the Emperour and He were obliged to undertake, for the rooting out of Hereſies, and reſtoring Peace to the Church.

Now, though it was the Emperour's deſign to have raiſed Forces with all imaginable ſecrecy, and to have fallen upon the Proteſtant Confederates before they were provided: yet ſuch was their diligence, and ſo great zeal and reſolution was in the minds of Men to defend themſelves in this War, that *July* the ſixteenth, the *Landgrave* took the Field with his Forces; though in the lower *Germany Maximilian* Count of *Buren*, had an Army almoſt compleat, and that it was uncertain whom he intended firſt to attack. Before the *Landgrave* marched out of his own Country, he ſent his Eldeſt Son *William*, a Youth of ſixteen Years of Age, to *Straſbourg*, a City of great ſtrength. When he was upon parting, *Henry Duke of Brunſwick* ſent him word out of Priſon, That if he would give him the hearing, he would diſcover unto him, when and how the meaſures of this War were concerted: But the *Landgrave* who looked upon that to be a cunning fetch of his, to attone a little for his fault, or to procure his liberty, declined the conference: but the Duke would by no means diſcover the matter to any but himſelf. The firſt Exploit performed by the high *Germans*, who now were in a readineſs, was againſt their Enemies of *Bavaria*. For when frequent intelligence was brought, that the Pope's Forces having almoſt paſſed the *Alps*, were drawing nigh the Borders of *Germany*, they thought it beſt to prevent them. Thus ſtands the caſe now. They who come from *Italy* paſs by *Trent* to *Inſpruck*, a Town belonging to King *Ferdinand*; from thence there are two ways that lead to *Bavaria*, where the Emperour then was, either down the River of *Inn* by *Copſteyne*, or elſe to the left hand through the middle of the *Alps*. Near the entry into the *Alps*, on the *German* ſide, King *Ferdinand* has the Caſtle of *Erenberg*, ſtanding upon a very high Hill, ſurrounded with ſteep and abrupt Precipices and narrow Paſſes; ſo that whoever is Maſter of that Caſtle, may hinder the paſſage of the greateſt Army that way. Wherefore in the Month of *July*, *Sebaſtian Scherteline* marches thither with a competent Body of Men, by orders of the Proteſtant Deputies that were then aſſembled at *Ulm*, as we ſaid before, and having on his march taken *Fieſſen*, a Town upon the River of *Leck*, belonging to the Biſhop of *Ausbourg*, on the tenth of *July* he makes himſelf Maſter alſo of that Paſs and Caſtle, the Garriſon having ſurrendered it unto him. His deſign was to have continued his march along the *Alps*, and to have taken *Inſpruck* alſo, and fortified it with a ſtrong Garriſon, and ſo he would have commanded both the ways, that lead from *Italy* into *Germany*, and ſtopt the coming of Soldiers or Proviſions, to the Emperour, by thoſe places. But the alarm being taken, and by orders from King *Ferdinand*, all the Country of *Tirol* being in Arms, a conſiderable Body of Men came to *Inſpruck*, under the Command of *Francis Caſtlealto*, Governour of *Trent*, and having left a Garriſon to defend the Town, they poſſeſs themſelves of the ways and paſſages. Wherefore *Scherteline* having left Garriſons in the Caſtle of *Erenberg*, and the Town of *Fieſſen*, retreats, and marches with his Men to that Army which was raiſed in upper *Germany*, and lay upon the *Danube*. This Army which was Commanded by *Heideck*, *July* the twenty-third, took by compoſition the Town and Caſtle of *Dilinghen*, belonging to the Biſhop of *Ausbourg*, and exacted of them an Oath of Fidelity to the Cauſe. At the ſame time *Maurice* Biſhop of *Aichſtadt*, ſent Meſſengers to the chief Commanders of the Army, entreating them to ſpare him and his people, and he would allow them free paſſage through his Country, and furniſh them with Proviſions. Below *Dilinghen*, is the Town of *Donawert*, which being ſummoned, refuſed to ſurrender: but when the Inhabitants ſaw an Army appearing to batter it, they ſurrendered the place to the Proteſtants. In the mean time the Duke of *Saxony*, and *Landgrave*, advance with their Forces, and marching through *Franconia*, where they capitulated with the Biſhop of *Wurtzburg*, for free paſſage and Proviſions, they haſten to joyn their Companions. In their Camp, at that time, were the Embaſſadours of the Elector of

The Forces of the *Landgrave*.

The *Landgrave* ſends his Son to *Straſbourg*.

The Duke of *Brunſwick* offers to betray the Papiſts Councels againſt the Proteſtants.

The firſt Exploit of the Proteſtants.

Fieſſen taken.

Erenberg is taken by *Scherteline*.

Francis Caſtlealto.

Dilinghen and *Donawert* taken by the Proteſtants.

of *Brandenbourg*, and Duke *Maurice*, ſent to negotiate a Treaty, but they referring the matter to their Confederates, there was nothing done in it. The rich Merchants, and other Banquiers of *Ausbourg*, having packt up their Goods, were already gone out of the Town: but becauſe it was reported that they lent the Emperour Money, the Deputies that then were at *Ulm*, by Letters and Meſſengers complain of it to the Senate of *Ausbourg* as of an ill thing, and ſeriouſly adviſe them to take care that the like be not done for the future. The Magiſtrates anſwer, That formerly when they knew nothing of a War, they had lent Money, indeed, according to their Cuſtom, that it might not lie idle by them: but that now they did not think any body did it, nor ſhould they go unpuniſhed, if it came to their knowledge that they did do ſo. The Emperour was at that time at *Ratisbonne*, and had as yet no Forces with him, beſides three thouſand *Spaniards*, about five thouſand *German* Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe. The *Spaniards* he had ſent for out of *Hungary*: and they were the ſame who, as we mentioned in the preceding Book, had after the Pacification at *Soiſſons* wintered in *Lorrain*, and having afterwards marched near to *Strasbourg*, were the Year before ſent into *Hungary*. It fell out luckily for the Proteſtants, that Peace being lately concluded betwixt the Kings of *England* and *France*, the *German* Soldiers who had ſerved the *French* King being diſmiſſed, liſted themſelves in their Service, under the Command of Count *Bichling*, and *George Recrod*, who was the *Landgrave*'s Vaſſal.

1546.

These of *Ausbourg* furniſh the Emperour with Money.

The Emperour's Forces at *Ratisbonne*.

July the twentieth, the Emperour by Proclamation Outlawed the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave*. In the beginning he gives a large account, what pains he had hitherto taken, that he might keep all *Germany* in Peace, what Decrees he had made to that purpoſe, whereby it was provided, that no Force ſhould be uſed againſt any man for any cauſe whatſoever, but that all things ſhould be done according to the ſtanding Laws, and ancient Cuſtoms: and then he ſheweth how the States of the Empire are bound in Duty and Allegiance to him. But without any regard had to any of theſe things, ſays he, *John Frederick Elector of Saxony*, and *Philip Landgrave of Heſſe*, have with inſolent boldneſs, at all times, as much as in them lay, fruſtrated all the pains and labour we have been at for the publick good, and have continued diſobedient: nor did they themſelves only reſiſt our Authority, but inticed likewiſe the other States, to enter into unlawful Combinations with them. Beſides, the *Landgrave*, ſome Years ſince, under, I know not what pretext, made War againſt ſome of the chief States of the Empire, and marching into their Countries, raiſed great vaſt Sums of Money there: then afterward both in conjunction together, without any cauſe given, invaded a certain Prince of the Empire, drove him out of his Country, and ſeized his Territories. Nay, they have alſo appropriated to themſelves ſome Biſhopricks, and other both Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Fiefs, the Owners whereof, by ancient Cuſtom, are Members of the Empire, and have place in the Aſſembly of the States, and ſtill detain them in that Bondage, though they have often ſued to Us, and implored our Protection in ſeveral Diets. They have alſo ſpoiled many of their Eſtates and yearly Revenues, and received into their Homage the Clients and Vaſſals of others. Lately, alſo, they were ſo ſtrangely bold, as to ſollicite ſome of the States, not to repair to this Diet, that they might thereby hinder the diſpatch of all Affairs, and bring Us and Our Authority into contempt. And all theſe things they do with the greater ſecurity and liberty, that they ſlight Juſtice, and neither fear, nor ſtand in awe of any Magiſtrate: for through their fault, the Supreme Judicature of the Empire is ſuppreſſed, the Laws are ſilent, and now for a long time (which is a thing not to be paralelled) there has been no Adminiſtration of Juſtice, to the great prejudice of many. And, what is moſt grievous, all theſe things they act under the ſpecious and ſweet Name of Religion, Peace and Liberty: for theſe plauſible Titles they make uſe to veil and cloak their Actions, when in the mean time, they deſire nothing leſs, than Agreement in Religion, or the Peace and Liberty of *Germany*. Surely they can prove by no Text of Scripture, that it is lawful for them, in any manner of way, obſtinately to reſiſt the Supream Magiſtrate: but the contrary is eaſily made out, both from the Word of God, and approved Hiſtory, to wit, that the ancient Profeſſours of the Chriſtian Doctrine, who not only confirmed their Faith by their words and actions, but ſealed it alſo by their death, obeyed even profane and Pagan Kings; How much leſs then ought they under a pretext of Religion, to deny Us their Duty and Obedience? for by denying it, they make it manifeſt, that their Deſign is to Uſurp our Crown, Scepter, and Authority, and having put all into confuſion and diſorder, to oppreſs Religion,

The Duke of *Saxony* and the *Landgrave* Outlawed by the Emperour.

Law,

1546. Law, Peace, and Liberty; that with the acceſſion of new Titles and Poſſeſſions, they may conſtrain all men to truckle under their Tyranny. And, indeed, nothing leſs can be gathered from their haughty Words and Menaces, and from thoſe ſcandalous Libels and Pictures ſcattered abroad in all places among the People, to the great diſhonour and contempt of Our Perſon and Authority. Moreover, they have not only made Leagues againſt Us, in thoſe Conventicles of theirs, but alſo ſtirred up foreign Kings againſt Us, and under-hand aſſiſted them both with Supplies and Councel. Some may be found alſo, that can tell Tales, how far they have gone, that they might invite the *Turk* into *Germany*; which is indeed the more credible, that ſuch a Juncture would have proved very commodious for their deſigns. By theſe Acts of theirs then, they break their Allegiance to Us, trample upon the Dignity of Our Character, and evacuate the force of all Decrees, which they look upon as made for no other end, but that others ſhould be barr'd from the liberty of reſiſting Violence, and they only allowed a permiſſion to do wrong to all men. For all which Cauſes, they have fallen into that moſt heinous Crime of High Treaſon, and incurred the Penalties thereunto due by the Laws; as plainly appears by their Villanies, which are ſo notorious, that it is to no purpoſe to ſpend time in proving them. Now though we might have long ago uſed Our Authority, and puniſhed them according to their deſerts, nevertheleſs for peace-ſake, and for avoiding all ſtirs and troubles, We ſtill ſhewed them Our Favour, and in many things condeſcended to them, more than was becoming; and in that We often offended our own Conſcience, leſſened our Authority, and neglected the Intereſts of others. Thus We uſed moſt gentle means five years ago, with the *Landgrave* at *Ratisbonne*, and two years ſince with the Duke of *Saxony* at *Spire*, and that in hopes that being gained by our extraordinary lenity and forbearance, they might at length break off their ill purpoſes, and ſave themſelves and Us the trouble of any more violent Remedy. But now that We find all our endeavours to have been in vain, and that they have plainly cheated Us by their Words, in regard that ſlighting our Decrees and the Laws of the Empire, they obſtinately go on even contrary to their own Covenants and Engagements, and through an unbridled Deſire of Rule, invade other mens Rights and Poſſeſſions; having no reſpect to Law, but in all their Actions aiming at the overthrow of the Government: ſo that unleſs they be reſtrained, there will be ſo little poſſibility of compoſing the Differences of Religion, that all the parts of the State muſt remain diſcompoſed and out of order. We are forced to uſe the power that God hath put into Our hands againſt them. And ſince their Rebellion is ſo notorious, that they themſelves cannot deny it, and that they carry all things on in a violent way, refuſing to ſubmit to Law and Juſtice, We therefore Proſcribe and Outlaw them as falſe Traitors, perfidious and ſeditious Rebels, and are reſolved to bring them to condign puniſhment, that they may no longer be a hinderance unto Us, in ſetling the State, and doing thoſe things, which properly belong to Our Character and Place. We therefore ſtrictly Charge and Command all and every one of Our Subjects, that they preſume not in any manner to aid and aſſiſt them, or otherwiſe take their part, under the pain of forfeiture of Lives and Fortunes: and that ſuch as are now in their Service, return to their Duty and Obedience to Us, without pretending any League or Aſſociation to the contrary, all which we hereby reſcind and annul. We moreover abſolve all the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of their Dominions, from their Oath of Allegiance to them, aſſuring them, in the Word of an Emperour, of all Security and Protection if they obey; and that ſuch as refuſe, and are diſobedient to Our Commands, ſhall be puniſhed in the ſame manner as the Principals.

July the two and twentieth, *Gerard Feldwig*, who lately returned from *Conſtantinople*, is ſent back again thither from *Ratisbonne*. When the Emperour perceived that there was no buſineſs to be done in this Diet of the Empire, he Prorogues it to the firſt of *February* the year following. We ſpake before of the Pope's Letters ſent to the *Suizzers*; now ſo ſoon as *Jerome Franco*, his Holineſs's Nuncio, had received them, he ſent them forward from *Lucerne*, with Letters of his own, dated *July* the twenty-fifth, wherein he acquaints them, That three days before he had received Letters from the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals: and that though they were much to the ſame purpoſe with ſome other former Letters of theirs, yet becauſe they contained ſomewhat that was new, he had ſent them in all haſte a Copy of them, promiſing to produce the Originals in the next Aſſembly: and that becauſe in the League which the Pope and Emperour had concluded, about the

latter

latter end of *June*, there is place left for others who would engage in the ſame Confederacy; and becauſe alſo it was ſtipulated, That the Emperour ſhould firſt try if, without a War, his, and the Enemies of the See of *Rome*, could be reclaimed and brought to their Duty; his Holineſs did earneſtly deſire of them, that they would in plain terms tell, whether or not they would enter into that League, and ſubmit to the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*: Wherefore ſince they had appointed him a Day, at their next Aſſembly at *Baden*, to give him an Anſwer to his former Demands, he did now write of theſe things unto them, that they might in the mean time conſider of them: That therefore he begg'd of them, for the Blood of our Saviour *Chriſt*'s ſake, that they would ſeriouſly reflect, how glorious and advantagious it would be to them, and to their Children alſo, if they did contribute in extinguiſhing the Flames of Diviſion in *Germany*, and approve the Decrees of the Council. In that the *Pope* divulged the Cauſe of the League, ſome looked upon it as a cunning Fetch, that by that means he might entangle the Emperour in many Difficulties; for it is certain, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter, that he took it very ill, that the Emperour had pretended another Cauſe for the War. About this time *Albert* Son to the Duke of *Bavaria* married the Lady *Anne* Daughter to King *Ferdinand*, and *William* Duke of *Cleves*, the Lady *Mary* her Siſter: For ſeeing the Duke of *Cleve* had in vain expected the Daughter of *Navar* from *France*, as hath been ſaid before, he was diſpenſed with by a Bull from the *Pope* to marry another: He therefore married this Lady, and both Marriages were celebrated at *Ratisbonne*, amidſt the Tumult and Noiſe of Wars, and were deſigned as a Bond to ſtrengthen a new Alliance.

1546.

The Marriages of *Bavaria* and *Cleves*, amidſt the noiſe of War.

The Seſſion of the Council of *Trent* was appointed to be about the latter end of *July*, as hath been ſaid; but it was put off to the beginning of the next Year, as will appear in its proper place. There was at *Trent*, at this time, beſides the Cardinal-Legats, the Cardinal of *Trent*, and Cardinal *Pacieco* a *Spaniard*, four Archbiſhops, thirty three Biſhops, and of theſe two were *French*, five *Spaniſh*, and one *Sclavonick*, the reſt were all *Italian* Biſhops: Doctors of Divinity, who were of Religious Orders, thirty five; and twelve others that were Secular, for moſt part all *Spaniards*. Moreover, two of thoſe Archbiſhops were Titular only, *Olaus Magnus* of *Upſale*, and *Robert Venant* a *Scottiſh-man*. Now the occaſion of this was: When *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*, the Neighbour of *Denmark*, made an Alteration in Religion, in the Year 1537. *John Magnus* Archbiſhop of *Upſale*, who diſliked that Reformation, leaving his own Country, fled to *Rome*, whither he came with ſmall Attendance. Afterwards going to *Venice*, he was made Vicar, and, as they commonly call it, Suffragan to the Patriarch of that City: But being afterwards weary of that Office, he returned to *Rome*, and there being reduced to ſuch Straits, that he ſold his Horſes, and broke up his Family, he was by Pope *Paul* placed in the Hoſpital of the Holy Ghoſt, and there died in a poor and low Condition. He had a Brother *Olaus* with him, to whom the Pope gave that *Gothick* Archbiſhoprick, though it was not within the Pale of the *Roman* Church, and ſent him to the Council, with an Allowance of fifteen Duckets a Month for his Maintenance. The other, the *Scottiſh-man*, having informed the Pope of the Archbiſhoprick of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, obtained it from him in Title. He was a blind Man, and nevertheleſs not only ſaid Maſs, but rid Poſt alſo. Theſe two then the Pope would have to be preſent at the Council, only for oſtentation, as if thoſe two ſo diſtant Nations, the *Swedes* and *Iriſh*, had acknowledged his Power, when, in reality, they enjoyed no more but the Shadow and bare Title of Prelates.

The Seſſion of the Council is put off.

The number of the Fathers of the Council of *Trent*.

Titular Archbiſhops, *Olaus Magnus* of *Upſale*, and *Venant* a *Scot*.

The King of *Sweden* reforms Religion.

The Archbiſhop, reduced to poverty, dies.

We told you before, That Duke *Maurice*, after a private Conference with the Emperour, left *Ratiſbonne*, and went home. King *Ferdinand* following not long after, he went to wait upon him at *Prague*. Afterwards, on the firſt of *Auguſt*, the Emperour ſent to Duke *Maurice* from *Ratiſbonne* a Copy of the Proſcription we mentioned before, and in his Letters to him and the People, relates the ſame things almoſt that were contained in the *Ban* and Inſtrument of Proſcription: And becauſe he was related in Blood and Affinity to the Parties Outlawed, ſo that he might claim ſome Right and Title to their Eſtates and Goods, he ſtrictly charges him to aſſiſt him with all his power, in ſeiſing and taking poſſeſſion of their Provinces; nay, that for preſervation of his own Right, he ſhould with all diligence put himſelf in poſſeſſion of all; elſe the firſt Poſſeſſor, whoever that might be, ſhould have all, without any regard had to his Conſanguinity, and the Rights of Entail: That beſides, if he ſlighted his Emperour's Command, he ſhould incur

Duke *Maurice* his Progreſs to King *Ferdinand*.

The Emperour's Letters to Duke *Maurice*, and to his Brother *Auguſtus*; wherein he deſires them to take poſſeſſion of the Inheritances of the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave*, and ſo prevent others.

1546. incur the ſame Pains that they had done. He charges alſo the Nobility, Gentry and Commons, upon the ſame Penalty, to obey his Proclamation, and faithfully aſſiſt the Prince. Theſe Letters were equally directed to Duke *Maurice* and his Brother *Auguſtus*.

The *Proteſtants* Letters to the Duke of *Bavaria*.

The whole *Proteſtant* Army was now come to the *Danube*: There the Duke of *Saxony*, *Landgrave*, and Council of War, *Auguſt* the third, wrote to *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, ſignifying, That it was to no purpoſe for them to ſay much of the Emperour's Warlike Preparations, ſince the whole Matter was well known to himſelf: That though they had never been wanting to the Emperour in any kind of Dutifulneſs, nor did think they had ever given him any cauſe of offence, yet had they long ſince learned, both from his Anſwer, and the Diſcourſes of other Men alſo, that he intended a War againſt them, as diſobedient Subjects, when, in the mean time, they were neither convicted of any Crime, nor had done injury to any Man; and that though the Crime he imputed to them were never ſo true, yet was it not lawful for him to come to an open War, before the Caſe had been brought to a Judicial Trial; but that this Proceeding of his was contrary to Juſtice and the Laws of the Empire, contrary to Covenants and Capitulations, and contrary to the Cuſtom and Practice of former Ages: For it was the conſtant Cuſtom of the Emperours, when they had any thing to ſay againſt any State of the Empire, to bring it always to a publick Trial: That he himſelf knew, that for many years there had been divers Projects on foot, to deprive *Germany* of its Liberty; and that there was no doubt but that the preſent War tended alſo to that: That now, though they had hitherto always obſerved in him a great forwardneſs to preſerve their common Liberty, and though he had lately, after many Expreſſions of his Kindneſs and Good-will towards them, ſent them word, That he would not allow Paſſage to any Foreign Soldiers, yet they had advice, that he had already both given them a free Paſſage, ſupplied them with Proviſions and Artillery, and received Garriſons of the Enemies into his Towns: That they were not a little troubled at this, conceiving him to have been perſwaded thereunto by Calumnies and ſlanderous Aſperſions: That however, ſince by their Declarations lately publiſhed, they had ſufficiently made it out, that the Emperour's Proceedings were unjuſt, and that many both publick and private Compacts and Agreements were thereby at once violated, they truſted, that in defence of the Publick Liberty, he would not be wanting to them neither in Aid nor Counſel, eſpecially ſince he had lately put them in hopes of that, by the Meſſenger he ſent unto them: That he would then order the Emperour's Soldiers to march out of his Towns of *Roen* and *Ingolſtadt*, or ſuffer them to put equal Garriſons into thoſe Places alſo: That he would allow them ſafe Paſſage and Proviſions through his Country, and aſſure them thereof by Letters: And that though they did not think he would refuſe them, yet they deſired his Anſwer within five days; elſe he might expect that they would conſider what was next to be done.

A great Misfortune occaſioned by Lightning at *Mechelin*.

Auguſt the ſeventh, at *Mechelin*, a very fair Town in *Brabant*, belonging to the Emperour, a Magazin of Gunpowder taking fire by Lightning, blew up the Tower on the Wall it was kept in from the very Foundation, ſpoiled all the Buildings about, within and without the City, to above five hundred Yards diſtance, whereof ſome were ſet on fire, many overthrown, ſome ſhattered and ſhaken, the Roofs of many thrown down, and the Glaſs-windows in all the Streets ſhattered and broken, ſo that the whole City was in a manner ruined and defaced: Huge great Stones, all ſplit and ſcorched, were by the violence of the Blow carried at leaſt ſix hundred Yards off, and many Trees alſo forced up by the Roots, and burnt. In this ſad Diſaſter about two hundred Perſons periſhed, being partly burnt in the Fire, and partly ſmothered under the Ruins, beſides a vaſt number of others who were grievouſly wounded, but eſcaped Death at that time; of whom many, two or three, and ſome four days after, were dug out of Cellars under Ground, moſt part ſtarved to death or ſtifled, and ſome alive, who had made a ſhift to live upon what Victuals they found there. A great many Horſes, and other Beaſts alſo, were burnt in the Stables; and at that part where the Tower ſtood, two hundred yards of the Town-wall was levelled with the Ground.

The *Suitzers* Anſwer to the *Proteſtants*.

The *Suitzers* meet again at *Baden*, *Auguſt* the tenth, and four days after the *Popiſh Cantons* give their Anſwer to the *Proteſtant* Ambaſſadours, whom they had appointed then to attend: That they were heartily ſorry for the War that was broken out betwixt the Emperour and them, nor was there any thing that they

more

more wiſhed for, or deſired, than Peace: That therefore they would not meddle in that War, but ſtand Neuter, and, as much as lay in their power, hinder Foreigners from entring and paſſing through their Country, and keep their own People at home: That in order thereunto, they had already ſet forth a ſevere Proclamation, that none of their Subjects ſhould enter into any Foreign Service, but all expect the Orders of their Magiſtrates, and be in readineſs for the defence of their Country: That nevertheleſs many had liſted themſelves in their Service, which they took very ill; and that therefore they entreated them, that they would diſmiſs them, and ſuffer them to return home. Beſides the Demands that the *Proteſtants* had formerly made to them, they then required alſo, That they would not enter into the League with the Pope and Emperour, nor ſend them any Supplies of Soldiers, which the Pope chiefly urged; but that they would aid and aſſiſt them, who were forced in their own defence to reſiſt an unjuſt War: And having enlarged much upon the Pope's Injuſtice, who would both preſide and be Judge in the Council, which he held in a place commodious for him to do miſchief, they take occaſion to mention the Murder of *John Diaz*, ſhewing them, that ſo horrid a Crime was not only not puniſhed to this very day, but that a great many commended it as a meritorious Action: That that was a warning to them, how unadviſed and unſafe it would be for them to come to thoſe places where their Adverſaries ruled all; and amongſt them, the lately created Cardinal of *Trent*, who was upon many accounts the Pope's moſt humble Servant. 1546.

The Proteſtants Demand of the *Suitzers.*

Becauſe the *Proteſtants* were now with all their Forces upon the *Danube*, as we ſaid, the Emperour, who was not as yet in a readineſs, leaving *Ratisbonne* with a Garriſon, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, marches to *Landishurſt*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Bavaria*, upon the *Iſer*, and encamps under the Walls. From *Donawert*, the Duke of *Saxony*, *Landgrave*, and the Confederates, *Auguſt* the eleventh, ſend him a Letter of Defiance, according to the manner and Law of Arms. *We wrote to you laſt Month*, ſay they, Emperour Charles, *and juſtified our ſelves from thoſe things whereof we ſtand accuſed; and though, as it was but reaſonable, you ſhould have either deſiſted from your Warlike Preparations, or at leaſt declared the Cauſe of the War, and having mutually heard us, treated us according to the Cuſtom of the Empire, and your Coronation-Oath: Nevertheleſs, ſince you ſtill go on, we alſo are conſtrained to take up Arms, that we may defend our ſelves againſt that unjuſt Violence which is unworthy your Perſon and Character. Your Actions clearly demonſtrate, that it is your Deſign both to oppreſs the Reformed Religion, and the Liberty of the Empire. For you your ſelf know, what Projects for theſe many years you have been carrying on, with the Antichriſt of* Rome, *and Foreign Princes, that you might either make them your Friends, or our Enemies. Beſides, without the Advice of the Colledge of the Princes and States, you have made a Truce with the* Turk, *quite contrary to your Promiſe; for when two years ſince* Germany *gave you Aſſiſtance againſt the King of* France, *you paſs'd your Word, that ſo ſoon as that War were ended, you would go in Perſon with an Army againſt the* Turk; *but now have you patch'd up a Truce with him, to the end only that you might more conveniently accompliſh what you had deſigned againſt us. And now, in the Diet of* Ratisbonne, *you have put a colour and new face upon the matter, having enlarged much upon your Affection and good Intentions towards* Germany *our common Country, and upon the Contumacy of ſome Perſons, which you did with a deſign of dividing us, who were Confederated upon the Account of Religion: For you are not able to make out againſt us any Crime of Undutifulneſs or Diſobedience; and diſtruſting your Cauſe, you cited not the Accuſed to anſwer before the Diet of the Empire, nor, indeed, did ſo much as name them: Whereas, in the mean time, by Letters to ſeveral Princes and Free Towns, you cunningly pretended, that the War you deſigned was not for Religion, but for repreſſing the Contumacy and Stubbornneſs of ſome Men: Nevertheleſs, that Religion is the thing you ſtrike at, it is even apparent from this, that you have procured a Council from the Pope, wherein none but his Vaſſals and Creatures have any place. Some there were, indeed, in that Aſſembly, a little more free in their Speech; but ways were found out that they ſhould be recalled and turned out, and worſe Men put into their places. It is alſo well known to all, what ſort of Decrees they are which the Fathers at* Trent *have already made in ſome Seſſions. It is not then the Council ſo often promiſed in the Diets, as we declared unto you a year ago at* Wormes; *and what we then alledged, we would have now again here repeated. That it is your Deſign alſo to compel us to approve the Council, will eaſily appear from the Pope's Letters ſent lately to the* Suitzers, *wherein he heavily complains of many in* Germany, *who ſlight the Dignity*

The Proteſtants declare War againſt the Emperour.

1546. *of the Council; and that, he says, is the reason why he was willing to undertake a War: And because you also had resolved, for the same reason, to try the Effect of your Arms, he says, that that had happened very luckily for his purpose, and that therefore he would employ not only his own, but also all the Force and Treasure of the* Roman *Church. Since then the Pope hath discovered that Purpose of yours, which you would have cloaked under another Disguise, who can any longer doubt but that our Religion is struck at? For we, indeed, are conscious to our selves of no Fact, for which we should either refuse a Publick Trial, or that we cannot justifie our selves in: But it was your Duty to have brought us before the College of the Princes, according to ancient Custom, and heard our Reasons and Defences. Nor did it become you thus to use us, to call us to a Diet, to propound Publick Affairs, to ask our Counsel and Advice, and, in the mean time, to be projecting a War against us. For, what, indeed, can be the meaning of this, to leave the* Turk, *and turn all the Rage of the War against us, as if we were a great deal worse than he? But our Hope and Confidence is in God, that he will hinder and put a stop to so base an Undertaking. For if you, and King* Ferdinand *your Brother, entertained any Grudge or Displeasure against us, that was wholly removed at* Cadam, Vienna, Ratisbonne, *and* Spire; *so that you may gloss and varnish the Matter as you please, we are still certain, that there is no other Cause for this War, but that with the suppression of the true Religion,* Germany *may lose its Liberty. You write, indeed, to several Persons, and endeavour to perswade them, that you are very desirous the Doctrine of the Gospel should be propagated; but the Decisions of the University of* Louvaine *confirmed by you, the Punishments inflicted upon good and pious Men within your Dominions, and that Confederacy made with the* Roman *Antichrist, sufficiently declare, that it is your intention to restore Popery in its full extent, and to extirpate the Religion which we professed at* Ausbourg. *And since it is so, and that we made a League to live and die in this Religion, and with united Forces to defend it, whatsoever Quarrel or Provocation may be by any pretended against any of us, it necessarily behoved us to undertake our own Defence, which the Law both of God and Nature allows us. And although, by reason of this your Design against us, we are freed from all Obligation unto you, so that we needed not to have declared to you our Resolutions in the Matter; yet for the greater security, we hereby renounce all Allegiance, Homage, and Duty, that we were any ways bound to perform to you; not as if thereby we impeached the Rights and Prerogatives of the Empire, but rather that we may assert and defend the same. Wherefore we openly and solemnly declare, That it is our Purpose and Resolution to defend our selves by way of Arms, against the Hostilities of you and your Confederates: For the Cause is too good and just, that we should be afraid of any Danger.*

This Letter they send by a young Gentleman and a Trumpeter, as the Custom is, to the Emperour, in his Camp at *Landishut:* But he was so far from receiving it, that, upon pain of Death, he commands them to carry it back to their Masters; adding withal, *That if any Man should for the future come from them to him, instead of a Present and Gold Chain, he should have the Reward of a Halter.* Then he gave them the Instrument of Proscription above-mentioned, and strictly charges them to deliver it to their Princes.

The Emperour refuses to receive the Protestants Letters.

The Emperour's Answer to the Protestants Messenger.

Before this Letter was sent, it was debated, what Title was to be given to the Emperour; and the Duke of *Saxony* was of opinion, that he was not to be called Emperour, for that then it was not lawful to make War against him: But the *Landgrave* was of another mind; and both had those that approved them: At length they hit upon this Expedient, that they should call him *The Pretended Emperour.* Then they consult whither they should march: Some were for going streight to *Landishut*, where the Emperour was; but when they were told by those who knew the Country, That they had Fens to pass, where the Ways were so narrow, that for a Mile or two a pair of Horses could not go abreast, they change their mind, and resolve to march to *Ratisbonne*, where the Emperour had left both a Garrison and Artillery, for that there they might chuse a convenient Ground to encamp in, and if the Emperour came to the Relief of the Besieged, they might hazard a Battel. Having then removed their Camp, they advance, but with a very slow March; and about the same time, to wit, the thirteenth of *August*, the *Italian* or *Popish* Forces arrive at *Landishut*, to the great satisfaction of the Emperour; who having intelligence of the approach of the Confederates, had by several Messengers entreated them to hasten their March. They consisted of Ten thousand Foot, and Five hundred Light-Horsemen, who were commanded by *Octavio Farnese*, the *Pope*'s own Grand-son, whom he made their General. Several famous Officers served under him, as

A Dispute about what Title should be given to the Emperour.

The Protestants march to *Ratisbonne.*

The Pope's Forces come to the Emperour.

Alexander

Alexander Vitelli, John Baptiſta Savelli, Sforzia Palavicini, Frederick Savelli, Paolo Vitellio, Julio Urſini, Alexio Laſcaris, Jerome of Piſa, John Maria of Padoua, Nicolao Piumbino, Nicolao Petiliano, and others. With theſe *Coſmo de Medices* Duke of *Florence* ſent Two hundred Horſe, under the Conduct of *Rudolph Baliones*; and *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara* an hundred, Commanded by *Alfonſo* his Baſtard-brother. To *Octavio* the *Pope* joyned his Brother Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe*, to be a kind of Spy over the Emperour's Counſels, and to incite and ſpur him on to Action. Upon *Farneſe*'s departure out of *Italy*, he is ſaid to have boaſted, *That he would make ſuch Slaughter in* Germany, *that his Horſe might ſwim in the* Lutherans *Blood.* Not long after came alſo the *Spaniards* whom the Emperour had ſent for out of *Milan* and *Naples*, to the number of about Six thouſand, all old Soldiers. Some of the Chief Officers were, *Philip Lanoio* Prince of *Sulmona*, *Alvaro de Sandi*, *Alphonſo Vivas*, and *James Acre*; over whom was *Ferdinando de Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, the Emperour's Lieutenant-General; and next to him, *John Baptiſta Caſtaldo.* The Cardinal of *Ausbourg* was Commiſſary-General. In the Emperour's Service were alſo, *Maximilian* Archduke of *Auſtria*, *Emanuel Philibert*, Son to the Duke of *Savoy*, *Erick* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and *Philip* the Son of Duke *Henry* who was Priſoner, *George* Duke of *Meckleburg*, *George* Duke of *Brunſwick*, Duke *Henry*'s Brother a Church-man, *Frederick* Count of *Furſtemberg*, *Renard* Count of *Solmes*, and many others. In the *Proteſtant* Camp were, *John Erneſt* Duke of *Saxony*, the Elector's Brother, *John Frederick* the Elector's Son, *Philip* Duke of *Brunſwick*, with his four Sons, *Erneſt*, *Albert*, *John*, and *Wolfgang*, *Francis* Duke of *Lunenburg*, *Wolfgang* Prince of *Anhalt*, *Chriſtopher* Count *Henneberg*, *George* Count *Wirtemberg*, *Albert* Count *Mansfield*, with his two Sons *John* and *Volrat*, *Louis* Count *Oetinghen*, with his Son of the ſame Name, *William* Count *Furſtenberg*, *Chriſtopher* Count *Oldenburg*, *Hubert* Count *Bichling*, and Count *Heideck*, beſides *Recrod*, *Rifeberg*, and eight Enſigns of *Suitzers.* All the Forces being then Rendezvouſed, except thoſe which the Count of *Buren* was bringing from the *Lower Germany*, the Emperour decamped, and marched towards *Ratisbonne.* So ſoon as that was known, ſome began to ſuſpect that his Deſign was upon *Miſnia* and *Saxony*; and therefore the Confederates having cauſed Bridges to be made, paſs their Army over the *Danube*: But having advanced a little towards *Nortgow*, Advice comes from *Ratisbonne*, that the Emperour was marching to *Ingolſtadt*: That made them change their March, and by rough and ſtony Ways return again to the *Danube*, leſt the Emperour ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of *Newburg*, three Miles above *Ingolſtadt*, and of *Donawert*, and by that means have an open Paſſage into the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*. Next day after they were come to *Naſſefels*, the *Landgrave* advanced with a ſmall Party of Men, that he might view *Ingolſtadt*, not knowing that the Emperour's Forces were there; for he had heard but of a few *Spaniards* in Garriſon, and thoſe he intended to provoke to a Skirmiſh: But as he was advancing, a Party of the Prince of *Sulmona*'s Horſe ſally out, and charging the *Landgrave*, ſome were killed on both ſides, and many wounded: Priſoners alſo were taken, who gave intelligence, that the Emperour was that day to encamp at *Ingolſtadt*. The Elector of *Saxony* was highly diſpleaſed at that Action of the *Landgrave*, and threatned to leave the Army, if any ſuch thing for the future were done without his knowledge. The whole Army in the mean time was drawn out; but after they had for ſome time ſtood to their Arms, in poſture of giving Battel, they retreated again to their Camp. In the fore-part of the Night following, the *Spaniards* break into Count *Heideck*'s Quarters, who commanded under the Duke of *Saxony*, and kill him an hundred Foot-Soldiers: Some of their own Men they loſt alſo; ſo that there was a great Tumult in the Camp, which was much encreaſed by the darkneſs of the Night. The day following, being the twenty ninth of *Auguſt*, ſome Captains of Horſe and Foot were ſent out to view the Situation of the Enemies Camp. Thoſe, ſome *Italian* Horſe who were in Ambuſh, ſuddenly charge, and many being killed on both ſides, the *Proteſtants* were fain to retreat to their Camp, without any Succeſs: Wherefore next day the *Landgrave* himſelf marches out with a ſmall Party of choſen Men, to try if he could make any ſure Diſcovery; and having found a Foard, though the Scouts that had been ſent out before him ſaid there was none, he returns to the Duke of *Saxony*, and acquaints him, that the Horſe might paſs the River. On the laſt of *Auguſt* then they reſolved to march by break of day, and poſſeſs themſelves of a higher Ground, where the Beacon of *Ingolſtadt* ſometime ſtood, and from thence

1546.

The Officers of the Pope's Army.

The Horſe of the Dukes of *Florence* and *Ferrara*.

A bloody Saying of *Farneſe*.

The Commanders of the Emperour's Army.

German Princes in the Emperour's Camp.

The Princes in the *Proteſtants* Camp.

The Emperour marches to *Ratisbonne*.

A Skirmiſh betwixt the *Landgrave*'s Men and the *Spaniſh* Garriſon.

The *Spaniards* break into the *Proteſtants* Camp.

1546. play upon the Enemies Camp with their Ordnance, that ſo perhaps they might draw the Emperour out to Battel. When the Night was far gone, the Duke of *Saxony* ſends word to the *Landgrave* at two ſeveral times, That the Emperour was gone, and that his Camp was all in a Smoke: But he giving no credit to that Report, orders out five Troops of Horſe, under the command of *William Schacht*, to poſſeſs themſelves of the Foard, and to make Bridges for paſſing over the Infantry and Artillery. A little after, he himſelf follows in great haſte, with the reſt of his Forces, and whole Train of Artillery. When he was come to the River, *Schacht* tells him, That the Emperour was not removed; which News he ſent to the Duke of *Saxony*, and marching forwards, made himſelf Maſter of the Hill we mentioned, and planted ſome Field-pieces upon it. His Men alſo he poſted on the right and left, which alſo the Duke of *Saxony* did, as ſoon as he arrived.

THE

1546.

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK XVIII.

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The Landgrave's *Advice to fall upon the Enemy is not approved. The* Suitzers *will not joyn in this War. Wherefore the* Landgrave *and Duke of* Saxony *ſollicite the* Bohemians; *and fully anſwer the Emperour's Accuſations. They remove their Camp, that they may hinder the paſſage of the Count of* Buren. Peter Stroza *promiſes to lend them Mony, but baſely diſappoints them.* Donawert *is ſurrendered to the Emperour. In the mean time, Duke* Maurice *aſſembles all the States of his Dominions againſt the Duke of* Saxony: *to theſe the* Landgrave *makes anſwer. The* Bohemians *and* Hungarians *invade the Territories of the Duke of* Saxony, *and there ſpoils, plunder, ſatiate their unlawful Luſts, and put all to Fire and Sword. Duke* Maurice *takes moſt part of his Towns by ſurrender. At* Meaux *fourteen are burnt for profeſſing the Reformed Doctrine. The Proteſtants having raiſed their Camp, are purſued by the Enemy. The Duke of* Wirtemberg *and ſome Towns are reconciled to the Emperour. The Fathers of the Council of* Trent *make a Decree concerning Man's Juſtification. The Duke of* Saxony *puts a Garriſon into* Leipſick, *and beats Duke* Maurice *out of his Towns.* Henry *King of* England *dies, and then the Reformation gets footing in that Kingdom. Marqueſs* Albert *of* Brandenburg *is made Priſoner by the Duke of* Saxony.

Maximilian Count of *Buren*, whom we mentioned before, having compleated his Army, which conſiſted of four thouſand Horſe, and ten thouſand Foot, amongſt whom were ſome *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Troops, that had ſerved the King of *England* againſt the *French*, in the Month of *Auguſt* marched out of the Low Countries, and paſt the *Rhine* above and below *Mentz*, where-ever Boats could be had, though the Proteſtants had planted Forces on the other ſide, under the Command of *Chriſtopher* Count *Oldenburg* and *Rifeberg*, to have diſputed their paſſage. The Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, was thought to have had a great hand in that matter. So ſoon as the whole Proteſtant Army was come to the place we ſpake of, they began with all their Ordnance to play moſt furiouſly into the Emperour's Camp. And then in a Council of War held in preſence of the Duke of *Saxony*, the *Landgrave* ſpake to this purpoſe: *Had I*, ſaid he, *now the ſole Power and Command of the Army, as I had when I reſtored the Duke of* Wirtemberg, *I would attack the Enemy at firſt, with two Regiments of Foot, only ſet the Pioneers to throw down their Works, and then fall on with the whole Army.* But whilſt ſome diſſwaded from that, as a moſt dangerous Enterprize; and others did not diſlike it, provided they could be ſecured from the great ſhot of *Ingoldſtat*, and that the Horſe engaged in the very beginning of the Fight: in this diverſity of opinions nothing was done, which was a thing ſo much found fault with by many, that the cauſe and beginning of their Calamity, and the Emperour's Victory, is imputed to that miſcarriage: for they far exceeded the Enemy in Horſe; and the Emperour's Camp was then defended but by a very low Trench. The Emperour then having born the brunt and thunder of that day's action, ſo fortified his Camp next night, that

The Count of *Buren* marches with his Forces to joyn the Emperour.

The *Landgrave*'s bold and good Advice.

The overſight of the Proteſtants, in not laying hold on their oppertunity, was the beginning of their miſcarriage in the War.

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The Emperour's great Courage.

That the Emperour by his Treasurer of *Burgundy* sollicited the *Suitzers*, we told you in the last Book: to his Demands they gave their Answer in that Assembly which, as has been said, was in the Month of *August* held at *Baden*, That they would not infringe the League which they had with the Houses of *Austria* and *Burgundy*: and that they would recal those of their Subjects that were already gone to serve in the War, and punish them as they deserved, if they obeyed not. Now this was the Answer of the Nine Cantons, who, as we told you, were of the Popish Religion: but the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Basle*, and *Schafhausen*, finding that the Letters of the Pope and Emperour, did not both assign the same Cause of the War; and then that the Copy of the League betwixt the Pope and Emperour, which was shew'd them by the the Pope's Nuncio, plainly declared, that the War was undertaken for extirpating the Protestant Religion: they told the Emperour's Embassadour, That they would take time to consider what they should answer, and stay till the Emperour satisfied them, whether or not he would leave them the full liberty and exercise of their Religion.

The Answer of the *Suitzers* to the Emperour.

The Pope and Emperour pretended not the same Cause for the War of *Germany*.

The Emperour's Letter to the Protestant *Suitzers*.

So soon as the Emperour had Advice of this, *August* the twenty-seventh, he wrote to them from the Camp before *Ingolstadt*, That he saw no reason, why they should differ in their Answer from the rest, and looked upon it as an effect of the artifice and subtilty of his Adversaries: for that he heard how in the former Assembly at *Baden*, they had endeavoured to perswade them, that this War was not undertaken for the quelling of Rebellious Princes; but that it was intended against some Free Towns, to the end, that with the Pope's assistance, the Reformed Religion and Liberty of *Germany* might be oppressed: that he had heard also, how they had sollicited them not only for aid against him, but also to enter into a League with them, whereof he understood they had some hopes given them, and that they were to have a positive Answer in the next Assembly. That it was not now needful to repeat what the Cause of the War was, since they had understood that both from his private Letters to them, and his publick Declarations. That it could not be made out, that he had molested any man for the sake of Religion, or given any cause of a Rebellion: but that from the very beginning of his Preparations for War, he had used most of them lovingly and graciously, and more too than did either become his Character, or their Quality and Condition: Nor was it an excuse for their Rebellion, that the Pope assisted him, since not only of *Italy*, but some Princes of *Germany* also, and a great many of the Nobility, descended of most honourable Families, and some of them of the *Augustan* Confession too, assisted them, and ventured their Life and Blood in this War: which certainly they would never do, if matters stood, as the Seditious falsly affirm. But now that it hath been their drift all along, under a cloak of Religion, to baffle the Supreme Magistrate, and having trampled upon the Religion and Liberty of *Germany*, to bring the rest of the States into Servitude and Bondage, is so notorious from many of their actions, that it would be altogether needless to enlarge upon the proof of the same: that in this manner, under the sweet Name of Religion, they had allured the chief Cities of *Germany* into a League with them, and being provided with their Forces and Mony, had invaded the Territories and Estates of other Men: that they did now also, carry all before them, compel the Subjects of other Princes to joyn with them, disturb many in the Exercise of their Religion, and force them to undertake another course of Life, cast men also into Bonds and Prison, whom they threatened most grievously; and after all, spoyl and rob God's Churches; which was a manifest argument, that the reason why they sollicited them to a League was, that by such an accession of strength, they might the more easily bring to pass what they had before projected: that he made no doubt, but they saw these things themselves, and well understood what advantage or disadvantage, was to be expected from any Confederacy with them. That since it was so then, and that they were convinced of his Intentions, and of the Cause of the War, he was very confident that they would reject their League; keep their Men at home; recal those that were already in the Service, under severe Penalties, and in nothing act contrary to the ancient Leagues and Alliances, but according to the example of the rest, be still, and live in peace and friendship; which

which would redound to their own praiſe, and be very acceptable to him. To theſe Letters they make Anſwer in the ſame manner, as we ſaid before, they anſwered the Embaſſadour, and beſeech his Majeſty to take in good part their delay: and that becauſe he aſſures them, that by that War there was nothing intended againſt the Liberty of their Country and their Religion; they alſo on their parts would do what was fit and becoming them: that if any were gone from amongſt them to the Wars, it was in no ways by permiſſion from them, but that they went privately, as many times they had done before: however, that it was not their Cuſtome, to recall thoſe who went into foreign Service without their privity and conſent, but to puniſh them when they came home again. The *Landgrave* and Duke of *Saxony*, ſollicited the *Bohemians* as well as the *Suitzers*: but theſe anſwer in ſuch a manner, that it might eaſily appear their minds were already prepoſſeſſed with the Calumnies of King *Ferdinand*. When the Proteſtants perceived that by their Letters, they write an Anſwer about the latter end of *Auguſt*, aſſuring them, That Religion was the thing aimed at by the War; they ſend them alſo the Declarations publiſhed by them upon that ſubject, deſire of them that they would commit no Hoſtilities againſt them, and that they would ſignifie unto them what their Intentions and Inclinations were. At the ſame time alſo they publiſh a Declaration, importing, that they were informed by credible Perſons, that the Pope, that *Roman Antichriſt*, the Inſtrument of *Satan*, and the Author of this War, who cauſed many places to be ſet on Fire in *Saxony*, had now ſuborned Poyſoners to infect their Wells and Standing-waters, that what Fire and Sword did not, Poyſon might deſtroy. Wherefore they give warning to all, eſpecially to their own Subjects, to uſe all endeavours to Take and Apprehend thoſe Emiſſaries, put them to the Rack, and puniſh them ſeverely, when their Crime ſhould be made out. Some days after, the Elector's Son, *John William*, by publick Letters, warns his Country-men, that they have a ſpecial care of themſelves, for that at *Weimur*, a Town in *Thuringe*, an *Italian* had been lately apprehended upon ſuſpition, who had confeſſed, That he, and ſome others, had received Mony at *Rome*, in the Pope's Name, to do all the Miſchief they could in *Germany*, by Fire and Poyſon.

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The Proteſtant Cantons Anſwer to the Emperour.

The Proteſtants Addreſs to the *Bohemians*.

The Proteſtants Declaration concerning Incendiaries, and Poyſoners, ſent out by the Pope.

We ſpoke of the Proſcription and Imperial *Ban* before, and how that a Copy of the Inſtrument thereof was ſent to the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave*. So ſoon then, as they had received this from the Camp at *Ingolſtadt*, for their Honour and Reputation ſake, they frame a large Anſwer, which they publiſhed on the ſecond of *September*. That he ſo highly commended his Zeal and Affection towards *Germany*, was nothing but diſſimulation; for that from the very time of his Inauguration, it had been his whole deſign to bring it into Bondage. That that, indeed, was the reaſon why leaving *Spain* and his other Provinces, he had ſo often returned into *Germany*, and been at ſo vaſt Charges: that what he ſaid of Religion was of the ſame ſort: it having been always his purpoſe, with the firſt opportunity of time, to ſuppreſs the true and Reformed Doctrine. So often, ſay they, as he hath given Peace to us and our Religion, it was cunningly done by him, to ſerve a turn, only till we had contributed Mony for the publick Concerns of the Empire: that afterwards he had called the Decrees that were made in queſtion, and kept the matter in ſuſpence, until, in the mean time, he might make Peace with *France*, and a Truce with the *Turk*, and till the Pope and he, waiting for a fit opportunity, might call that ſame Council of *Trent*, and enter into League together. We will now give ſome inſtances for the proof of this: Five years ſince he made a Decree at *Ratisbonne* concerning Religion; and when that Decree did not ſatisfie us in very many things, he declared his mind more fully, and for our ſecurity and ſatisfaction, gave us an explanation of it in Writing; which afterwards his Commiſſioners, and King *Ferdinand*, confirmed in another Diet: but when two years ago, mention was made of that in the Diet of *Spire*, he did not call to mind, he ſaid, that Declaration. In the Diet of *Wormes*, the year before, the Biſhop of *Hildeſheim* ſaid openly, in preſence of the Princes, That he had paſt his Word to the Catholicks, That the Decree of *Spire* ſhould be of no force after the War with *France* were over. Some Months ſince, when he was going to the Diet at *Ratisbonne*, *Granvell* told me in preſence of the *Elector Palatine*, ſome Counſellers of mine, and of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*'s Embaſſadours, ſaid the *Landgrave*, That that Decree of *Spire* was accommodated only to the times: but that now the Emperour could not juſtifie it to the reſt of the States. Six years ago, when King *Ferdinand* declared his Inſtructions to the Catholick States at *Haguenaw*, he ſaid, That no

The Proteſtants Anſwer to the Inſtrument of Proſcription.

Decrees

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It was all along his deſign to maintain the Decrees of the Council, and to put them in execution; for the accompliſhment whereof, he long before ſollicited the aſſiſtance of ſome Foreign Princes: but fearing leſt by that means he might ſtir up againſt him all that eſpouſed the Cauſe of Religion, he deviſed another colour, and feigned a Rebellion, that he might divide the Confederates, and having ſuppreſſed the chief of them, conſtrain the reſt, afterwards, to ſubmit to his pleaſure. And though he and his Brother laboured with great Care to conceal this their cunning and crafty Councels, yet through God's great bleſſing, it came more and more to light daily: for the Pope himſelf, by his Nuncio, informed the *Suitzers* both of the Cauſe of the War, and gave them a Copy of the League: whence it is evident, that not only we, but all thoſe alſo who profeſs the Reformed Religion are in danger; and that the great Deſign in hand is wholly to re-eſtabliſh Popery. Let all men judge then of the fairneſs of their Proceedings, when in the late Diet at *Ratisbonne*, they endeavoured to perſwade, and ſolemnly averred, that they would uſe only lawful and peaceful Remedies, for healing the breaches of Religion. Lately, ſaid the *Landgrave*, he told me at *Spire*, That he was not engaged in any League with the Pope: the ſame alſo ſaid *Granvell*. This then is that Fatherly Affection, that Zeal for, and Love of Peace, whereof they ſo much brag, and ſo often. Was ever the like heard, that they ſhould endeavour to perſwade Princes of one thing, and in the mean time reſolve the quite contrary? We are ſenſible enough of the Duty of the Princes to the Emperour, and what on the other hand he is engaged to perform: as we ſtand obliged to him, ſo is he mutually to us. Now that he Proſcribes and Outlaws us without a fair hearing, and endeavours to turn us out of all; he therein diſſolves the Obligation in Law, whereby the Lord or Superiour is mutually bound to his Tenant or Vaſſal. That he objects to us the Crime of Rebellion, it is a meer ſham alſo, and he himſelf knows that he does us wrong in that: For not long ſince, ſaid the *Landgrave*, he gave me Thanks at *Spire*, that I had uſed my utmoſt diligence to compoſe the Differences about Religion. Now, whereas, he ſays, that I prepared for War, and exacted Money of ſome States, I do not, indeed, deny it, and weighty reaſons I had too for making Preparations. But it is publickly known, that by the mediation of *Louis* the *Elector Palatine*, and of *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Treves*, that whole matter was huſht: nay he himſelf acquainted me by his Letters, that though he had been highly diſpleaſed with me for what I had done, yet becauſe I had laid down Arms he required no more: beſides, when ſixteen years ago, he ſpoke to me of the ſame Affair at *Ausbourg*, I juſtified my ſelf ſo well in preſence of King *Ferdinand*, *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, and ſome others, that he was ſatisfied therewith: he cannot then make that any part of his preſent quarrel. That I aſſiſted *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*; at the interceſſion of the Duke of *Saxony*, and *George* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, that matter was alſo taken up, and I received again into favour; which tranſaction he himſelf ratified, and afterward, at *Ratisbonne*, fully pardoned me upon his Royal Word. He now alſo ſpeaks of the War of *Brunſwick*, but the cauſe of that we made manifeſt by a publick Declaration, and two years ſince gave a fuller account of the ſame in a moſt frequent Diet of the Empire, where he was preſent. Duke *Henry* did indeed anſwer then; but the Emperour refuſed to hear our Replies. Now the reaſon why he did not bring the Tryal to a full iſſue, and with the Advice of the reſt of the Princes, give Sentence therein at that time, was, forſooth, becauſe demanding then Supplies againſt the *French* and *Turks*, he purpoſely put a ſtop to the Suit, and ordered a Sequeſtration; wherein we alſo condeſcended to him at *Wormes*, though we were not obliged, and it was agreed on both hands, that *Frederick* Prince *Palatine*, and his Couſin *John* Prince *Palatine* of *Simmeren*, ſhould hold and govern the Province which we had taken, until the Cauſe ſhould be brought to a final deciſion according to Law: this being done, he paſt his Word to us, that the Duke of *Brunſwick* ſhould likewiſe comply; and by Letters ſtrictly enjoyned him

to

to do ſo; but he ſlighting the Orders, raiſed War againſt us, and therein was made Priſoner, as appears by a Declaration publiſhed by me and Duke *Maurice.* In this War then we did nothing undutifully, nothing contrary to Law, and appeal to impartial Judgment. But from that very thing it will eaſily appear what his Intentions are as to our Religion: For though Duke *Henry* moſt ſawcily deſpiſed his Orders, and when he heard of the Sequeſtration, reviled him in very reproachful Language; yet becauſe he is an implacable Enemy to our Religion, he was never called to any Account for it. Where he ſaith, *That we have brought ſome under ſubjection to us*; it is far otherwiſe and has been anſwered by us ſeveral times before. But that may be truly ſaid of him, who hath reduced ſome Provinces and Biſhopricks of the Empire under his Juriſdiction, and againſt this War hath had in many places Meetings of Nobles, that he might to our deſtruction engage them to himſelf. This we acknowledge, indeed, That we have received ſome into our Protection, upon account that if they ſhould incur any danger for profeſſing the Goſpel, we might ſtand by and defend them; and that we look upon to be our duty, ſince God commands us to help the afflicted. Now for many Years paſt, and at this time eſpecially, none ſtand more in need of Help and Protection, than they who are reckoned *Lutherans:* In other things that related not to Religion, we never gave them any Countenance, but always exhorted them to give the Magiſtrate his due. He objects to us alſo, That we diſſwaded others from repairing to the Diet; but that is very impertinent, ſince on the firſt of *April* laſt we ſent Orders to our Deputies, who met at *Wormes* when he was going to *Ratisbonne*, That waving all other Buſineſs, they ſhould repair to that Diet; and that we either came in Perſon, or ſent our Deputies to all the other Diets of the Empire. What he ſaith of the Imperial Chamber, and the interruption of Juſtice, hath been many times refuted already. He moreover brings an Inſtance of the Heathen Magiſtrates, to ſhew, That it is not lawful to reſiſt him: Whereas we have not only done our Duty, but more alſo than either we ought, or our Forefathers were accuſtomed to do, to our own great loſs and prejudice; and that upon that account he hath not the leaſt cauſe of complaint, it will appear by what ſhall be ſaid hereafter. A certain Embaſſadour lately ſent to him from the *French* King, happned occaſionally to ſpeak of this War, telling him, That he undertook a Matter of very great concern; That he would do well to conſider with himſelf how powerful *Germany* was, and how dangerous the Attempt; That if one or two, perhaps, had offended, a Courſe might be taken to accommodate the Matter without a War. Whereunto he is ſaid to have made this Anſwer; That there was no need of an Accommodation; That he would ſubdue *Germany*, or put all to the riſque, for that the Strength thereof was not ſo very great, that he needed to be afraid of it; That it was now above twenty years ſince he had laid down his Meaſures for accompliſhing that Deſign; That in ſeveral Wars they had given him frequent Supplies, and lately too againſt the King his own Maſter; That they had been at great Charges in ſeveral Diets; That they had loſt much of their Military Force alſo in many Wars; and that he had brought about all theſe things, that *Germany* might be weakned in ſtrength and brought low; ſo that this was then a very fit time for Action. An honeſt and worthy Gentleman, who had this Speech from the Ambaſſador's own Mouth told us all. Why does he then lay the Cauſe of the War at our Door, ſeeing it is ſo long ſince he himſelf projected it, when we were no more but private Perſons and as yet wallowed in the Puddle of *Popery*? Now had he ſtood to his Covenants and Decrees, we alſo would have done our Duty: But becauſe he hath broken them, and that God is to be obeyed rather than Man, let him e'en take the Blame to himſelf. For ſince he contrives the Ruine of our Religion and Liberty, he gives us a lawful Ground to oppoſe him with a good Conſcience; and in the Circumſtances we now ſtand in, it is lawful to reſiſt, as may be made out both by Sacred and Profane Hiſtory. For God is not the Author of Violence and Injuſtice nor are we any other way obliged to him, than according as he fulfils the Conditions upon which he was created Emperour. He confeſſeth, That he hath privately tranſacted with us; which we are very glad to hear: Why then ſhould he raiſe a War for thoſe Matters which have been once fairly accommodated? For it can no ways be made out, that we have been guilty of any Rebellion, either before or ſince theſe Tranſactions. But the Caſe ſtandeth thus. Five and twenty years ſince he made a Decree at *Wormes*, and publiſhed an Edict with moſt ſevere Penalties, againſt *Luther*, and all that followed his Doctrine

1546.

The Emperour's Expreſſion about the ſubduing of Germany.

1546. Now it is his Deſign by this War to put that Edict in execution. We never aſpired to his Scepter nor Crown, being content with our own Lands and Revenues, which, we pray God, we may be allowed peaceably to enjoy. If what he ſays be true, why did we ſo often give him aſſiſtance, and but two years ago againſt the *French* King alſo? For which good Office he ought to forget any ſmall Offence we might have committed, even though no Accommodation had been made. We never ſpoke irreverently of him, but rather always extolled him for the Opinion we had of his Virtues. No ſcandalous or infamous Libels nor Pictures were ever publiſhed by our Divines, or any others, againſt him: On the contrary, our Divines and Learned Men gave him always very high Commendations, in their Sermons exhorted the People to do the like, and made publick Prayers for his Health and Proſperity. Perhaps, indeed, they publiſhed ſome againſt *Popery*; and we had no reaſon to forbid them. But how ſawcily and ignominiouſly *Cochlæus Hadomar* and the *Carmelite of Cologne* inveighed againſt us, our Aſſociates, and Divines, even when they met at *Ratisbonne* for ſetling of Differences, is notoriouſly known. He objects to us Conſpiracies and Conventicles; and in that, as in all things elſe, he does us great injury: For we are true *Germans* born and bred, very averſe and great Strangers to ſuch Tricks and Artifices, as having been for many Years paſt contrived againſt us, now at length diſcover themſelves. That we might, indeed, defend our ſelves againſt unjuſt Violence, we entred into a League, we deny not, and did it only to ſecure our ſelves, but not to offend any Man, as in another Declaration we have already made it appear. And five Years ſince, ſaith the *Landgrave*, when I tranſacted with the Emperour in the Diet at *Ratisbonne*, *Granvell* aſſured me and my Chancellor at that time, That the Emperour was not at all offended at that League, but could be content that we brought over as many as we could to joyn with us. Afterwards he has ſome blind Hints, as if we had invited the *Turk* into *Germany*; which certainly falls of it ſelf: For we both contributed Aſſiſtance at all times againſt the *Turk*, even greater than any of our Anceſtors had done; and did do ſo alſo when we were no ways obliged to it, becauſe of non-performance of Conditions, and when ſome others that had promiſed Aſſiſtance, gave none at all: But it hath been talked on long ago, how he and his Brother dealt with the *Turk*, to make an Invaſion, and ſubdue us and our Aſſociates only. Supplies were lately given him againſt the *French* King by publick Decree: He then promiſed, That ſo ſoon as he concluded that War, he would forthwith march againſt the *Turk*: He afterwards made Peace with the Enemy, without the conſent of thoſe with whoſe Money he carried on the War, and now he bends all his Force againſt us. Is it not a rare Spectacle to ſee great Guns brought out of *Auſtria* to ſerve in this War, and in the mean time neighbouring *Hungary* waſted by a moſt cruel Enemy? The Crimes he lays to our Charge, Seditions, Conſpiracies, High Treaſons, and what not, are all imaginary; nor is there any other Cauſe of War, than what we have often already mentioned. He ſaith, That he hath condeſcended more to us than became him, and connived at many things, not without grief and trouble of Conſcience: But that is meer Hypocriſie alſo: For it was his deſire long ſince to have made War againſt us, but was hindred by the Times, and was forced to delay it till now, that he had Peace with the Duke of *Cleve*, the King of *France*, and the *Turk*. What his Inclinations have been, the ſad and grievous Puniſhments inflicted upon harmleſs and pious Men, throughout his Dominions, ſufficiently declare: And that he heretofore tranſacted with us alſo, we find now to have been done only, that all other Affairs diſpatched, he might have nothing to mind but only this War. A thing that I could never have ſuſpected, ſaith the *Landgrave*, conſidering the extraordinary Kindneſs and Civility wherewith he lately treated me at *Spire*; at which time alſo *Naves* dealt with my Chancellor, that that Conference might be kept ſecret. Now the ſcope of this his Accuſation is, that he may divide our Confederates from us; and therefore he charges us with Tyranny, Rapine, and Diſturbance of the Government, but very unjuſtly: For we ſeverely puniſh Rapine and Robbery within our Territories, and upon that account have purchaſed to our ſelves no ſmall Hatred. However, *John Diaz*, a moſt innocent Man, was in a horrid and unparallell'd manner robbed of his Life, and murdered; the Parricide, his Brother, was taken and indited; the Prince earneſtly moved, that ſuch a barbarous Villany ſhould be puniſhed: But what came on't all? The Thing ſpeaks it ſelf. He caſts the Blame of all the Troubles and Stirs upon us; but it is his own Edict of *Wormes* that hath

hath raiſed all the Commotions; for though he has been often and earneſtly ſollicited by us, yet would he never abrogate it; and our Adverſaries have always reſted upon it, as upon a firm Foundation; eſpecially *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, who entred into a League with ſome before the Diet of *Ausbourg*; and it is publickly known what the end of that Diet was, and the Decree that paſt therein. Truly the bitter Words that were then ſpoken, gave us ground afterwards of entring into an Aſſociation, and the preſent League. In all Diets every where the *Papiſts* were troubleſom to us, and would have compelled us to abſtain from Meats, and obſerve what Holy-days themſelves had invented. We complied alſo with the Emperour at *Ausbourg*, when he largely promiſed, That he would appoint Teachers of the People: But it is well known how ignorant and vicious the Men were whom he employed in that Office. It is an ancient Cuſtom of the Empire, That when any Prince has a mind to return home from the Diet, he may do it with the Emperour's leave: But when my Father, ſaith the Elector of *Saxony*, was at the Diet of *Ausbourg*, he could not obtain from him leave to be gone; and had notice given him more times than once, That if he intended to depart, he would be detained whether he would or not. And though my Uncle * *Frederick* had deſerved very well at his Hands, yet ſo long as my Father lived, he refuſed to give him the uſual Inveſtiture into his own Principality, only becauſe of his Religion, and of the Edict of *Wormes*. Beſides, when he conſulted with the reſt of the Princes at *Ausbourg*, about ſubſtituting his Brother *Ferdinand* in the Empire, my Father was wholly excluded from that Deliberation; which Action, as being diſgraceful, and very injurious to our Family, we could not but reſent. And though for juſt reaſons we might thereafter abſent our ſelves from Publick Aſſemblies, eſpecially from thoſe wherein *Ferdinand* acted as King of the *Romans*; nevertheleſs, leſt we might ſeem to neglect the Affairs of the Publick, we always came in Perſon, or ſent Deputies to them in our Name. Since then the Cauſe of the War is manifeſt, we adjure all our Countrymen, not to give credit to any contrary Relation, but that they would joyn with us in the Defence of our common Country; for as for our Subjects and Vaſſals, whom he releaſes from their Oath of Allegiance, we make no doubt but that they will faithfully diſcharge their Duty towards us. 1546.

* Who had refuſed the Empire when it was offered unto him.

The *Proteſtants* having continued three days longer in their Camp, after that they had let ſlip the Occaſion of fighting at *Ingolſtadt*, during which time the Emperour had fortified himſelf with good Works and Ditches, on the fourth of *September* they decamp'd, that they might intercept the Paſſage of the Count of *Buren*; though ſome were againſt that, alledging, That they needed not go to look for an Enemy a great way off, when they had one under their Noſe. They encamped next at *Newburgh*, which they had before ſtrengthned with a Garriſon, and two days after came to *Donawert*. *December* the tenth they encamp near *Wenden*, a Town belonging to Count *Oetinghen*, and ſent out ſome Scouts to get Intelligence of the Count of *Buren*. The Emperour was not ignorant of that; and *Buren* having advice of it from him, turns aſide out of the way, and marching from *Norimberg* to *Ratisbonne*, joyns the Emperour in good condition at *Ingolſtadt*. Being diſappointed then of their expectation, the third day after they return to *Donawert*. Hither came to them *Chriſtopher* Count *Oldenburg*, and *Frederick Refeberb*, with two Regiments, and Count *Bichling* with five Companies of Foot. In the mean time the Emperour raiſed his Camp, and marched to *Newburg*, where no Relief appearing, the Garriſon ſurrendred the Place. The Emperour pardoned them all, upon promiſe that for the future they would not carry Arms againſt him. There being afterwards a flying Report, that the Emperour intended to march to *Ausbourg*, the Confederates re-paſs the *Danube*, that they might diſpute his Paſſage; but ſeeing after he had put a Garriſon into *Newburg*, he marched to *Marxheim*, they returned to their former Camp. We told you before, that they had ſent Embaſſadors into *France* and *England* for Succours, but it proved in vain: And the *French* King excuſed himſelf, that he could not, being at peace with the Emperour; nevertheleſs, becauſe he was not willing that he ſhould encreaſe too much in Power, he intreated *Peter Stroza* a *Florentine*, a very rich Soldier, to lend them Three hundred thouſand Crowns; and that he might do it the more conveniently, he paid him a conſiderable Sum of Money which he owed him. *Stroza* did not refuſe, becauſe the Cities of *Strasbourg*, *Ausbourg*, and *Ulm* offered to be bound for it; but went to wait upon the Princes in their Camp, which was then at *Donawert*, in company of *John Sturmey*, who had been ſent

The Proteſtants raiſe their Camp.

The Count of *Buren* joyns the Emperor.

The *French* King refuſed to ſend the Proteſtants Aſſiſtance.

1546. Embaſſador into *France*. When he came there, he was magnificently treated, and departed as if he had been fully reſolved to lend the Money: but at the day when it was to have been done, there was no news to be heard of him in *France*. This was look'd upon by many to have been a Trick of the Cardinal of *Tournons*; for he, in hatred of their Religion, wiſhed no good to the *Proteſtants*, and was then chiefly in favour with the King.

The Proteſtants groſly deceived by *Stroza* an *Italian*.

About the end of *September* the Confederates write again to the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Baſle*, and *Schafhawſen*, acquainting them with the Emperour's Intentions, and with the Danger they were in if he ſhould prevail; and wiſhing them to conſider, if it would not be for their Intereſts to declare War againſt the Emperour and Pope, and then to invade the adjoyning Countries belonging to the Emperour; which if they did, they promiſed them all Aid and Aſſiſtance. Whereunto they afterwards made anſwer, That not only they, but the reſt of the *Suitzers* alſo, had an Hereditary Alliance with the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Burgundy*, which Countries ſupplied them all with Corn and Wine; ſo that ſhould they raſhly break that League, the other Cantons who are of a different Religion, and unwilling likewiſe to have their Proviſions intercepted, would have good reaſon to aſſiſt the Emperour and King *Ferdinand*, lay open thoſe Paſſages through the *Alps*, which with great labour and pains they had ſhut up, and alſo joyn in the League with them. Beſides, that Winter now approached, ſo that if they would, they were not able to do any thing to purpoſe; and that if they ſhould march out of their own Country, there was danger leſt others might come and take poſſeſſion of it; That it was far better then for them to ſtay at home, for by that means they would hinder the other Cantons from ſtirring; That they wiſhed them very well, and prayed for their good Succeſs, as they had formerly manifeſted by their Actions; but that they did not at all think it prudent, to run themſelves into ſo great a danger: Wherefore they entreated them to take their Anſwer in good part.

The Proteſtants write to the Reformed *Suitzers*.

The *Suitzers* Anſwer.

The Emperour marches from *Marxheim* to *Donawert*; but finding no convenient Ground to encamp in, he ſtrikes off to the Right, and *October* the third marches to *Monheim*. It hapned then to be foggy Weather, and the Scouts that were ſent out from the Proteſtant Camp, to learn News of the Emperour's March, gave various Reports. At length, when *Louis* Count *Oetingen* brought them intelligence, that with a great part of his Army he was already paſs'd the River *Wernitz*, they preſently decamp and follow, about two of the Clock in the Afternoon, and towards the Evening encamp within half a Mile of the Emperour. Hither came Deputies to them from the City of *Nordlingen*, deſiring their Aſſiſtance now that the Imperialiſts were ſo near; to whom they gave a civil and obliging Anſwer. The next day proved foggy alſo. The Duke of *Saxony* commanded the Van, the *Landgrave* the Main Body, and *George Malſpurg* and *Rifeberg* the Rear. The Duke of *Saxony* advancing with five Regiments of Foot, and ſeveral Troops of Horſe, draws near the Enemy, and skirmiſhes and pickeers a little with them. The Fog being cleared up, ſo ſoon as the Emperour perceived the Van marching in the way to *Nordlingen*, and that the Rear appeared not as yet, he drew out all his Army, as if he intended to give Battel. The *Landgrave* then, who was in the middle, and had the Enemy fronting him, called a Council of War, wherein ſome were for following the Duke of *Saxony*; but becauſe the Rear was at a great diſtance ſtill behind, which he knew would by his abſence be expoſed to preſent danger, he did not think fit to leave them: but having diſpatched Meſſengers to bid them make all haſte, and to recal the Duke of *Saxony*, he ſtood his Ground upon the little Hills he had poſſeſſed himſelf of. Between the two Armies run the River of *Egra*, which was but ſmall indeed, but hard to be paſſed, eſpecially by the Emperour, if he intended to come to a Battel. The Count of *Buren* was already advanced with his Men as far as that River; but ſeeing they were like to come to an Engagement, the Emperour called him back, and ſtrictly charged him not to advance any further. Thus the Imperialiſts returned into their former Camp, and the Proteſtants pitched not far from *Nordlingen*. Next day ſome Troops of Imperial Horſe advance towards the Enemy, and come to a ſharp Conflict with them. In this Action *Albert* of *Brunſwick*, the Son of Duke *Philip*, heedleſly ruſhing out in his Cups to the Charge, was wounded in the Mouth; and being carried off to *Nordlingen*, not long after died. Whilſt the Emperour continued in Camp there for ſome days, he detaches *Octavio Farneſe* with his own Forces, ſome *German* Foot, and a Train of

The Catholick and Proteſtant Camps near one another.

The River *Egra*.

Albert of *Brunſwick* dies of his wounds.

of Artillery, to take *Donawert*. Fortune favoured this mans-Project, for marching in the night-time that he might be there, as indeed he was, by break of day; ſo ſoon as he offered a Scaladoe, the Towns-people ſurrendered; but the Garriſon fled for it: whereupon the Emperour marched to *Donawert*. The deſign of the *Proteſtants* was to have ſet upon his Camp, but the caſe was altered by his departure; and it was thought the Emperour had intelligence of that given him. At that time the Duke of *Alva* ſent to demand of the *Landgrave*, why he kept ſo much upon Hills and Mountains? Why he did not come down into the plain Fields and venture a little? To whom the *Landgrave* made anſwer, that he and his Aſſociates had for five days together kept in the Plains before *Ingoldſtadt*, and deſired a Battle; why then did he not fight? And why did he not now do it at *Nordlingen*, where he had ſtaid for him the whole day?

1546.

Donawert ſurrendered to the Emperor.

The Duke of *Alva* inſults over the *Landgrave*.

Whilſt theſe things paſt in *Schwabenland*, there happens a great turn of Affairs in *Saxony*. How the Emperour treated with Duke *Maurice* at *Ratisbonne*, and King *Ferdinand* at *Prague*, and how the Emperour commanded him to ſeize into his hands the Provinces of the Elector *Frederick* and the *Landgrave*, it hath been mentioned before. Now Duke *Maurice* returning home from *Ratisbonne*, in the beginning of the War, called a Convention of States at *Chemnitz* to conſult what was to be done. They adviſe him to know poſitively of the Emperour firſt, if he will ſuffer them to enjoy their Religion; in the next place, that he and the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, mediate a Reconciliation: but that if Religion ſhould be ſecure, and no hopes of any Mediation, they counſel him, ſince in all things, beſides Religion, he is bound to obey the Emperour, to be quiet, and raiſe men for the defence of his Country: As to that they promiſe him ſupplies, and aſſign him twelve of their number, whom they choſe to be his Counſellors in all affairs. But when the Orders, we ſpeak of, were brought him from the Emperour, and King *Ferdinand* had called his Forces out of *Hungary*, and raiſed men in *Bohemia*; he again, on the tenth of *October*, aſſembled the States at *Friburg*. There he relates what paſt in the former Convention, how that according to their counſel, he and the Elector of *Brandenbourg* had ſollicited the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave*, that they would ſuffer them to be Mediators; and adviſed them to conſider ſeriouſly how dangerous a matter it was they had in hand: but that as yet they had received no ſatisfactory Anſwer from them, on the contrary, that they had publiſhed Declarations, were already in Arms, and had had ſome ſmall Conflicts with the Enemy: and that though they had often deſired aſſiſtance from him, yet becauſe the Emperour had given him full aſſurance as to Religion, he had therefore taken their counſel, and kept quiet; that he had hitherto maintained Souldiers for the defence of his Religion, and communicated Councils with thoſe they had choſen: But that now the times were ſo doubtful and dangerous, that the Counſellors thought it a burden too heavy for them to bear, and that therefore he had called this Convention at their deſire. For that he had received Orders from the Emperour, which he would ſhew to them, weighty Orders indeed, and of great moment, nay of ſuch a nature too, that ſhould they be neglected, the whole Province would thereby be in great danger: beſides, that the *Bohemians* and their Confederates were preparing for War, and were already marched out of their own Country, in order to the invading of the Elector *Frederick*'s Province: and that though he had endeavoured firſt by Letters, then by Embaſſadours, and afterwards made a Journey himſelf in perſon, to pacifie King *Ferdinand*, yet he could obtain nothing at his hands; nor indeed, ſince he believed it to be done by the Emperour's command, durſt he, if he were able, withſtand it: that he earneſtly wiſhed, the Civil Wars were compoſed, that they might make head againſt the Invaſion of the *Turks*; but that they themſelves knew how nearly the Dominions of both were related to one another, and linked together in the right of Succeſſion, and that he had Silver-Mines in common with his Couſin the Elector: that it would be a grievous thing for him, to ſuffer all theſe to be ſnatched away from the Houſe of *Saxony*, and to fall into the hands of ſtrangers: that beſides, their Rights and Properties were ſo interwoven all over the Country, that if Forreigners ſhould invade his Couſin's Lands, his own Province was in danger of ſuffering greatly thereby: that they themſelves knew how unſafe it was, that ſtrangers ſhould get footing in thoſe places: That in conſideration of all thoſe things, he deſired both in his own and his Brother *Auguſtus* his name, that they would ſeriouſly weigh the matter, and aſſiſt him with their Aid and Counſel; he on his part aſſuring them, that what lay in his power, according to his duty, he would do for

A change of affairs in *Saxony*.

Duke *Maurice* conſults againſt the *Proteſtants*.

1546. them. The matter being debated, it was concluded, that the Elector of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* ſhould be made acquainted with the Emperour's Commands, and King *Ferdinand*'s Preparations, and that both ſhould be dealt with, that for the avoiding the calamities of War, they would ſuffer their Provinces to be poſſeſſed by Duke *Maurice*; which ſeemed to be all that could be done with honour and ſafety. Therefore, *October* the 11th, they write to both ſeparatly, relating all that had paſt; the Counſel they had given in the beginning of the War; the Commands of the Emperour; the Preparations of King *Ferdinand* and the *Bohemians*; what Duke *Maurice* had done to take off King *Ferdinand*; and then acquaint them that forreign Souldiers being now upon the Borders of *Saxony*, the Country was in extream danger: that they heartily lamented the preſent ſtate of affairs; but th[illegible]ce they underſtood that all was done by the Emperour's order, who had ſecur'd them as to their Religion, they could not reſiſt him, who was chief Magiſtrate over all: that ſince then they were ſo cloſely linked together in intereſt, that if any injury were done to the one, the other muſt needs ſuffer by it, they had long conſidered the matter, and thought that the only ſafe way and expedient that now remained, would be for them to ſuffer Duke *Maurice* to take poſſeſſion of their Provinces; for that by that means a forreign War would be ſtaved off, Religion ſecured, and when all things were again in peace and quiet, they would far more eaſily recover them from him, than out of the hands of others: That they would therefore ſeriouſly weigh the matter with themſelves, and comply with this Advice, which was the beſt that could be given in theſe troubleſome and diſtracted times. They likewiſe by Letters beſought the *Landgrave*, that he would perſwade the Elector to embrace the counſel. Duke *Maurice* wrote alſo to the *Landgrave* his Father-in-law to the ſame purpoſe; and that becauſe forreign Souldiers were at hand, it behoved him to take care that *Saxony* ſhould not be waſted. He then expreſſes a great deal of friendſhip and good will towards him, aſſuring him, That he coveted nothing of what was his: that the King of *Poland* offered alſo to intercede with the Emperour, as his Embaſſadour had informed him: that he begg'd of him therefore to comply, and not ſuffer himſelf to be exaſperated by any words; that he would incline the Elector of *Saxony* to do the like, and not refuſe to ſubmit to the Emperour: that this was the only Door left open for reconciliation, and that he would not be wanting to contribute all that lay in his power to bring things to a happy iſſue. *John William*, Son to the Elector of *Saxony*, hearing of the Preparations of King *Ferdinand*, ſent Embaſſadours to the Convention of States at *Friburg*, deſiring of Duke *Maurice*, that upon account of their Hereditary Alliance, he would joyn in Arms with him to free their common Country from danger. Duke *Maurice* made anſwer, That he had ſpared no pains in endeavouring to accommodate matters; but ſeeing that his labour was in vain, and that now his Neighbours were in Arms, he could not act any thing againſt the chief Magiſtrate, who was excepted in that ancient Alliance.

The Letters of Duke *Maurice*'s Friends to the *Proteſtants*.

Duke *Maurice* writes to the *Landgrave* to the ſame purpoſe.

The Embaſſie of *John William* of *Saxony*, to Duke *Maurice*.

It was late before the Confederates had intelligence of the Emperour's marching to *Donawert*, which we ſpake of before. Next day they reſolve to march, and that in the night-time too, to *Lawgingen*, which is a Town upon the *Danube*, three miles above *Donawert*. But it being uncertain whether the Emperour was marched or not, and that if they went to *Lawgingen*, and he at their back, ſome ſaid there was danger left he ſhould take *Nordlingen*, and then by *Remſerthal* fall into the Dutchy of *Wertemberg*, they altered their reſolution, and continued a day longer where they were. *Scherteline* was diſpleaſed at this, and ſome things elſe; wherefore going to *Ausbourg* from whence he was ſent out into the War, he carries off the Garriſon that was at *Lawgingen*, and returned no more to the Camp. In the mean time the Emperour removing from *Donawert*, has *Dilingen* and *Hochſterit*, and ſhortly after *Lawgingen* and *Gundelfinghen*, upon the River *Brent*, ſurrendered unto him. So that being Maſter of the *Danube*, he had many advantages for action, and leaving a Garriſon in *Lawgingen*, he paſt the *Brent*, and encamped near the Village of *Southeim* in his way to *Ulm*, three miles diſtant. When the *Proteſtants* had intelligence that the Emperour was marching to *Ulm*, they remove their Camp at length, *October* the 13th, and next day come to *Gienghen*, a Town upon the ſame River, not far above *Southeim*, ſo that the River run betwixt the two Armies. So ſoon as they had halted, but not as yet pitched their Tents there, they diſcover ſome Horſe upon a neighbouring Hill. Amongſt theſe was the Emperour himſelf, who with the Duke of *Alva* was come out to view the Enemy. The Duke of *Saxony* commanded the Van that day, and with all haſt makes towards the enemy, ſending

Scherteline leaves the *Proteſtant* Camp.

The Emperor Maſter of the *Danube*.

ſending the *Landgrave* word inſtantly to follow after: but ſeeing the Enemy retreated, he ſlackened his pace, and waited for the *Landgrave* upon the Hill. There again, as it was thought, they loſt a fair opportunity of doing their work, for the River could not be foarded over, and there was but one Bridge thereabouts; ſo that though the Emperour might perhaps have eſcaped, yet the chief Officers would have been hard put to it, which they themſelves, as it is ſaid, afterwards confeſſed. But the Emperour now altering his mind of marching to *Ulm*, left the Enemy being left behind his back, he might loſe the advantage of the *Danube*, took another courſe, and *October* the 15th, planted an Ambuſh of three hundred Musketeers in a neighbouring Wood. The Prince of *Sulmona* was afterward ſent out with ſome light Horſe to skirmiſh, who having engaged a Party of the Enemy, and feigning to flie, he drew them into the Ambuſh, ſo that the Musketeers ruſhing forth out of the Wood, began to ply them very warmly. The *Landgrave* obſerving that, haſtened to the relief of his Party, which conſiſted but of four Troops of Horſe, and ſo both were engaged in a brisk Diſpute, which laſted till night, the great Guns all the while playing alſo. In the mean time the Duke of *Saxony* ſtaid with the Army, that he might defend the Camp, if the Emperour ſhould in that Hurly-burly offer to attack them. This firſt Stratagem not ſucceeding, the Emperour orders another to be attempted in the night-time: A parcel of ſtout Fellows, *German* and *Spaniſh* Foot, are pickt out of the whole Army, and commanded to put on white Shirts over their Arms: With theſe and a party of Horſe the Duke of *Alva* is ſent out in the beginning of the night, with orders to march in all ſilence towards the Enemy, whilſt the Emperour himſelf ſhould follow preſently after with the reſt of his Forces. When the Duke of *Alva* was come near the Enemies Camp, he found their Guards doubled, and them in arms. So that this attempt was likewiſe in vain, for ſome hours before they had got notice of it from a Spy. And now by reaſon of the want of Forrage and Proviſions, and the continual Rains of the Seaſon, not only the Plague broke out in the Emperour's Camp, but at the ſame time alſo Cardinal *Farneſe*, with ſome *Italian* Troops, left them. For the very ſame reaſon the Emperour was forced to change his ground, and on the laſt of *October*, to return to his old Camp near *Lawingen*.

1546.

The *Proteſtants* loſe an opportunity of taking the Emperour.

A Stratagem.

A Skirmiſh betwixt the *Landgrave* and Prince of *Sulmona*.

Another Stratagem uſed by the Emperor.

The Plague in the Emperors Camp.

Farneſe with ſome Troops returns home.

October the 20th the *Landgrave* wrote an Anſwer to the Letter of the Nobility and States of Duke *Maurice*, which, as we ſaid before, were ſent from *Friburg* the 11th of the ſame month: That he was heartily ſorry that the War was carried into thoſe Countries, but much more, that in time of common danger, they would not joyn their Forces according to the manner and cuſtom of their Anceſtors: that it ſeemed very ſtrange to him, above all things, that they ſhould not perceive this to be a War mainly deſigned againſt their Religion, ſince both the Popes Letter to the *Suitzers*, and the League that he has made with the Emperour, which by his order was produced and ſhewn to the *Cantons*, make it manifeſt even paſt all doubt: for after that that League was concluded, many Troops came from the Pope to the Emperour; and thoſe *Italians* that by chance were made Priſoners, unanimouſly affirm, That the end they were ſent for, was to fight againſt the *Lutherans*: That, moreover, the Confederates for Religion ſuffered more grievouſly in this War than all others, having their houſes plundered and burnt, their Wives and Daughters baſely raviſhed, the hands of their young Children and Infants cut off, and that merely for hatered to their Religion: That whereas they ſay the Emperour has given them ſecurity as to their Religion, it is no more but a ſham; for ſhould he be asked, whether or not it were his pleaſure, that the *Lutheran* Religion ſhould be ſubjected to the Authority and Decrees of the Popiſh Council; no doubt, the Artifice would ſoon diſcover it ſelf: that they did not do well then to truſt to that promiſe. That, beſides he wondered very much, they ſhould be ſtartled at that proſcription of the Emperours, ſince they themſelves know that he hath no right to do ſo, unleſs they had been firſt cited and judicially convicted; but that it was a thing extreamly to be lamented, to ſee that moſt noble Family and the people of *Saxony* ſo divided, whereas if they joyned their Forces, and were unanimouſly reſolved to defend their Country, the danger they now fear'd ſo much might eaſily be removed: That he had indeed diſcourſed the Elector, but found him wholly averſe from the Expedient they propoſed to him. For if he ſhould in another turn of Fortunes Wheel demand any ſuch thing of Duke *Maurice*, he made no doubt but that he would refuſe, and they themſelves diſſwade him from it: That therefore he did not like their counſel, and the rather, that Duke *Maurice*

The *Landgrave's* Anſwer to the *Mauricians*.

1546. *Mice* had lately written to both of them, acquainting them that he was grieved at the diſcourſes of ſome men, who gave it out that he was lying at the catch for his Couſins Province; for that they did him an injury, and prayed them not to give credit to ſuch reports: That upon the receipt of thoſe Letters, they were ſatisfied with his excuſe, and troubled themſelves no more about any ſuch matter; but that if he ſhould now take poſſeſſion of his Lands, they themſelves were ſenſible what judgment men would paſs thereupon: That he therefore deſired them to put a ſtop to it, or elſe they were to expect not only a Forreign, but a Civil War alſo; for if upon the account of the Proſcription any violence be uſed againſt him, that both he himſelf and the reſt of the Confederates, who are in the ſame condition, muſt needs joyn in his aſſiſtance; and that what the iſſue of that may prove, may be eaſily foreſeen: That they ſhould therefore endeavour that the Houſes of *Saxony* and *Heſſe* be not divided, but that Duke *Maurice* aſſiſt him and his Confederates, which would redound greatly both to his honour and ſafety.

The *Landgrave*'s Letter to Duke *Maurice*'s Son-in-Law.

He wrote the ſame day to Duke *Maurice* much to the ſame purpoſe, and adviſes him not to be moved at the Emperours Edicts and Proſcription, but to call to mind the good Offices that both he and his Father had received from the Elector and him: That he himſelf was ſenſible what kindneſſes his Father and he received from them both, when his Uncle Duke *George* by his laſt Will and Teſtament provided, that the Emperour ſhould keep poſſeſſion of his whole Province, until his Brother ſhould forſake the Proteſtant Religion: That beſides, ſince Duke *George* having given his Father a yearly Penſion, and it being to be feared left out of hatered to the Religion, he might withdraw it. The *Proteſtants* at that time promiſed him, that if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, they would bountifully contribute, and give him the ſame yearly Allowance: That he ſhould therefore deſiſt from his Enterprize, and not attempt any thing in the Province of the Elector of *Saxony*, contrary to his will and pleaſure; for that otherwiſe the aſſiſtance of the Confederates would not be wanting unto him: That the Embaſſadours of *Poland* had been with the Emperour in the Camp, indeed, and given the Duke of *Saxony* and him an account of what they had done; but that the Conditions were ſuch, as made not for Peace.

The Letter of the Council of War to Duke *Maurice*.

The Council of War wrote much in the ſame ſtrain to Duke *Maurice* and the States of his Country, proteſting that if any violence were uſed towards the Duke of *Saxony*, they would ſtand by him, and not ſlight the Injury: but the Elector himſelf gave them no Anſwer at that time, as will appear more fully hereafter.

The *Proteſtants* Letters from the Camp, to ſome Imperial Cities and Princes.

The ſame day the *Landgrave* and Council of War wrote to the Cities of *Magdeburg*, *Brunſwick*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Goſlar*, *Hildeſheim*, *Gottingen*, *Hanover*, *Embden*, *Minden*, to the Duke of *Pomerania*, the Dukes of *Lunenburg*, and the Prince of *Anhalt*, and informed them of the great danger that threatened *Saxony*, and chiefly the Elector, to whoſe Borders the Enemy was already advanced: That the work was begun by King *Ferdinand*, who had drawn the *Bohemians* into this War: That beſides, Duke *Maurice* joyned with him, pretending for his reaſon, that he was outlaw'd by the Emperour; but that they had ſent word to Duke *Maurice*, that he ſhould deſiſt from Hoſtility, elſe the Duke of *Saxony* would not be deſtitute of aſſiſtance. Since then that whole Country was expoſed to preſent danger, and that the Elector importuned them for help, they could not but aſſiſt him: that they had reſolved, indeed, to have given him part of the Army they had; but becauſe the Enemy lay near them, and that they were in hopes to bring the matter ſhortly to the deciſion of a Battle, wherein all their ſafety conſiſted. It had not been thought convenient that they ſhould weaken themſelves by leſſening their number at ſuch a time; that that was the thing the Enemy expected, that being diverted and employed in other places, they could not bring their whole ſtrength againſt them: That ſince that was the caſe then, they pray'd them, that upon the publick account they would with all expedition ſend ſome ſupplies of Foot to *Wittemberg* and *Weimar*, and that what money they were ſtill owing by virtue of the League, they would pay it all in to the Electors Son and Counſellors. For that the common cauſe lay at ſtake, and that if their Confederates ſhould once be run down, it would be their own caſe next.

The *Bohemians* invade *Saxony* unwillingly.

Mention has been made of the *Bohemians* before. Theſe ſerved King *Ferdinand* in his Wars indeed, but much againſt their will, becauſe of an ancient League they had with the Houſe of *Saxony*: and then alſo, becauſe in their opinion there was no neceſſity for the War, and that it was generally thought that the Elector had wrong done him. But King *Ferdinand* overperſwaded them, and ſent for Soul-

diers

diers out of *Hungary* and *Silesia*, that he might constrain them to it whether they would or not. The *Hungarian* Horse are commonly called *Hussars*, a rapacious and fierce sort of Men. When these Forces were now mustered, and ready to march out of their own Country, *Sebastian Weittemall* their General, on the twentieth of *October*, proclaimeth War against the People of the Duke of *Saxony*, for that some years since their Prince had seized into his Hands the Abby of *Dobrilugh*; and that he had lately renounced his Allegiance to the Emperour and his Allies, thereby violating the League that was made betwixt the *Bohemians* and House of *Saxony*: And although there was no need of a Denunciation of War, in respect that he stood Outlawed by the Emperour; yet lest any thing should seem to be omitted, he was willing by this Intimation to discharge his Duty. At this time the Deputies of the Confederates met at *Ulm*, that they might consult about their common Affairs; and seeing frequent Advices came from *Saxony* of the present State of Affairs there, the Elector, *October* the twenty seventh, wrote to his Representatives at *Ulm*, That they should lay the whole Matter before the Confederates, and desire them that they would consider his Case, since he had spared no Labour nor Danger, that he might keep that Storm from falling upon the *Upper Germany*: That the Council of War had indeed some days past sent word to the Cities, and others within the Circle of *Saxony*, that they should assist him; but that it was uncertain what they would do; and that though they should do it, yet he was apprehensive that they would be over-matched by the Multitude of the Enemies, and that there was danger left before they could be in a readiness, the Enemy might have already invaded the Country: That they should therefore demand these things of the Protestant Deputies, in the first place, That because it would be a great Trouble and Inconvenience to him, in this Extremity, to be any longer absent from his Wife, Children, and People, they would give them their Advice as to that Particular: In the next place, That they would grant him more ample Supplies, which the *Landgrave* and Council of War had already put him in good hopes: Lastly, That they would not make Peace with the Enemy, till all that were taken from him should first be restored.

1546.

Hussars Hungarian Horse.

Ferdinand's General denounceth War against the *Saxons*.

A Convention of the Confederate Deputies at *Ulm*.

The Duke of *Saxony's* Demands from the Protestants.

The Deputies give a generous and frank Answer to these Proposals; and in the first place beseech him to stay with the Army, until the Emperour should send his Soldiers into Winter-Quarters; laying before him, how dangerous a thing it would be if he should leave them; That if King *Ferdinand* and Duke *Maurice* used any violence against him, they promised Assistances; seeing it is not to be doubted, say they, but that the Confederate Princes and States will be true to him, and stand by him, as by their League they are obliged, and make no Peace before he be restored to all his own: That if he thought it fit, they would also, as the *Landgrave* and Council of War had done, signifie the same to Duke *Maurice*: That they were also most confident, that the Confederate States of the Circle of *Saxony* would do their Duty in that particular. The same day we mentioned, to wit, the twenty seventh of *October*, Duke *Maurice* writes to the Elector from *Dresden*, That he had been lately informed by the States of his Dominion, what Orders he had received from the Emperour, and in what danger his Affairs were; but now that the Emperour had given him and his People security as to their Religion, he had therefore, with the Advice of his Council, resolved to take such a Course, as that he may both satisfie the Emperour, and secure his own Right and Property, lest his Lands and Country should fall into the Hands of Strangers; and that therefore he signified so much to him, both in his own and Brother *Augustus* his Name: That if he chance hereafter to be reconciled to the Emperour and King *Ferdinand*, he shall not refuse, provided they be willing, that the States of his Dominion determine any Debate that may be betwixt them. He writes almost in the same words to *John William* the Elector's Son, willing him to take care that the Letters he had written might be transmitted to his Father.

The Answer of the Deputies.

Duke *Maurice* his Letters to the Elector.

His Letters also to the same purpose to the Elector's Son.

In the mean time the *Bohemians* and *Hussars* make an Incursion into *Voetland*, the next Land belonging to the Elector, and commit all sorts of Villanies, burn, slay, plunder, and ravish: But the *Bohemians* made but a short stay; for seeing, as we said, they served unwillingly, *November* the eleventh they forsake their Colours, and return home. The *Hungarians* however, and King *Ferdinand's* mercinary Soldiers, joyn Duke *Maurice*, who takes by Surrender *Zuirkau*, and afterwards *Schneberg* and *Aldenburg*, and most of the rest of the Elector's Towns, whom he forced to swear Fealty to him, except *Gothen*, *Isenach*, and *Wittemberg*. When this

An Irruption into the Province of the Elector of *Saxony*.

The *Bohemians* depart.

The *Hungarians* joyn Duke *Maurice*.

Most of the Towns of *Saxony* fall into the hands of Duke *Maurice*.

1546. this News was brought into the Emperour's Camp, it cauſed great Rejoycing, which was expreſſed by the diſcharging of Great Guns, as the Cuſtom is.

The Emperour removes his Camp.

At the ſame time the Emperour removes his Camp, for the ſame Cauſe as before, chuſing a drier and more commodious Ground, that he might refreſh the Soldiers, who were extreamly haraſſed, and ſupply the want of Proviſions. Moſt part were of opinion, that the Soldiers ſhould be ſent into Winter-quarters; but he himſelf alone, who had viewed the Places before, reſolved to keep the Army together, and purſue the War.

Duke *Maurice* ill ſpoken of.

Duke *Maurice* was generally blamed by all Men, That he ſhould have ſo ungratefully ſerved him whom he ought to have honoured as his Father, and who was, in a manner, the ſole Author of all his Fortune; ſo that many very invective Libels and Copies of Verſes were publiſhed againſt him, wherein, to his reproach and ignominy, he was accuſed of breach of Faith, betraying of his Religion, and higheſt Ingratitude; and the more, that neither the Intreaties of his Wife, nor Father-in-Law, could any way prevail with him.

Paſquils againſt Duke *Maurice.*

Duke *Maurice* juſtifies himſelf by a publick *Manifeſto.*

When this came to his knowledge, he publiſhed a *Manifeſto* in his own juſtification, declaring what the Religion was that was profeſſed in his Territories, what he himſelf had promiſed to his People, and how that for the promoting of Religion he had founded and endowed publick Schools. Then he alledges, That the Emperour had given all Aſſurances to him and his People; and not to him only, but to other Princes alſo, concerning their Religion, and of his own Reſolution to maintain the Liberty of *Germany*, that nothing ſhould be done by Force and Violence, but that the Cauſe ſhould be tried and decided according to Law, and many Imperial Decrees made for that effect; That therefore he gives credit to his Promiſes and Letters, according to the Example of thoſe Princes who now ſerve under him, and yet profeſs their own Religion, not only in their own Houſes at home, but alſo abroad in the Camp and Army; That thoſe who are familiarly known to him, and daily converſant with him, may eaſily diſcover his Mind; and that doubtleſs, if they found any ſuch Reſolution in him, they would not remain with him: And that whereas the Pope aſſiſts him, it is becauſe the War is made againſt thoſe who chiefly withſtand his Errours and uſurped Power; but that it ought to be conſidered, not what moveth him, but what the Intentions of the Emperour are, who carrieth on the War: That it does not neither increaſe the Suſpicion, that the Emperour retains the Popiſh Religion alſo in his Provinces; ſeeing that is left to his own diſcretion, and no Rules can be impoſed upon him as to that, there being no Prince nor Magiſtrate that in that matter will ſuffer himſelf to be preſcribed to by others: That ſince Religion then was ſecured, he ſees no reaſon, why in all other things he ſhould not obey the Emperour, ſeeing it was *Chriſt*'s Command, *That we ſhould render unto God the things that are Gods, and to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's*: That it was not unknown to the Emperour, King *Ferdinand*, and many others, what care and pains he had taken, that theſe ſad Differences might have been amicably compoſed; nor was it his fault that they were not: That if he had had no other Reaſon to make him deſirous of Peace, but that by Civil War the *Turk* increaſed both in Power and Confidence, as the Hiſtory of *Greece* alone might ſufficiently convince all Men; yet that that was more than enough to incline him to it: But that when there was no more talk of Peace, and that ſtrict Orders were brought him from the Emperour that he ſhould ſeize into his Hands the Lands and Goods of *John Frederick*, and that King *Ferdinand* was already hovering over that Country, not only with his *Bohemians*, but alſo with *Auſtrians* and *Hungarians* raiſed for this War, it was not lawful for him to reſiſt the Magiſtrate, who is excepted in all Leagues and Confederations: That what is ſaid of him, as if he coveted all the Lands of his Couſin, was an injury done unto him; and that he juſtified himſelf in that a good while ago, by Letters to the *Landgrave* his Father-in-Law, and to the Duke of *Saxony* himſelf: That he wiſhed Matters were now in the ſame Condition as they were when he wrote ſo unto them, and that there were none who endeavoured to appropriate to themſelves his Poſſeſſions; but now, that the State of Affairs was much altered, that King *Ferdinand* was not to be intreated, but would purſue his Point by an Army; that his Forces which came from *Bohemia* had already poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome Silver Mines which are in common to him with his Couſin; it neceſſarily behoved him to take care, that they might not invade the reſt alſo, and make greater Progreſſes; and that he had acquainted the *Landgrave* and his Couſin with his Deſign before: That in conſideration of all which, it was his earneſt deſire, no Man would miſinterpret his Actions, nor give credit to thoſe things

things which probably might be reported of him abroad; ſeeing he reſolved to be conſtant in the defence of his Religion, and had no other aim, but that the Lands and Dignities of the Houſe of *Saxony* ſhould not fall into the Hands of Strangers. 1546.

Now again were the Perſecutions in *France* revived. *William Briſſonet*, who ſome years before had been Biſhop of *Meaux*, a Town ten Miles from *Paris*, being a great Lover of the Reformed Religion, debarred the Monks and Friars, and appointed fit Paſtors to inſtruct the People: But when for his ſo doing the Divines of the *Sorbonne* began to be troubleſom unto him, and to threaten him with Danger, his Conſtancy failed him, and he fell off from his Enterpriſe: Nevertheleſs, the Remains of that Doctrine ſtuck in the Minds of many; and this year at length about threeſcore of the Towns-people, having laid their Heads together, choſe to themſelves a Miniſter, and meeting in Houſes privately, on certain Days after Sermon, took the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Inſtitution of the Goſpel. That could not be long kept ſecret, eſpecially ſince ſome came from the Country alſo to the Meetings. Wherefore being all apprehended together, they are caſt into Priſon, and after they were examined, carried to *Paris* in Carts. Being there condemned to die, and brought home again, fourteen of them were burnt alive at ſo many Stakes: The reſt were partly whipped, and partly baniſhed. As they were returning home from *Paris*, a certain Perſon met them from the next Village upon the Road, and exhorted them to Perſeverance; for which he was laid hold on, and ſuffered the ſame Puniſhment as they did. Before they were burnt, they were put to the Rack, to make them diſcover their Companions and Fellows in Religion; but nothing could be extorted from them. Many were of opinion, that this was done on purpoſe at the Inſtigation of ſome, to break off the Treaty that then was on foot betwixt the King and the Confederates of *Smalcalde*. The Letters of Duke *Maurice*, wherein he defied the Duke of *Saxony*, were on the ſixth of *November* delivered in the Camp.

The Perſecution of *Meaux* in *France*.

William Briſſonet.

Fourteen burnt.

In the former Book we gave you an Account, That the Pope having on the ſixteenth of *April* pronounced Sentence againſt the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, excommunicated him, and deprived him of all his Eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Preferments. Some days after that he had certain notice of this, which was the fourth day of *November*, as he himſelf ſaid, he publiſhed a Paper, wherein having given the Reaſons why he acknowledged not the Pope for his Judge, as being long ago accuſed of Hereſie and Idolatry, he appealed from that Sentence to a lawful Council of *Germany*, wherein, ſo ſoon as it ſhould commence, he promiſed to bring his Action againſt the Pope. The Proteſtant Deputies, who, as hath been ſaid, met at *Ulm* towards the latter end of *October*, diſagreeing in their Opinions, went in *November* to the Camp at *Giengen*, that there they might deliberate more freely. There it was propoſed, That becauſe their Neighbours of the ſame Religion gave no Aſſiſtance, that, of the Confederates, the Dukes of *Lunenbourg* and *Pomerania*, and ſome others, contributed nothing at all; and that the other States and Cities in the Circle of *Saxony*, but very little; that they were diſappointed from *France*, and that becauſe of the Seaſon of the Year, and other Hardſhips, the Army was much diminiſhed, by the daily running away of the Soldiers; one of three things was to be choſen; either to hazard a Battel, or to quit the Field, and put the Army into Winter-quarters, or elſe to make a Peace or Truce. The Matter being debated, it was concluded, That a Propoſal of Peace was the beſt Courſe they could take; and for that end employed *Adam Trott*, who in behalf of the Elector of *Brandenbourg* had free acceſs to his Brother Marqueſs *John*. But when the Emperour, who knew their Minds; and the Streights they were reduced unto, by ſure Signs and good Intelligence, and had lately received glad Tidings out of *Saxony*, required of them very hard Conditions, it was reſolved upon, That the reſt of their Forces marching into *Saxony*, a thouſand Horſe and eight thouſand Foot ſhould be left there, to take Winter-quarters in the Country about, at the Charge of the Duke of *Wertemberg*, and the Free Cities of *Upper Germany*. On the twenty third of *November* then they break up, after they had paſt a Vote, That another Embaſſie ſhould be ſent into *France* and *England*, and that they ſhould meet again at *Frankfurt* the twelfth of *January*. And thus was the War but unluckily managed, which was chiefly imputed to this, That the Supreme and Abſolute Power was not in the Hands of one Man: For whereas the Duke of *Saxony* and the *Landgrave* were equal in Authority, it hapned oftner than once, that whilſt they were debating, fit Opportunities were loſt. What was likewiſe

The Archbiſhop of *Cologne* appeals to a Council.

An Embaſſie into *France* and *England*.

1546. resolved upon about distributing the Soldiers into Garrisons and Winter-quarters, had no effect neither, because some refused to contribute any longer. So soon as the Emperour had notice of their departure, he presently sent out some Parties of Horse, to learn what way they took; and shortly after orders the Duke of *Alva* and Count of *Buren* to follow after; nay he himself also marched out with the *German* Horse, leaving the Foot behind, to stay there till further Orders. The *Protestant* Confederates were now for most part in the Camp, where they were to lodge all night: And though the *Landgrave* led the Van that day, yet he staid behind with the Duke of *Saxony*, and both of them had no more but ten Corners of Horse, and about five hundred Musquetiers with them. With these they halted upon a Hill, securing themselves with what Field-pieces they had left, till the Emperour retreating with his Men in the Evening, they also marched forward with great silence. and came to the Camp near *Heidenheim*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, having so escaped a very present Danger. For if the Emperour had charged them, they being far inferiour in number, they must all have been either taken or slain, as they themselves afterwards acknowledged. But the Emperour, who was ignorant of their number, and took them to be many more than they were, acted cautiously, and the same night sent Orders to the Foot to march and follow him, with a purpose to fall upon them next day: However, as we told you, they gave him the slip in the night-time, and got safely to the rest of the Army in the Camp. Wherefore the Emperour returned to his Camp, and staid two days there to refresh his Soldiers: But afterwards conjecturing that their Design was to take their Winter-quarters in *Franconia*, a spacious and rich Province, he resolved to prevent them: Wherefore having upon Surrender taken *Bophinghen*, *Nordlinghen*, the Country of *Oetinghen* and *Dinkespiel*, he marches in great haste to *Rotenburg*, an Imperial Town upon the River *Tauber*. The *Landgrave* having left the Charge of his Men to the Duke of *Saxony*, made a Progress to *Wirtemberg*, from thence returned home, and came on the first of *December* to *Frankfurt*. But the Duke of *Saxony*, though he was destitute of the Sinews of War, yet marching forwards with his Forces, he batters *Gemund* a Town in *Schwabia*, which being surrendred unto him, he exacts a Sum of Money of the Magistrates, that was collected by a Poll. Afterwards he came to *Frankfurt*, on the twelfth of *December*, and of them got Nine thousand Duckets: He assesseth *Mentz* at Forty thousand; and then advancing forwards, takes the same Course with the Abbot of *Fulde*, who was very rich, and some others of the Popish Religion. When the *Landgrave* was come home, he wrote to Duke *Maurice* his Son-in-Law, That he would come to him, provided he would give him a Safe-conduct; for he had a Design to have negotiated a Peace betwixt him and the Duke of *Saxony*. Duke *Maurice* sent him, indeed, a Safe-conduct, but stinted with so many and such kind of Conditions, that he not thinking it safe to go himself, sent his Embassadors, *Herman Hundelsuse* and *Henry Lersner*. These did, indeed, very earnestly sollicite the Affair, but nothing could be done, since both Duke *Maurice* alledged that he could not treat without the Emperour's leave, and the Duke of *Saxony*, who had Forces in readiness to fight, would grant no Cessation of Arms. There being no hopes, then, of a Peace, the *Landgrave*'s Soldiers return home: But *Recred*, who brought the *German* Foot out of *France*, as we have already mentioned, tarried with the Duke of *Saxony*. When the Emperour was at *Rotenburg*, he dispatched the Count of *Buren*, with Orders to use some Means or other to surprise *Frankfurt*. From thence afterward he wrote also to *Ulrick* Duke of *Wertemberg*, on the thirteenth of *December*, to this purpose. *Though because of the War*, said he, *which some Years ago you and the* Landgrave *waged against our Brother King* Ferdinand, *and the seising of the Dutchy of* Wirtemberg, *it was but just, that we should have exemplarily punished both him and you; yet we fully pardoned you the Offence, and received you into Favour again: And though lately, in the beginning of this War, when you deserved no such thing, (since you tyrannized not only over your own People, but also over the Neighbouring States of the Empire, and would submit to no Law nor Justice) we sent a Person of Quality as Embassadour to you, to acquaint you with the Reason why we undertook this War, and to desire you to live in Peace and Quiet, whereby you might expect all Favour from us: Nevertheless, setting light by all these things, and having no regard to the Allegiance you owe to us, you have espoused the Cause of the Outlawed Princes and their Confederates, fallen into the same Crime of Rebellion with them, and with Men of your Faction surprised, first, some Towns belonging to our Brother King* Ferdinand *and other States, and afterward some within*

The Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* in great danger.

Bophinghen, *Nordlingen*, *Oetinghen*, and *Dinkespiel*, surrender to the Emperour.

The Duke of *Saxony* raises Money of the Papists.

The *Landgrave*'s Letter to Duke *Maurice* his Son-in-law.

The Emperour's Letter to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*.

within our Dominions alſo: Nor content with all this, you have with extraordinary boldneſs declared War againſt us, and with opprobrious and ſcurrilous Language beſpattered our Fame and Reputation, have endeavoured to deprive us of our Crown and Dignity, renounced your Allegiance to us, and have had the boldneſs with the reſt of your Conſpirators, to appear againſt us with an Army in the Field, doing Outrage to a great many of the Dependents and Vaſſals of our Brother King Ferdinand *and us: For all which you have incurred the Penalty due to Outlawed Perſons, and thoſe that are guilty of High Treaſon. Now though this be your Caſe, and that we have weighty and juſt Cauſes wherefore we ſhould moſt ſeverely puniſh you according to your Deſerts; nevertheleſs, out of our accuſtomed Grace and Clemency, and that a wretched Multitude of People may not be ruined, we ſtrictly command and charge you, That upon receipt of theſe our Letters, you forthwith deliver up your ſelf, your whole Province, Goods, and Fortune, and whatever you can call your own, without any Condition or Reſtriction, into our hands, to be diſpoſed of at our pleaſure; certifying you, That unleſs you obey, we will with Fire and Sword purſue you and yours to the laſt. For the Letter which four days ſince you wrote to us in your own juſtification, does not at all ſatisfie, nor is it ſufficient to excuſe you, or attone for your Crime.* A Copy of that Letter he ſent at the ſame time to his Subjects, commanding them not to obey him for the future, but ſend Deputies to him, the Emperour, to know what they were to do, and abſolving them from their Oath of Allegiance unto him; Which if they did do, he promiſes to take care that they may live with more eaſe and ſafety for the future; but if not, he threatens them with the ſame Penalty that he would inflict upon their Duke. When the Emperour wrote this Letter, his Forces under the Command of the Duke of *Alva* were upon the Borders of the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*. Duke *Ulrick* in the mean time betakes himſelf to the Caſtle of *Tuel*, ſeated out of his Country, upon a very high and ſteep Hill; and having received the Emperour's Letters upon the Road, on the twentieth of *December* he wrote to him in a ſupplicant and very ſubmiſſive manner: That it extremely grieved him he had ſo far incurred his Diſpleaſure, nor would any Accident in the World have more afflicted him; but that ſince ſome had interceded for him, and that he himſelf had earneſtly begg'd Pardon for his Fault, he had conceived good hopes that his Anger would have been appeaſed: That he entertained ſtill the ſame hopes, ſince he was convinced by Experience of the Clemency which he uſed to ſhew to humble Supplicants; of which many Inſtances might be given, and thoſe but a few years ſince manifeſted to ſome of the Quality of Princes, who, perhaps, had given him much greater cauſe of Offence than he had done: That he made no doubt, but that if he would have heard his Embaſſadours, he would have written much more mildly unto him: That therefore he implored his Mercy, and begg'd that for *Chriſt*'s ſake he would pardon him, and not uſe the Rigour againſt him a poor wretched Prince, nor againſt his miſerable Subjects.

1546.

The Emperour commands the Duke of *Wirtemberg* to deliver up himſelf, and all his, into his hands.

And his Subjects not to obey him.

Wirtemberg's ſupplicatory Letters to the Emperour.

At this time there came a Recruit to the Emperour, of about Five hundred *Neopolitan Curaſſiers*, under the Command of *John Baptiſta Spinelli*; and not long after his Imperial Majeſty went to *Hall*, a Town in *Schwabia* lately reconciled unto him, and thither the Elector Palatine *Frederick* came to wait on him. He had ſent Four hundred Horſe to the Aſſiſtance of the Confederate Proteſtants, when they were at *Ingolſtadt*; and therefore it was his Buſineſs with the Emperour to perſwade him, that he had not ſent thoſe Troops to fight againſt him, but only becauſe he was bound to do ſo to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, by virtue of a private League that was betwixt them. The Emperour took him up very ſharply, and having reckoned up the Favours he had done him, ſeverely chid him: However he pardoned him, wiſhing him to make amends for that Fault, by a more exact Fidelity for the future. When in the beginning of the War the Elector Palatine had thoughts of reforming the Church within his Territories, he ſent for *Paulus Fagius*, an eloquent and learned Man, to come to him from *Strasbourg* to *Heidelberg*, that he might be a Guide in the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and ſhew the way to others: But the good Fortune and Succeſs of the Emperour overturned all the Fabrick which was there begun to be reared. Some days after the Deputies of *Ulm* come to the Emperour, and upon a humble Acknowledgment of their Fault, are received into Grace. This is the chief City of all *Schwabia* for Power and Authority, ſo that the diſmembring of them from the reſt of the Confederates, was a matter of great moment: But about the latter end of *December*, they acquaint their Friends by Letters, That the Reaſon why they did ſo, was becauſe the Emperour intended preſently to have beſieged the Town, and that they were

Neopolitan Cuiroſſiers come to the Emperour.

Frederick Elector Palatine is reconciled to the Emperour.

Paulus Fagius called to *Heidleberg*.

The City of *Ulm* reconciled to the Emperour.

1546. ih a miſerable condition deſerted by their Friends, and had no appearance of any humane help to defend them againſt ſo great a power: And then alſo becauſe ſome of the Confederates of beſt quality, were ſeeking privately to make their peace with the Emperour. They were adjudged to pay to the Emperour an hundred thouſand Florins, furniſh him with twelve pieces of Ordnance, and to receive a Garriſon of ten Companies of Foot. In the mean time the Count of *Buren* entering the Country of the *Landgrave* that is above *Frankfurt*, took the Town of *Darmſtadt*, partly by force, and partly by compoſition, burnt the Caſtle, and ſpared the people. The place was only defended by the Inhabitants and a Rout gathered together out of the Country. Afterward he proceeds beyond *Frankfurt*; and having no hopes of taking it by force, eſpecially at that time of the year, and when the Souldiers were out of order, he orders part of his Forces to paſs the *Rhine*, and to ſtay for him at *Mentz*: and when there was nothing leſs in his thoughts, being about to return home, unexpected by the people of *Frankfurt*, ſent Deputies to ſurrender the Town, and promiſe to obey what Commands ſhould be laid upon them. Without delay he marches thither, and entering the Town with his Army, brings them into ſubjection to the Emperour. He was a Gentleman of an open and free humour, and therefore when he was feaſted by the Senate, he is ſaid to have played upon them, for their cowardly and eaſie ſurrendering of the place, telling them, that *Darmſtadt*-men deſerved to live in *Frankfurt*, and that they ought to be tranſplanted to *Darmſtadt*; for that Town, in reſpect of *Frankfurt*, is no more in a manner than a Village. But the reaſon why they did ſo, was, amongſt others, becauſe they ſaw that the City of *Ulm* and Duke of *Wirtemberg* were endeavouring to make their peace: and then becauſe they were afraid that their Fair might be removed to ſome other place, for all their Wealth conſiſts in that: nor were they ignorant that both *Mentz* and *Worms* made their ſeveral applications to the Emperour for obtaining it. Having afterwards ſent Deputies to the Emperour, they are received into favour, but at the coſt of fourſcore thouſand Elorins.

The *Landgrave*'s Country haraſſed by the Imperialiſts.

Buren takes *Darmſtadt*.

Frankfurt ſurrenders to *Buren*.

His free Jeſt that he put upon them.

The cauſe of the ſurrender.

Frankfurt is reconciled to the Emperor, and is fined.

When the Duke of *Saxony* came with his Army to his own Frontiers, *December* the 22th, he wrote to the States of Duke *Maurice*, to this effect. *I purpoſely made no anſwer*, ſaith he, *to your Letter of the* 11th *of* October, *becauſe I had a mind to ſee the event; but what hath been now done in the interim, is publickly known. The truth is though, by reaſon of the Kindred, Amity, and League whereby we are linked together, and of what I have deſerved at your Princes hands, I expected no ſuch thing from him, nor from you neither; nor did it ſo much as enter my thoughts, that he would ever have uſed me and my people after this manner: and much leſs that you ſhould have been the Authors and Deviſers of ſuch Counſels as muſt needs tend to the detriment of the whole Country, and your own prejudice alſo. But this, I ſuppoſe, ſeemed to you to be a fit time for bringing upon the Stage the crafty and treacherous purpoſes, which many years ago have been hatched by ſome of your States, but hitherto by Gods goodneſs prevented: for conſider with your ſelves a little, what kind of act that of yours was, when you adviſed Duke* George *to diſinherit his own Brother and Brothers Sons, for a difference in Religion, and Appoint the Emperour and King* Ferdinand *to be his Heirs, unleſs they would profeſs and reſtore the Popiſh Religion. Now that without any regard to that will, the whole Inheritance was conveighed to his Brother* Henry, *and the Proteſtant Religion retained, it was brought about by means of me and my Aſſociates. And though he profeſſed our Religion, and entered into the League alſo, having ſigned and ſealed Writings to that effect, both in his own and his Sons name; yet ye, becauſe you were diſappointed of your firſt hopes, wrought upon him ſo as to make him forfeit his Engagements: and after his death that his Sons followed the footſteps of their Father, was doubtleſs the effect of your Councils alſo. And as that Inheritance fell to* Henry *and his Sons, much againſt your will, ſo alſo it was no ſmall grief to you, to ſee the friendſhip that was betwixt Duke* Henry *and me, which you many times attempted to have diſſolved: nor indeed were your endeavours altogether in vain, for what you could not accompliſh whilſt he was alive, you have now at length effected with his Sons, eſpecially Duke* Maurice, *of whom I had conceived the greateſt opinion and hopes of virtue and Friendſhip: for five years ago almoſt, not long after he had entered into the Government, ye ſtirred him up againſt me undeſervedly, and in ſuch a manner too, as it was like to have proved a very dangerous matter. And though that Storm by the mediation of the* Landgrave *was allayed, and ſecurity given that no ſuch thing ſhould be done for the future, but that in every thing the ancient League ſhould be a ſtanding Rule to both our actions; yet ye adviſed him and his Brother* Auguſtus, *that in my abſence he ſhould invade and take poſſeſſion of my Province, whereat I am the more troubled*

The Elector of *Saxony*'s Letter to the States of Duke *Maurice*.

troubled, that in the intercourſe of moſt friendly Letters that paſt betwixt us, he gave me not the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thing; and that the interceſſion of the Landgrave *and other Aſſociates, had no influence upon him as to that particular. I am exceedingly grieved at the calamity of an innocent multitude of my poor people, whom he hath plagued with an Army of forreign, cruel, and barbarous Souldiers, that make havock of all they have: it grieves me alſo, that in moſt places the Miniſters of the Goſpel are turned out and forced to flie, and Virgins and Matrons raviſhed; which outrageous Villanies, I make no doubt but God will ſometime or other puniſh. But above all I am grieved and troubled at his perfidious and unexpected Hoſtility, whereunto I make no doubt but he has been adviſed by you, who like the Traytor* Judas, *are bought and ſold for money. He gives a pretext for his invading my Lands, That, forſooth, the Emperour ſo commanded, and King* Ferdinand *urged him to it: But the nearneſs of Bloud and Relation, the League and Alliance that is betwixt the two Families, ought to have been preferred far before their Edicts: for it is long ago ſince all differences, excepting that of Religion, which the Emperour or King* Ferdinand *had with me, were taken up and ended; the Crimes that are laid to our charge, are all forged, and we are only perſecuted for Religion. If his Command move you, why are you not rather moved at the baſeneſs of the fact? Why did you not conſider, whether or not it was lawful for your Prince to execute ſo unjuſt and unreaſonable an Order? But you brought to Council with you a corrupt mind, long ago depraved with prejudices and paſſions, and your Prince and you were more taken with my Dukedom, than with Equity and Juſtice. For otherwiſe Reaſon it ſelf would have told you, that ſince we were condemned without a Tryal, the Proſcription it ſelf is againſt all Law and Juſtice, and contrary to the Oath and Promiſes wherein he ſtands obliged to the Empire.* Duke Maurice *alſo might have eaſily perceived that it was not lawful for him to obey ſo wicked and arbitrary a Command; and he ought to have had greater regard to the Welfare of his Country: but he choſe rather to follow the footſteps of accurſed* Doeg, *and cloak his Crime with a feigned pretext of neceſſary Duty. Nor is it to the purpoſe, what you ſay, that he would have done no ſuch thing, had not King* Ferdinand *come with an Army upon my Frontiers. For the matter is far otherwiſe, and I have it from credible perſons, firſt, that you your ſelves and Duke* Maurice, *craftily ſtarted the thing, and had Cabals and ſecret Treaties about it with the Emperour and King* Ferdinand, *both at* Ratisbonne *and* Prague, *as will appear all in good time: and then that it was not with the advice and conſent of all, but of a few choſen out of the reſt of the States that ſo villanous a purpoſe was contrived. Since therefore I am now, by Gods bleſſing, come with an Army to my own Borders again, I am fully reſolved to be even with your Prince, and to uſe all neceſſary means for the defence and recovery of my Country; and in ſo doing I ſhall endeavour by a juſt Revenge, to make you alſo, eſpecially the Authors of ſuch damnable Counſels, truly ſenſible, how heynous an injury it is, that I have received. It troubles me, indeed, that matters are brought to ſuch a paſs, and I am ſorry for the Calamities of our common Country; but ſince you gave the beginning to them, and that I am neceſſitated to free my Country from unjuſt Violence and Oppreſſion, I proteſt, that all the Evils that may thereupon enſue, are not to be imputed to me. Such of you alſo as have had no hand in this Crime, and are ready to make your innocence appear to me, may freely do it, and be graciouſly received.*

1546.

The King of *Denmark*, though a Confederate, ſent no aſſiſtance to the *Proteſtants*. The Emperour removing from *Hall* to *Hailbrun*, and having received the Towns-people into favour, ſent the Duke of *Alva* into the Country of *Wirtemberg*, as we ſaid before, who having taken ſome places upon capitulation, did a great deal of damage there. But at the ſollicitation of the *Prince Palatine*, on the third of *January* the Duke of *Wirtemberg* made his Peace on theſe terms. That by reaſon of his ſickneſs he ſend Embaſſadours to make his ſubmiſſion, and humbly beg the Emperour's pardon: That within ſix weeks time, he would do the ſame in perſon: That he obſerve the Emperour's publick Decrees: That he give no aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, but aid the Emperour, in putting into execution the Outlawry publiſhed againſt them: That he ſuffer not the Emperour's Enemies to have any Commerce within his Territories: That he make no League wherein the Emperour, King *Ferdinand*, and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſhall not be comprehended: If any of his Subjects bear Arms againſt the Emperour, King *Ferdinand*, and Houſe of *Auſtria*, he puniſh them ſeverely: That he take an Oath of his Nobility not to ſerve in any ſuch Wars. That he give free and open paſſage to the Emperour, whenever it ſhall pleaſe him to march through his Country: That he deliver up all the Ammunition and Ordnance, which the Confederates have left in his Country: That for the charges of the War, he pay three hundred thouſand Florins, one half in hand, and the reſt within five and twenty

The King of *Denmark* ſent no aid to the *Proteſtants*.

The Duke of *Alva* invades the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*.

1547.

The Conditions upon which the Duke of *Wirtemberg* is reconciled to the Emperor.

1547. days. That for ſecurity *Achſperg*, *Kirchen*, and *Schortendorff*, ſhall be put into the Emperour's hands as cautionary Towns, to be garriſoned by him at his pleaſure: That he compound with thoſe whom he hath damnified in this War; and if he cannot, that he ſtand to the Emperour's Award: That both he and his Son ſhall ſubmit to the Court of high *Burgundy*, when they go to law in thoſe places: That he puniſh none of his Subjects, who ſurrendered themſelves to the Emperour: That King *Ferdinand* retain his whole Right and Title: That within ſix weeks his Son *Chriſtopher* and his people ratifie and confirm the Articles; and that his Brother *George* enjoy not the benefit of this Peace. *January* the third, as we ſaid, theſe Articles were drawn up in writing, and five days after the Embaſſadours of Duke *Ulrick*, *Balthaſar Gultling*, *Lodovick Fravenburg*, and *John Feſler* a Lawyer, came to *Hailbrun*, and falling at the Emperour's feet, told his Majeſty, that their Prince being by ſickneſs hindered from coming in perſon, had ſent them to make his excuſe: That he did openly confeſs his fault, was heartily ſorry for the Crime he had committed, and by all that was ſacred, begg'd to be received again into favour, and that the utmoſt rigour might not be uſed againſt him and his people: for that he both ratified the Articles of Peace, and ſo ſoon as his health did permit, would come in perſon to beg his Pardon, and would never be unmindful of ſo great a favour.

The Emperor's Anſwer to the Embaſſadors of *Wirtemberg*.

To this *Naves* makes anſwer in the Emperour's name, That he was ſatisfied with his confeſſion of his fault, and begging pardon for the ſame; and that in mercy and compaſſion, he was willing to ſpare the multitude, and forgive him, provided he perform the Conditions of Pacification, and be diligent in doing his duty for the future.

The *Proteſtant* Cities of *Memmingen*, *Bibrach*, *Ravensburg*, *Kempen*, and *Iſne*, are reconciled to the Emperor.

After them came the Embaſſadours of *Memmingen*, *Bibrach*, *Ravensburg*, *Kempen*, and *Iſne*, and humbly confeſſed their fault and begg'd pardon that they had offended him; to which they ſaid, they were induced partly by their own errour, and partly by the inticement of others; but that they fled to him, as to a Fountain of Mercy, beſeeching him to forgive, and reſtore them to their former ſtate and condition, without any diminution of their ancient Liberties and Priviledges. The Emperour thereupon takes an Oath of them, That they would be faithful to him for the future; obey the ſame Laws as the reſt of the States did; renounce the League they had entered into with the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave*, and no ways aſſiſt them, and that thenceforward they ſhould engage in no League againſt him. Upon theſe Conditions he receives them again into favour, and fines the City of *Memmingen* in fifty thouſand Florins. Before they appeared in the Emperour's preſence, they deſired to have aſſurance given them that their Religion ſhould not be altered: But *Naves*, whom the Emperour made uſe of then as his chief Spokes-man in thoſe affairs, bid them have a ſpecial care not to mention any ſuch thing; for that otherwiſe he would look upon it as a ſign that they diſtruſted him; eſpecially ſince he had ſufficiently declared himſelf as to that particular in the beginning of the War: That therefore they ſhould reſt content, and require no further ſecurity. And this was thought to have been done, leſt that if it had been refuſed them, it would have ſeemed that other things were aimed at, than what the Emperour had profeſſed in his publick Declarations, and that if it had been granted in expreſs terms, it would have offended the Pope, whoſe deſign was, that by this War the Proteſtant Religion ſhould be utterly extirpated.

Memmingen fined.

A Sedition in *Genoa* againſt the Family of *Doria*.

At that time a Sedition broke forth in *Genoa* againſt the Family of *Doria*, the Head of which was then *Andrea*, the ableſt Sea-Commander living, who by the Emperour's intereſt was advanced to be the Leading-man in that Commonwealth. The chief Ringleader of this Tumult was the Count of *Fieſchi*, and in the Scuffle *Joannin Doria*, a Relation of *Andrea*'s, a man of great valour, was amongſt others killed. And had not the Count of *Fieſchi* dropt into the Sea and periſhed there, it was thought much miſchief would have been done, and the Republick been in very great danger; but he being taken off, the reſt of the Conſpirators ſlunk away, and ſo a great calm preſently ſucceeded that ſtorm. The Emperour accuſed the *Farneſes* as the Authors of this Enterprize, and eſpecially *Petro Aloiſio* Duke of *Piacenza*, of which, more in its proper place.

Joannin Doria killed.

A Decree of the Council of *Trent*, concerning Juſtification.

The Seſſion of the Council of *Trent*, which was to have been held about the latter end of *July*, the year before, was put off till this time, and *January* the 13th the Fathers, as their cuſtom was, meeting in the Cathedral-Church, make a Decree about *Mans Juſtification*, and condemn all thoſe who ſay, That by the fall of *Adam* man loſt his Free-will; that man is juſtified by Faith alone, and the imputation of the righteouſneſs of Chriſt; that Juſtification is nothing elſe but a confidence in the mercy of God, who forgiveth ſins for Chriſt's ſake; that it is neceſſary that

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a Man firmly believe and doubt not, that his Sins are forgiven, and that he is of the number of the Elect; that no Man can keep the Commandments of God; not though he be juſtified; that Juſtification received, is not preſerved and encreaſed by Good Works; that after Baptiſm, Juſtification that is loſt may be recovered by Faith alone, without the Sacrament of Penance; that a penitent Sinner has his Offence wholly forgiven him, and that there remains no Puniſhment to be endured for the ſame, neither in this Life, nor in the Life to come in *Purgatory*; and that theſe Decrees derogate from God's Glory and Chriſt's Merit. 1547.

Upon the Elector of *Saxony*'s approach with his Army, Duke *Maurice* puts a Garriſon into *Leipſick*, and burns the Suburbs. At the ſame time above a thouſand *Hungarian* Horſe came thither; ſo *January* the thirteenth the Place began to be beſieged: But the Towns-people making a ſtout Reſiſtance, about the end of the ſame Month the Siege was raiſed without any Succeſs. Nevertheleſs, the Town was miſerably ſhattered and defaced by the Batteries of great Guns that continually plaid upon it. The Duke of *Saxony* marching from thence, not only recovered what he had loſt in *Thuringe* and *Miſnia*, but took all Duke *Maurice*'s Towns alſo, except *Leipſick* and *Dreſden*. He gained likewiſe the Biſhoprick of *Magdenburg*, and *Haberſtadt*, having compounded therefore with *John Albert* the Biſhop. The day before he laid Siege to *Leipſick*, King *Ferdinand* commanded the *Bohemians* to take Arms, and march to the Aſſiſtance of Duke *Maurice*: they obeyed, indeed; but afterwards returned home again without Orders; wherefore about the end of *January* King *Ferdinand* renews the ſame Command: But the Inhabitants of *Prague*, who have the Chief Authority in thoſe Places, make application to the Senate, that they would uſe their Endeavours with the King, and prevail with him to recal his Order, becauſe it was inconſiſtent with their Liberty, and they could not honeſtly obey it; for that there was no reaſon why they ſhould take Arms againſt the Elector of *Saxony*; that in many things their Religion agreed with his; and that beſides, he had been always very forward and inſtrumental in beating off the Armies of the *Turk*. Whereunto King *Ferdinand*, amongſt other things, ſaid in anſwer, That they did not make War againſt him upon the account of Religion, but Rebellion; and that what was alledged of his giving Aid againſt the *Turks*, was quite otherwiſe: for that ſome Months before he had by Envoys ſollicited the *Turk* to make War upon *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, to grant no longer Truce, and to break that which he had made; and that he had promiſed, for the better Succeſs in the Attempt, to fall upon them on the other ſide.

The Siege of *Leipſick*.

The Duke of *Saxony* recovers his own, and takes Duke *Maurice*'s Towns. The *Bohemians* refuſe to take Arms againſt the Duke of *Saxony*.

King *Ferdinand*'s Anſwer to the *Bohemians* Demands.

When the Emperour was made acquainted with the State of *Saxony*, and had been ſollicited by frequent Letters from Duke *Maurice*, he ſent him Supplies of Horſe and Foot, under the Command of *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, and then orders the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Forces to follow, under the Conduct of *de Sandi* and *Marigan*. *January* the ninth Marqueſs *Albert* marched with his Troops from *Hailbrun*. The Emperour departing alſo from thence, went to *Ulm*, and in his Progreſs receives into Favour the Cities of *Lindaw* and *Eſling*.

Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg* is ſent with aſſiſtance to Duke *Maurice*.

The Emperour goes to *Ulm*.

Lindaw and *Eſling* are received into his Favour.

It hath been mentioned before, that the *Pope* pronounced Sentence of Excommunication againſt the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and deprived him of his Dignity and Function. At the ſame time he did that, he conferred all his Right and Authority upon *Adolph* Count *Schavenburg*, whom ſome years before the Archbiſhop had amongſt all others choſen to be his Coadjutor. Wherefore the *Pope* by a Bull enjoyns all the States of the Country to own and accept of him as their Prelate, and moves the Emperour withal to ſee the Sentence put into execution. But when the Archbiſhop, being ſeveral times admoniſhed to dimit his Charge, had anſwered, That he could not do it with a ſafe Conſcience; the Emperour, who had now conquered all in a manner, ſends to *Cologne* his Embaſſadors, *Philip Laleing* Governour of *Guelderland*, and *Viglius* of *Zuichem* a Lawyer. By them he enjoyns all the Orders of the Province, whom he had ordered to meet at a certain Day there, to ſhake off their Allegiance to Archbiſhop *Herman*, and to tender their Fidelity and Duty to him who had been their Coadjutor, as to their lawful Prelate. It was no difficult matter to obtain that from the Clergy; for they had been the Authors of the Revolution: But the Nobility, and of them many of the chiefeſt Quality, with the Deputies of the Towns, remonſtrate, That they could not make defection from him whom they had ſo long obeyed, whom for ſo many years they had found to be a very good Prince, and to whom they had bound themſelves by an Oath of Allegiance. This Difficulty being

Adolph Count *Schavenburg* is put in the place of *Herman* Archbiſhop of *Cologne*.

The Emperour's Embaſſadors perſwade the States to relinquiſh *Herman*, and accept of *Schavenburg* for their Archbiſhop.

1547. ſtarted, the Duke of *Cleve*, their very next Neighbour, for avoiding greater trouble, ſent ſome of his Counſellors thither to mediate; who after a long and ſerious Debate, obtain'd at length of the Clergy, that they would be quiet, until the other States ſhould fairly repreſent the Caſe to the Archbiſhop. To him therefore were ſent *Theoderick* Count *Manderſcheyt* and *William* Count *Nouenar*, the chief of all the Nobility, who by their Dexterity, and the Intereſt they had with him, perſwade him, that in compaſſion to the People, and that the whole Province might not be undone by a War, he would comply, and reſign his Place. Accordingly he releaſed all his Subjects from their Oaths and Allegiance; and ſo the Coadjutor whom we named, who had been always as dear to him as a Brother, ſucceeds, and takes poſſeſſion of his Dignity, *January* the twenty fifth. The Archbiſhop had a Brother, *Frederick*, who, as we told you in the Tenth Book, had been Biſhop of *Munſter*, and was now Provoſt, as they call it, of the Church of *Bonn*; but he was turned out of that Office, and *Gropper* had it for his Share. Count *Stolberg*, Dean of *Cologne*, who had conſtantly ſtood up for the Archbiſhop, met with the ſame Fate. Preſently after, by Orders from the new Archbiſhop, there was a Change made in Religion, and all *Bucer*'s Reformation overthrown.

The Duke of *Cleve* mediates, and gets *Herman* to diveſt himſelf of his Biſhoprick.

Herman reſigns the Biſhoprick of *Cologne*.

Frederick, *Herman*'s Brother, turned out of the Provoſtſhip of *Bonne*, which was given to *Gropper*.

When the Embaſſadors of the *Proteſtant* Confederates had been with the *French* King, they went to the King of *England*, to negotiate the ſame thing with both. But King *Henry* was then on his Death-bed; for his Sickneſs growing upon him, about the latter end of *January* he died, in the eight and thirtieth year of his Reign, having by his laſt Will left Prince *Edward*, a Child of nine years of age, his Heir, and to him ſubſtituted the Lady *Mary*, whom he had by his firſt Queen, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, by the ſecond. But before he died, he condemned *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, a Peer of great Authority, to perpetual Impriſonment; and beheaded his Son the Earl of *Surrey*, for ſome ſuſpicious Words he had ſpoken during the King's Sickneſs: after whoſe Death, a Change in Religion happned, as will appear hereafter. For though he had ſhaken off the *Pope*'s Authority in all his Dominions, and had made it Death for any Man to own him for Head of the Church; nay, though in the Publick Prayers of the Church he deteſted him, as the Bane of Religion, and Antichriſt; yet he ſtill retained the Popiſh Doctrine, as hath been ſaid before. He had cauſed his Son to be well educated from his Childhood, and upon his Death-bed left him ſixteen Guardians, and amongſt theſe, *Edward* Earl of *Herford*, the young Prince's Uncle. To him the reſt of the Guardians afterwards committed the chief Care and Tuition of the King, as thinking he would be the moſt faithful to him of any, and gave him the Honourable Title of *Protector of the King and Kingdom*. The King alſo made him afterward Duke of *Somerſet*. He was both a Friend to the Reformed Religion himſelf, and uſed his Endeavours alſo that it might be publickly received, having perſwaded the King his Pupil to embrace the ſame; wherein he was chiefly aſſiſted by *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Primate of All *England*, a Man of ſingular Learning. About the ſame time died alſo Queen *Anne*, Wife to King *Ferdinand*, the Mother of many Children, whoſe Funerals the Emperour ſolemnized at *Ulm*.

The Death of *Henry* King of *England*, to whom his Son Prince *Edward* ſucceeds.

Severity againſt *Norfolk*.

Henry deteſted the Pope; not his Doctrine.

Henry left Guardians to his Son.

Thomas Cranmer Primate of *England*.

In the mean time the Citizens of *Ausbourg*, moved by the Example of their Aſſociates and their own Danger, and having got proper Mediators, amongſt whom was *Anthony Fuggber*, made their Peace, and were received into the Emperour's Favour again; but upon condition that they ſhould pay a Fine of an hundred and fifty thouſand *Florins*, furniſh twelve Pieces of Cannon, and receive a Garriſon of ten Companies of Foot. *Scherteline* lived in the Town, and for many years had ſerved under them, and taken their Pay; one that the Emperour and King *Ferdinand* could not endure, becauſe he had taken the Caſtle of *Erenberg*: Wherefore though the Senate interceded earneſtly for him, yet becauſe the Emperour was ſo ſtiff that otherwiſe he would not treat with them, he was forced to fly the Country, and with his Wife and Family to remove to *Conſtance*, a Town bordering upon *Suitzerland*.

They of *Ausbourg* capitulate with the Emperour.

Schetterline odious to the Emperour.

During the Siege of *Leipſick* the Elector of *Brandenburg* interpoſes, and having ſent Embaſſadors to both, deſires that they would refer the Matter to him. The Elector was not unwilling; but Duke *Maurice* blaming him exceedingly for purſuing the War ſo hotly, ſix days after, when he ſaw the Town was not likely to be taken, began to anſwer coldly, and be off on't. *Brandenburg* therefore preſently acquaints the *Landgrave* with it, praying him to perſwade Duke *Maurice*; and that becauſe the inteſtine War of *Saxony* could hardly be taken up, unleſs the

The Elector of *Brandenburg* interpoſes for Peace.

and with the *Landgrave* too.

the Publick War with the Emperour were alſo ended, he entreats him to bend his Mind that way. The better to perſwade, he lays open before him the great danger he was in; That moſt of his Confederates were already reconciled to the Emperour, and that the Duke of *Wertemberg* was fain to capitulate upon very hard Terms: That the Emperour was preparing freſh Forces; and that ſeeing he was not able alone long to reſiſt ſo great a Power as was againſt him, he adviſes him not to think ill to ſubmit, but to capitulate upon the Conditions which he himſelf had drawn up, and now ſent to him by his Embaſſadors: For ſeeing the Emperour's Mind was for many Reaſons much exaſperated, the thing it ſelf required, that with a kind of humble Submiſſion he ſhould beg Pardon: That he ſhould therefore turn his Eyes upon himſelf and Children, and upon the promiſcuous Multitude, and not drive on things to the utmoſt extremity. He wrote alſo to the Elector to the ſame purpoſe. A little before the *Proteſtants* in the Month of *November* broke up, and quitted the Field. The Emperour gave Commiſſions to ſome, that they ſhould forthwith raiſe new Forces, and carry the War into thoſe Places which bordered upon *Saxony*, that the States and Towns of thoſe Quarters might not be able to give the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* any Aſſiſtance. 1547.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

The Emperour raiſes new Forces againſt *Saxony*.

The Command of theſe Forces, conſiſting of one and twenty Enſigns of Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe, he gave to *Joyce Grunning* Governour of *Zeelandt*. Theſe put *Conrade* Count *Teckelbourg*, one of the *Proteſtant* Confederates, the Towns of *Oſnabrug* and *Minden*, the Count of *Lippe*, and ſome others in thoſe places, under Contribution, and compel them to take Orders from them. They alſo take the Caſtle of *Ritberg*, and from thence fall in upon *Bremen*. Here ſerved under the Emperour, *Philip* Count *Eberſtein*, *Chriſtopher Vrisberger*, and *Frederick Speed*.

Joyce Grunning compels Count *Deckelburg*, the town of *Minden*, and others, to obey and take Orders from him

The Elector of *Saxony* being informed of the Emperour's Succeſs, *February* the thirteenth wrote to the Senate and Council of *Strasburg*, giving them an Account, how that he had recovered his own, and taken from Duke *Maurice* moſt part of what belonged to him in *Thuringe* and *Miſnia*; That he had made the Nobility and Gentry of his Territories ſwear Fidelity to him; and that he had added to all the Biſhoprick of *Magdeburg*: But that *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and moſt of the Free Towns of *Upper Germany*, ſhould have capitulated upon ſo very hard Conditions, and without mentioning their Religion, and promiſed the Emperour Aſſiſtance againſt him and the reſt of the Confederates, was a thing that had fallen out quite contrary to his expectation, and was wholly repugnant to the Tenor of the League: That he heard well of them, in that they continued conſtant, which had been acceptable News to him: That they ſhould go on then, and not faint, acting as became Confederates; and if they were harder put to it, that they ſhould defend themſelves with the Aid of the *Suitzers* and King of *France*: That it was his hearty deſire he could give them all Teſtimonies of his Love and Fidelity; but that he was hindred by a Domeſtick War; which if it would pleaſe God to put an end to, to his advantage, he would not then be wanting unto them: That the Deputies of the States and Free Towns of *Saxony* were now met at *Magdeburg*: That he treated with them there about thoſe Affairs for which the Convention was called at *Frankfurt*, and that he was in hopes they would perform their Duties, eſpecially the Free Towns, and not be prevailed upon to forſake their League.

Saxony's Letters to thoſe of *Strasburg*.

February the thirteenth an Embaſſador came from the *French* King to *Strasbourg*, one *Mendoza* an exiled *Spaniard*, who made large Offers and Promiſes in his Maſter's Name: But the Senate had already concluded to ſend Deputies to the Emperour to treat of Peace; ſo that he departed without any Succeſs in his Negotiation. The Deputies they ſent to the Emperour were *James Sturmey*, *Matthias Pharrer*, and *Mark Hagie*. Their Inſtructions were to go to *Ulm*, and learn for a certain what the Conditions were that the Emperour would be pleaſed to accept of in Capitulating. *Anthony* Biſhop of *Arras* was then of the Emperour's Council; for his Father *Granvell* was gone to *Beſanzon*, and about the ſame time *Naves* died; to whoſe Place one *George Selden*, a Civilian, afterwards ſucceeded, who, becauſe of the multiplicity of the Affairs of *Germany*, had *John Marquard* of *Baden*, and *Henry Haſen* who had formerly been Counſellor to the Prince Palatine, and lately to the Duke of *Deux ponts*, a Man very well verſed in the Affairs of *Germany*, aſſigned him for Colleagues and Aſſiſtants. King *Ferdinand*, that he might encourage the *Bohemians*, who, as I told you, declined the War, *Febru-*

Mendoza the *French* Embaſſador to *Strasbourg*.

The City of *Strasbourg* ſend an Embaſſie to the Emperour.

Naves dies.

George Selden ſucceeds.

John Marquard. *Henry Haſen*.

1547. *ary* the ſixth, undertook a Progreſs with his Son young *Ferdinand*, and came to *Leutmeritz*, a Town upon the Borders of *Bohemia*. He ſtaid there a day or two before the Nobility and States came; and at their Meeting made a long Speech to them, telling them, amongſt other things, That ſince Duke *Maurice* implored his Aid, he entreated them to take Arms, both in reſpect of the ancient Alliance betwixt the two Nations, as that they were the Emperours Vaſſals alſo: And that becauſe ſome gave it out, that by ſo doing their Liberties would be infringed, he promiſed to give them Security, that it ſhould not be made a Preſident in time to come. The States then preſent alledged, That they could not make any publick Reſolution, without the Conſent of the reſt; and therefore they deſire, that he would call a Convention of States as ſoon as he could. Some others promiſed him their Service and Obedience; and theſe were the Governours of Towns, whom he therefore thanked, telling the others at large, That this was not a time for debating, but that the Occaſion required preſent Help againſt the Enemy: That ſo ſoon as the War was over, he would not refuſe to call a Convention of States, nor was he reſolved to impair the Liberties of any man: That therefore he deſired them to comply and follow him. At length fearing the King's diſpleaſure, ſeeing he had ſpoken with ſome heat, they condeſcend, and promiſe, that if they did not ſerve in the Field themſelves, they would find others. But about the thirteenth day of *February*, the Nobility and the Citizens of *Prague* write to the King, and beſeech him, That ſince he inſiſted upon new and unprecedented Orders, he would call a Convention of States to meet at *Prague* the twentieth day of *March*; but that if he could not, they beg of him not to take it ill, if they themſelves ſhould meet, and determine what was to be done. In anſwer he repreſents to them what was done at *Leutmeritz*, and promiſes to call a Convention by the eighteenth of *April*; charging them not to meet, nor attempt any thing in the mean time. However, within four days after he had written to them to that purpoſe, they make a League and Covenant for the Defence of their Liberty.

King *Ferdinand*'s Demands to the *Bohemians*.

The Nobility and Citizens of *Prague* deſire a Convention of States to be called.

The League of the *Bohemians*.

When Marqueſs *Albert* was come into *Saxony*, Duke *Maurice* aſſigned him the Town of *Rochlitz* for his Head-quarter, which was the Dowry of the *Landgrave*'s Siſter, a Widow, Duke *George*'s Daughter-in-law. The Elector *John Frederick*, who then lay at *Aldenburg* three Miles diſtant, having notice of this, *March* the firſt, ſends before, in the night-time, *Erneſt* Duke of *Lunenburg* and *Volrate* Count *Mansfield*, with ſome Troops of Horſe, and *Recrod* with his Regiment of Foot, till he himſelf ſhould come up with the reſt of his Forces. Next morning before it was day, a few Horſe being ſent out upon the Scout, fall upon the Out-guards of the Enemy, of whom ſome were taken, and the reſt fled to the Town. There was four Companies of Foot in the Suburbs, who with a Party of Marqueſs *Albert*'s Horſe ſallied out by break of day, and came to an Engagement with the *Saxonians*, who put them ſo to it, that they were beat back, and forced to retreat into the Suburbs. But when the Elector, who led the main Body, was come, and from an adjoyning Hill plaid with his great Guns into the Town, his Foot at the ſame time having entred the Suburbs and fired it, the four Companies of Foot we mentioned betake themſelves to flight over the Bridge, as the Horſe did, ſcarding over the River *Muldaw*. The Foot then, who were now Maſters of the Suburbs, boldly advance, take the Town by Aſſault, plunder it, and carry away the great Guns. In the heat of the Action, Marqueſs *Albert* bethinks himſelf of flying, and makes for the Bridge; but being in his way taken by *Erneſt* Duke of *Lunenburg*, he is brought Priſoner to the Elector. There was a Garriſon of ſix Companies of Foot, beſides Horſe, in the Town, who drawing together into a Body, reſolved to defend themſelves; but being overpowred by number, they yield, and being diſarmed, promiſe not to carry Arms againſt the Duke of *Saxony* and his Confederates, for ſix Months time, and ſo are diſmiſſed. The Horſe went in purſuit of thoſe four Companies of Foot, which, as we ſaid, fled over the Bridge, and killed moſt of them, and amongſt theſe, many *Italians* and *Spaniards*. Marqueſs *Albert* had (what of King *Ferdinand*, and what of the Emperour) about fifteen hundred Horſe, ten Companies of Foot, and fourteen Pieces of Ordnance. The Conflict laſted from break of day till noon, wherein the Elector did not loſe many Men, but amongſt thoſe, *Wolf Theoderick*, a Man of great Courage, who died of a Shot he had received, ſome days after the Action. Of the Imperialiſts were killed in the Town a thouſand, and without and in the River three hundred. After the Conflict the Elector returned to *Aldenburg* with his

Rochlitz kept out by Marqueſs *Albert*.

The Duke of *Saxony* takes *Rochlitz* by Storm, and carries off the Enemies Ordnance.

Marqueſs *Albert* made Priſoner.

Wolf Theoderick dies of his Wounds.

his Priſoner; and afterward made the whole matter known in *Bohemia*, aſſuring the States that he would not attempt any thing contrary to their League, and demanding Juſtice to be done upon thoſe who had invaded his Country, and put all to Fire and Sword. 1547.

The Duke of *Wirtemberg* had ſtipulated, That as ſoon as his Health did permit, he would come and beg the Emperour's Pardon. He came, then, to *Ulm* in the Month of *March*, though very weak ſtill in Body, and ſitting in a Chair, with the Emperour's leave, becauſe he was not able to move nor ſtir himſelf, he ordered ſome of his Counſellors to beg Pardon for him on their Knées, promiſing all Duty and Obedience for the future. The Emperour having given him a frank and generous Anſwer, immediately departed, and becauſe of the *Saxon*-War went to *Nordlingen*. Whilſt the Duke of *Wirtemberg* performed this Ceremony of Submiſſion, there was a vaſt Crowd of People got together, who being told of it before, flocked thither to ſee the Shew. In thoſe three Places we named before, of the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, the Emperour had already placed Garriſons, and chiefly *Spaniards*.

The Duke of *Wirtemberg* makes his Submiſſion to the Emperor.

THE

1547.

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK XIX.

The CONTENTS.

The Seventh Seſſion of the Council of Trent *is held. When the City of* Strasbourg *had capitulated, and made Peace with the Emperour, he orders his Army to advance. Shortly after the Death of the King of* England, Francis *King of* France *dies. The Fathers that were at* Trent *go to* Bolonia. *The Duke of* Saxony *is taken in Battel; and though he was condemned to die, yet with undaunted Courage he profeſſed the Reformed Religion.* Wirtemberg *being ſurrendred, the Univerſity is diſſolved. Duke* Maurice *and the Elector of* Brandenburg *earneſtly intercede for the* Landgrave; *who being come to wait on the Emperour, is detained Priſoner. King* Ferdinand, *by Letters to thoſe of* Prague, *appoints a Convention of States. A great Commotion raiſed at* Naples, *becauſe of the* Spaniſh Inquiſition, *as they call it.* Henry *King of* France *is Crowned, and the Solemnity of the Coronation deſcribed. The Emperour by Proclamation puts the City of* Magdenburg *to the Ban of the Empire. He ſollicits the* Suitzers *to enter into a new League. A Diet is held at* Ausburg. Petro Aloiſio, *the Pope's Son, is aſſaſſinated in his own Houſe. The* Engliſh *overcome the* Scots *in a great Battel. The Proteſtant Electors are prevailed with, and the Free Towns terrified. A Contention ariſeth about the Impriſonment of the* Landgrave. *Means are uſed for recalling the Fathers to* Trent, *but they who had removed to* Bolonia *firmly perſiſt in their Opinion and Reſolution; ſo that there is nothing but Confuſion in the Council of* Trent.

The Seventh Seſſion of the Council of *Trent*, concerning the Sacraments.

THE Seventh Seſſion of the Council of *Trent* was held the third day of *March*. In it were condemned all who maintain, either that the Sacraments of the Church were fewer than Seven, or that they were not all inſtituted by Chriſt; who deny that one is of more Dignity than another; who affirm, that they are only outward Signs of Grace, or Righteouſneſs received by Chriſt; who deny, that they confer Grace; who hold, that no ſpiritual and indelible Character or Mark is by Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Orders, ſtamped upon the Soul, and that all have like power to adminiſter them, or that the uſual Ceremonies of the Church may be omitted or altered in the Adminiſtration of the ſame; who ſay, that the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Mother and Miſtreſs of all others, concerning Baptiſm, is not ſincere: That Vows made after Baptiſm are of no force, and derogate from the Faith they have profeſſed; who aſſert, That Confirmation is but an idle Ceremony, and was no more in ancient Times but an Inſtruction of Youth; who deny the Virtue and Influence of the Holy Ghoſt to be conferred in Confirmation; and who aſſign the Office of Confirmation not to Biſhops ſolely, but

but indifferently alſo to any Prieſt. Then they make Decrees concerning Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, That Biſhops and other Rulers of the Church be lawfully begotten, of due Age, and conſpicuous for Good Manners and Learning: That no Man, of what Quality he be, do by any Title whatſoever poſſeſs more than one Biſhoprick; and that ſuch as have Pluralities, keep which of them they pleaſe, and reſign the others within a Year: That thoſe who have the Cure of Souls reſide upon the Place, and ſubſtitute no others to officiate for them, unleſs for a time, and ſo as that they have made appear to their Biſhop that they had a lawful cauſe of Abſence, which is to be allowed of by him, who is to take care that the People be not neglected, that the Faults of Prieſts be puniſhed, and what is amiſs amongſt them reformed. And then the one and twentieth of *April* is appointed for the Day of the next Seſſion. 1547. And alſo concerning Eccleſiaſtical Benefices.

King *Ferdinand* being at *Dreſden* with Duke *Maurice*, on the eighth day of *March* writes to the *Bohemians*, acquainting them, That Duke *John Frederick* was reſolved to invade them: That therefore they ſhould be upon their Guard, and obey *Sebaſtian Weittemull*, whom he had appointed to be his Vicegerent in his abſence. King *Ferdinand*'s Letters to the *Bohemians*.

The Deputies of *Strasbourg*, who, as we told you, went to *Ulm*, being come back with the Conditions preſcribed by the Emperour, which the Senate did not diſlike, are ſent back again to tranſact and make a final Concluſion. Setting out upon their Journey, then, they find the Emperour at *Nordlingen*, taken ill of the Gout, and having, *March* the one and twentieth, made their Submiſſion, are received into Favour. They had pretty tolerable Conditions; for the Emperour put no Garriſon upon them, was ſatisfied with Thirty thouſand *Florins*, and did not exact above twelve Pieces of Ordnance of them. The Elector of *Brandenburg* in the mean time beſtirred himſelf affectionately in behalf of the *Landgrave*, and applied himſelf alſo to King *Ferdinand*: But very hard Conditions were propoſed, which were theſe: That he approve, without exception, all the future Decrees of the Diet of the Empire: That he give one of his Sons in Hoſtage: That he diſmiſs Duke *Henry* of *Brunſwick* and his Son, and ſubmit to the Emperour's Deciſion as to the Difference betwixt them: That he ſend the Emperour a Supply of ſome Troops of Horſe, and eight Companies of Foot, againſt the Elector of *Saxony* and the Confederates; and that he pay them for ſix Months: That he ſubmit himſelf to the Emperour, and openly confeſs his Crimes. But he rejected the Conditions, and acquainted his Friends by Letters, That unleſs they were mitigated, he had rather, ſeeing he could not in Honour condeſcend to them, undergo the worſt of Fortunes. *Strasburg*'s Pacification with the Emperour. Their Fine. The Conditions propoſed to the *Landgrave*. The *Landgrave* rejects them.

The day the Emperour tranſacted with the *Strasburgers*, he parted from *Nordlingen* to go to *Norimberg*: And next day upon the Road having diſpatched Letters to the States of Duke *Maurice*, he tells them, That foraſmuch as that Outlaw *John Frederick* flying to his own Home, had not only regained what the Prince Elector *Maurice* had by his Orders taken from him, but thoſe Places alſo which King *Ferdinand* his Brother poſſeſſed in that Country, as Dependents on *Bohemia*, he was now upon the march, to come and repreſs his Boldneſs: Wherefore he charged them, in the firſt place, that they ſhould take care, that in thoſe Places through which he was to march with his Army, nothing might be wanting that was neceſſary, and that the Soldiers might be kindly uſed: In the next place, That they ſhould deſpiſe the Threats of *John Frederick*, and ſhew all Love and Duty to their Prince, as they had hitherto done; ſince the main Deſign of the preſent War was to daunt his inſolent Fierceneſs, and to ſettle Peace and Quietneſs amongſt them. The very ſame day he wrote to the Council and Magiſtrates of *Prague*, That it was his intent to come and puniſh *John Frederick* according to his Deſerts; and that therefore they ſhould take care to ſend Proviſions into his Camp. The Emperour's Letters to the States of Duke *Maurice*. As alſo to thoſe of *Prague*.

March the four and twentieth, thoſe Nobles and Cities of *Bohemia* who had lately entred into a League and Confederation, as has been ſaid, met at *Prague*, and there ſetled a Military Diſcipline, and ſuch Laws as might be neceſſary for carrying on a War, if occaſion required; and committed the Chief Government to *Caſpar Pflug*. About that time, King *Ferdinand*, Duke *Maurice*, and his Brother *Auguſtus*, came with their Forces to *Brux*. The *Bohemians* took it very ill, that they had already entred their Country; wherefore they write to King *Ferdinand*, praying him not to ſuffer Forreigners to be brought in amongſt them; for *Caſpar Pflug* Head of the *Bohemian* Confederates. The *Bohemians* Letters to King *Ferdinand* and Duke *Maurice*

1547. for that it was a new thing, and of dangerous conſequence: But to Duke *Maurice* and his Brother *Auguſtus* they write, That they ſhould with all ſpeed march out of their Country as Friends; for that otherwiſe they would conſider on't, and take the beſt courſe they could. King *Ferdinand* writes back to them, *March* the twenty ſixth, That they needed not be afraid, ſince he was only come to thoſe places, that he might be ready to joyn the Emperour, who now drew nigh: And then writes to the Citizens of *Prague*, That they ſhould not put themſelves to any unneceſſary Charge; for that the Duke of *Saxony* was retreated. This Duke had ſent *Nicholas Minquitz* Embaſſador to *Bohemia*, to renew the ancient League; but he falling ſick by the way, and not being able to reach *Prague*, wrote to the *Bohemians*, earneſtly deſiring that they would commiſſionate ſome truſty Perſons with whom he might negotiate the Affair. The *Bohemian* Nobles having received theſe Letters on the twenty eighth day of *March*, write to the Duke of *Saxony* from *Prague*, and acquaint him with what *Minquitz* had deſired of them: That, moreover, they earneſtly deſired they could gratifie him, as they did acknowledge it was but juſt it ſhould be ſo; but that they were hindred by dangerous Times and preſent Troubles; for that Duke *Maurice* and his Brother were, at the inſtigation of King *Ferdinand*, ready with an Army to fall upon them: That however, they deſired he would not ſo underſtand them, as if they were unwilling to renew the League; for that they were reſolved indeed to keep it, and to perſiſt in their ancient Friendſhip, no leſs than if it were now renewed: That they would alſo endeavour to confirm it with the firſt opportunity; for that Forces were levied therefore, and Hoſtilities intended againſt them, becauſe they ſtuck to their League, and refuſed to ſerve in the Wars: That therefore it was their Requeſt to him, That if Duke *Maurice* ſhould proceed, he would aſſiſt them; which if he did, there was no kind of danger but they would undergo to ſerve him: That King *Ferdinand* was now at *Brux*, and would from thence march with his Forces into *Joachimſchall*, as it was reported by ſome: That if it proved ſo, they were reſolved within a few days after to march with their whole Army whither it ſhould ſeem neceſſary and expedient. *March* the thirtieth, they write to the Nobility of *Moravia*, entreating them, That according to their mutual League, they would arm and joyn them with all expedition, that their common Country might be defended from that Sodomitical kind of Men the *Spaniards* and *Huſſars*, whom the Emperour and King *Ferdinand* were bringing againſt them.

Ferdinand anſwers the *Bohemians.*

Saxony's Embaſſador to the *Bohemians.*

The *Bohemians* Letter to the *Moravians.*

Francis the *French* King dies, to whom *Henry* ſucceeds.

Francis King of *France* died the laſt of *March*, in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, at *Rambolet*, a days Journey from *Paris*: His Succeſſor was *Henry* his Son, a young man of about twenty eight years of age. He preſently recalled the Conſtable *Anne* of *Momorencie*, who had now lived privately for almoſt ſix years, as has been ſaid before, reſtored him to his former Charge, and had him in great eſteem. They who had been chief Courtiers before, fall partly into diſgrace, and are partly removed and caſt into Priſon. Theſe were the Cardinal of *Tournon*, *Anebaud* the Admiral, *Grinian* Governour of *Provence*, the Duke of *Longueville*, *Bayardus*, *Poulin*, and eſpecially Madam *d'Eſtampes*, who had been the King's Darling. The Death of King *Francis* was fatal to learned and ſtudious men; for no man was a greater Lover nor more bountiful Promoter of Liberal Arts and Sciences. He had by long Converſation acquired a great deal of Knowledge: For at Dinner and Supper his chief delight was to talk of Learning, entertaining for that end one *James Gollin*, a knowing man, and veay eloquent in his Mother tongue; and next to him, *Peter de Caſtellane*. From them he had all the Learning of the Poets, Hiſtorians, and Coſmographers: What *Ariſtotle*, *Theophraſtus*, *Pliny*, and others, had written of Plants, Herbs, Animals, Metals, Precious Stones, *&c.* he had, as has been ſaid, by frequent and daily Converſe and Repetition, rendred familiar to him. He diſcourſed often alſo of Mathematicks and Divinity. His Table was always ſurrounded by great men of all Profeſſions, and as it was uſual to diſcourſe there of various Subjects, it was odds but that one or other would ſtart ſome curious matter; and that every one might do, provided they were any way known. The King's Example and Inclination incited many to diligence and pains, that with greater applauſe they might reaſon and diſcourſe before him. In his own Language he was always reckoned very eloquent and grave. He entertained men in *Italy* and *Greece*, to find out and tranſcribe for him the Writings of old Authors; and

A change of Affairs in the *French* Court.

Francis the *Mecenas* of Scholars.

His Learning.

and he erected a moſt copious Library of which *de Caſtellane* was the Keeper, that furniſhed the publick afterward with ſome famous pieces. A little before he departed this life, he ſent to the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave*, to each an hundred thouſand Crowns for carrying on the War, and that Money was ſcarcely delivered when he died. About the ſame time the Embaſſadours of the *Proteſtants* returned from *England* into *France*, that they might diſpatch the reſt of their buſineſs; and as after they went thither they found King *Henry*, ſo when they returned from thence, they alſo found King *Francis* at the point of death. So that this alſo was a great acceſſion to the Emperours fortune, that two moſt powerful Kings, who neither wanted opportunity, nor, as moſt men thought, inclination to hinder and retard his deſigns, died much about the ſame time. Thoſe Imperial Forces, which having reduced ſome great men, and taken *Minden*, marched to *Bremen*, as we ſaid, about the end of this month met with a check, having loſt their General *Grunning* Governour of *Zelandt*. And ſeeing the Forces of *Bremen* were increaſed by the conjunction of the *Hamburghers*, *Urisberger*, who by his death fell to be Commander in chief, removed his Camp, and fetching a long compaſs about, becauſe of Mariſhes that interpoſed, began to beſiege the Town at another place. Not long after Duke *Erick* of *Brunſwick*, whom on the 15th of *March* the Emperour diſmiſſed at *Nordlingen*, that he might go and raiſe freſh Troops, came thither alſo, bringing his new Forces with him. The Emperour, leaving *Nordlingen*, went to *Norimberg*, and from thence to *Egra*, a Town belonging to King *Ferdinand*, upon the skirts of *Bohemia*. The King had ſeveral times commanded thoſe of *Prague* to lay down their arms; and the reſt of the States being by them informed of this, *April* the fourth they write back to him. That the reaſon why they had taken up Arms, and marched with their Forces, was that they might ſtand upon their own and Countries defence againſt any unjuſt Invaſion, eſpecially now that he was abſent: In the mean time they begg'd of him, that he would intercede with the Emperour not to purſue the War againſt the Duke of *Saxony*, but refer the matter to an amicable Arbitration: they alſo deſire that he would call a Convention of States as he had promiſed.

1547.

A famous Library.

His liberality towards the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave*.

The death of the Kings of *England* and *France*, advantageous to the Emperor.

The overthrow of an Imperial Army.

Grunning dies: *Bremen* beſieged.

The *Bohemians* Letter to King *Ferdinand*.

Much about this time the Emperour came to *Egra*, and *April* the 7th, the day after King *Ferdinand* and Duke *Maurice* arrived there, wrote to all the States of *Bohemia*, and having repeated what he wrote the month before, he told them that his deſigne was only againſt the Duke of *Saxony*: that therefore they ſhould ſupply him with Proviſions, furniſh him Corn, and return home; for that otherwiſe, both he and his Brother King *Ferdinand* would take it very ill: That they needed not to be in any apprehenſions, as concerning the matter of Religion; for that during the whole War he had moleſted no man for his Conſcience. At the ſame time the Commiſſioners who were at *Prague*, ſend Letters again into all parts, earneſtly importuning the States, that they would in all haſt arm and come to the defence of their Country; which was now in extream danger. King *Ferdinand*, *April* the 11th, anſwers their laſt Letters from *Egra*, writing much to the ſame effect that the Emperour had done: That they would therefore deſiſt from their Enterprize; if not, that he would take a courſe to bridle that raſhneſs of theirs: That he wondered exceedingly they ſhould intercede for the Duke of *Saxony*, ſince he deſerved no ſuch thing neither of the Emperour, nor of himſelf, nor yet of *Bohemia*: That as to the Convention of States they deſired, he ſhould do what was fitting as to that. In the mean time the Duke of *Saxony* advancing, takes *Friburg*, and *Meiſen*, a Town lying upon the *Elbe*, from Duke *Maurice*.

The Emperors Letter to the States of *Bohemia*.

The *Bohemians* prepare for War againſt King *Ferdinand*'s Forces.

King *Ferdinand* writes to his *Bohemians*.

Saxony takes ſome Towns from Duke *Maurice*.

About this time alſo the Fathers of *Trent* remove to *Bolonia*, and made no more Decrees after that Seſſion wherein they treated of the Sacraments as we mentioned before. The cauſe of their departure was given out to be the unwholſomneſs of the Air of the place, in the judgment of *Jerome Fracaſtorius* of *Verona*, who was Phyſician to the Council, and had a Salary from the Pope of threeſcore Dukats a month. The Emperour was highly offended at the matter, and commanded the Biſhops and Divines of his Dominions not to ſtir a foot from *Trent*. So that the Council was divided, one part of it being at *Trent*, and the other at *Bolonia*. When the Emperour came to *Norimberg* from *Nordlingen*, *Maximilian* Count of *Buren* who kept *Franckfurt* with a Garriſon of twelve Companies of Foot, and about four hundred Horſe, being ſent for, came thither to him;

Some of the Fathers of the Council of *Trent* go to *Bolonia*.

The Count of *Buren* holds *Franckfurt*.

1547. him; and returning afterwards to *Franckfurt* again, *April* the 12th he cauſed two perſons to be put to death; of whom one, named *William Verden*, was a Townſman, but the other, *John Gelluſe*, a Subject of the *Landgraves*. The reaſon why they were put to death was, that they were ſaid to have been ſuborned by the *Landgrave*, to get a Smith to make and ſell them the Keys of one of the Gates; to ſet fire to the Town in four ſeveral places; to nail up the Canon; by the help of their Aſſociates to kill the Count of *Buren*, his Friends and Attendants, the Conſul and Senate of the Town, in the hurry and confuſion of the fire; and to poyſon the Fountains and Wells of the Town, and eſpecially that which ſerved the Count of *Buren*'s Kitchin, and another in the Court. Afterwards there was a Writing publiſhed, declaring that they had confeſſed the Conſpiracy in Priſon, and owned the ſame at the place of execution. But the *Landgrave* purged himſelf, affirming, that ſince *Franckfurt* fell into the Emperours hands, he had never attempted any thing, and confuting the Crimes objected againſt him by many and weighty reaſons. That ſometimes, indeed, he had ordered *John Gelluſe*, to inform himſelf what way the Emperour and Count of *Buren* marched with their Forces, and that that was all. Now if through the violent pain they ſuffered on the Rack, they confeſſed what was falſe, and thereby wronged not only others, but himſelf alſo, he hoped that no man would therefore entertain the worſe opinion of him; that it was dangerous and unſafe to lay any ſtreſs upon what was extorted from men by over-rigorous torture; whereof this was a proof, that they themſelves when they were brought to execution, declared thoſe very perſons innocent, whom they had named before as Complices in the Conſpiracy. *April* the 13th the Commiſſioners at *Prague* writ again to the States of the Kingdom, and earneſtly adviſe them to fulfil the League which they had with the Houſe of *Saxony*: they complain alſo that it hath been already infringed by ſome, and therefore command that it be punctually obſerved by all for the future. The ſame day they write to King *Ferdinand*, praying that he nor the Emperour would not be offended at theſe their military proceedings, nor attack the Elector of *Saxony*; firſt, becauſe of the League they are mutually bound in, and then becauſe he was deſirous the Cauſe might be brought to a fair tryal. The very ſame day alſo, King *Ferdinand* ſent *John* Biſhop of *Olmuntz*, and ſome other Counſellors, to the Convention of States at *Prague*, which was appointed to meet the 18th day of *April*. By them he excuſes himſelf that he could not come in perſon; and then demands of them, that they would annul the League they lately made, and lay down their Arms; for that otherwiſe there could be no free Convention. If this were denied, the Commiſſioners had inſtructions to treat no farther: but if they obeyed, then to proceed in courſe, however to determine nothing, but refer all to him. The Emperour the ſame day ſet out from *Egra*, accompanied by his Brother King *Ferdinand*, who had with him ſix hundred *Cuiraſſiers*, a thouſand *Huſſars*, and ten Enſigns of foot. Duke *Maurice* and his Brother *Auguſtus*, were alſo there, with as many men. At length, after ten days continual march, on the 22th of *April* he came near to *Meiſen*, where the Duke of *Saxony* then was; who having intelligence of this, drew out of the Town, burnt the wooden Bridge, and encamped near to *Mulberg* upon the *Elbe*. But the Emperour fearing that he might retreat to *Wittemberg*, a ſtrong well-garriſoned Town, and the Capital of that Province, he thought it was his beſt way to uſe diligence; ordering the Army then, after a days reſt, to march forward, *April* the 24th, he came in the morning to the *Elbe*. On the other ſide of the River the Duke of *Saxony* had placed ſeveral bodies of men with Field-pieces, to hinder the Emperour from making a Bridge or foarding over the River, and alſo to defend the Bridge of Boats which he himſelf had. But when they ſaw that the Emperour was upon them with his whole Army, and that a body of about a thouſand *Spaniards* that leaped into the water above the middle, fired thick and furiouſly upon them, they ſet fire to the Boats, which burnt part of them, and by little and little fell off from the Bank. With that ſome Spaniſh Foot threw themſelves naked into the River, with their Swords in their mouths, and ſwimming over to the other ſide, ſtopt thoſe Boats, which, after the *Saxons* had broken them off from the reſt of the Bridge, were carried down with the ſtream; and though they were fired at from all hands, brought them off. Afterwards a Bridge was made of them and ſome other Boats which came along with the Imperial Army in

Two men put to death at *Franckfurt*.

The *Landgrave*'s Juſtification.

The *Bohemians* friends to the Duke of *Saxony*.

King *Ferdinand*'s Commiſſioners to the Convention of the *Bohemians*.

Ferdinand's Army.

The Emperor's Expedition againſt the Duke of *Saxony*.

in Waggons, for paſſing over the Foot and Baggage. In this juncture of affairs, the Duke of *Saxony*, who then was hearing a Sermon, having ſent his Baggage and Carriages away firſt, follows after himſelf, and directs his march to *Wittemberg*. But the Emperour who perceived that all depended on diligence and diſpatch, having found out a Foard, orders the *Huſſars* and Light-horſemen firſt to paſs over the River, and then he himſelf follows with the Cuiraſſiers, and paſt it without danger. Wherefore not thinking it convenient to ſtay till the Foot and Carriage were got over, he advances, and three miles beyond the *Elbe* finds the Duke of *Saxony* at the Foreſt of *Lochawer*; there having made a ſhort Speech to encourage his Souldiers, he engages the Enemy. The Army, which conſiſted wholly of Cavalry, were divided into two bodies. In the Van were the Duke of *Alva*, *Lanoy*, *Antonio Tolerano*, *Baptiſta Spinelli*, and Duke *Maurice*; the other and main Body was commanded by the Emperour in perſon, King *Ferdinand* and his two Sons, and the Son of the Duke of *Savoy*. The Duke of *Saxony* might have made his part good againſt all that Force, and perhaps had the better on't too, if all his Army had been together. But he had left conſiderable Garriſons in *Wittemberg*, and here and there all over the Country, and *William Thunſern*, with the Forces under his command, was abſent, nor could they all be got together in time, conſidering what haſt the Emperour made. So that after a bloudy fight, which laſted till night, he was at length over-powred by number, and having received a wound in the left cheek, whilſt he bravely defended himſelf, was taken and brought to the Duke of *Alva* firſt, and then carried before the Emperour. So ſoon as he came into his preſence, *I yield my ſelf your Priſoner, moſt gracious Soveraign*, ſaid he, *and pray you that I may be kept and uſed like a Prince.* To whom the Emperour, *Am I now your Soveraign then*, ſaid he? *you ſhall be uſed as you deſerve.* But King *Ferdinand* was a little more ſharp upon him, and upbraided him for having attempted to out him and his Children of all they had. Duke *Erneſt* of *Brunſwick*, the Son of Duke *Philip*, was taken with him; but the Elector's eldeſt Son being wounded, eſcaped to *Wittemberg*. There was a vaſt number of Priſoners taken; and about four hundred eſcaped by flight, and came to *Wittemberg*, amongſt whom were Count *Bichling* and *Recrode*. The Horſe that purſued the Fugitives, got a vaſt deal of Booty, and took all the Artillery and Ammunition that the Duke of *Saxony*, as we ſaid, had ſent before. The day that the Emperour came near to *Meiſen* which was the 22th of *April*, as alſo the next day, the day he paſt the River and fought, and ſome days after the Sun lookt very dull, obſcure and pale, and as if it had been environed with a kind of Miſt, ſo that moſt people who lived very far from *Saxony*, and were ignorant of what was doing, judged that ſome great matter was thereby portended. Nor was that only obſerved in *Germany*, but in *France* and *England* alſo, as many thouſands of people can witneſs.

1547.

The Emperours celerity in overtaking the *Saxons*.

The Elector of *Saxony* made Priſoner.

Duke *Erneſt* of *Brunſwick* taken.

A Prodigy of the Sun.

Mention has been made before of the Commiſſioners of King *Ferdinand* that were ſent to the Convention of States at *Prague*; but the Peers of the Realm having heard their demands, return anſwer, That in making a League and taking up Arms, they had done nothing amiſs, nor contrary to the cuſtom of *Bohemia*. They next reſolve that Deputies ſhould be ſent to King *Ferdinand*, to repreſent the ſame thing to him, and to beſeech him to intercede with the Emperour for the Duke of *Saxony*. But before the Deputies were diſpatched, a Courier from King *Ferdinand* brought the news of the Emperour's Victory, and of the taking of the Duke. Then changing their reſolution, they promiſe to furniſh Proviſions and Corn, and beſeech King *Ferdinand* to uſe his intereſt with the Emperour, that all that Army might be led into *Hungary* againſt the *Turk*, of whoſe approach they had frequent reports: that other Kings might alſo be moved to joyn in the War; and if that ſucceeded, that they ſhould not be the laſt. The Duke of *Saxony* being taken, the Emperour marches to *Wittemberg*, and arrived there with his whole Army the 4th of *May*. There, three days after he condemns *John Frederick* to death for Rebellion, as he ſaid: When this came to his ears, he ſhew'd no ſign of a dejected mind, onely made anſwer, That he did not expect the Emperour would have uſed him in that manner: That nevertheleſs if he were firmly reſolved it ſhould be ſo, he deſired to be certainly informed of it, that he might have time to order ſome affairs relating to his Wife and Children. But the Elector of *Brandenburg* having received news of the Battle, immediatly ſet out upon his Journey, and arriving at the Camp on the ſixth of *May*, mitigated the

King *Ferdinand*'s Commiſſioners to the *Bohemians*, and their Deputies to him.

The Duke of *Saxony* condemned to death by the Emperour.

The great fortitude of *Saxony*.

Brandenburg's interceſſion for *Saxony*.

1547. the Emperour, and prevailed with him to alter his Sentence, and ſave the Duke of *Saxony*'s life. The Emperour thereupon propounded Conditions, which being accepted and ratified by the Duke, he redeemed his life. Amongſt other Conditions preſcribed unto him, this was one: That he ſhould approve whatever the Council or Emperour did decree concerning Religion; but when he would by no means conſent to that, perſevering in his reſolution in ſpight of all danger, the Emperour commanded that Article to be ſtruck out. The other Conditions were, That he renounce the Electoral Dignity both for himſelf and Children, and refer it to the Emperour to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure: That he deliver up to the Emperour, *Wittemberg* and *Gothen*, the other Bulwark of the Country, yet ſo, as he may carry out all the Furniture and Proviſions, except a third part of the Artillery and Victuals; the Emperour ſuffering the Garriſons to march out, but without Colours. That *Saxony* give Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg* his liberty without a ranſom, and reſtore all that was taken from him; and the Emperour on the other hand, diſmiſſes Duke *Erneſt* of *Brunſwick*, having firſt made him promiſe fidelity. That the Duke of *Saxony* reſtore what has been taken in this War from thoſe of *Mansfield*, the Maſter of *Pruſſia*, and the people of *Solms*: That he renounce all title to *Magdenburg*, *Halberſtadt*, and *Hall*: That he promiſe to ſubmit to the Imperial Chamber, which the Emperour ſhall conſtitute, and contribute to the charges thereof: That he give his conſent to the releaſing of *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* and his Son, and commence no action againſt them: That he forſake all Leagues made againſt the Emperour and King *Ferdinand*, and make none for the future, wherein they, their Provinces and Allies ſhall not be comprehended: That all his Goods and Chattels be confiſcated to the Emperour, which he beſtows upon his Brother King *Ferdinand* and Duke *Maurice*; but ſo, that Duke *Maurice* give him and his Children a yearly Penſion of fifty thouſand *Florins*: That if it ſeem good to the Emperour, the Duke of *Saxony* ſhall, by Duke *Maurice*'s permiſſion, retain the Town and Caſtle of *Gothen*, with all the Profits thereof, but that he ſhall diſmantle the Caſtle, and not fortifie the Town. That becauſe the Duke of *Saxony* was greatly in debt, Duke *Maurice* ſhall, for the payment of thoſe Debts that were contracted before the League of *Smalcalde*, give his Children a Supply of an hundred thouſand *Florins*: Again, that he ſhall pay all the other Debts wherewith the confiſcated Lands given him by the Emperour, are aſſerted; ſo that all the Suits and Controverſies betwixt them may by this means be ended: That the Duke attempt nothing againſt any who ſerved the Emperour, nor againſt the King of *Denmark* neither: That he ſhall obſerve the Decrees of the Emperour and States of the Empire: That ſince the Emperour has pardoned his life, he ſhall for the future remain Priſoner, and be in the cuſtody of the Emperour, or of his Son the Prince of *Spain*: That his Children enjoy thoſe Goods, as has been ſaid, provided they and the people of the Country approve and ratifie the Conditions of Peace. That *Albert* Count *Mansfield* and his Children, Count *Bichling*, the *Rhingrave*, *Recrode*, and *Thumſern* be excepted out of the Peace; though the laſt, if within a month he disband his Forces, ſhall be comprehended. Before theſe things were tranſacted, the Emperour from his Camp before *Wittemberg*, *May* the ſixth, ſummons the States of the Empire to meet at *Ulm* the 15th of *June*, in order to the entering into a League. The Deputies he ſent thither were, the Cardinal of *Ausburg*, Marqueſs *John* of *Brandenburg*, *De Lire*, and *Henry Haſin*. King *Ferdinand* ſent alſo Embaſſadors thither.

The Conditions propoſed by the Emperour to *Saxony*.

Albert of *Brandenburg*, and *Erneſt* of *Brunſwick*, ſet at liberty.

Who were excluded out of the Peace.

A Diet of the Empire at *Ulm*.

To what the Commiſſioners at *Prague* lately ſaid, that in making of a League, they had done nothing new, or contrary to the cuſtom of the Country, King *Ferdinand* gives his Anſwer from the Camp before *Wittemberg*, *May* the 15th, that it was a thing altogether ſtrange and new, and done in prejudice and contempt of his authority: Then he lays before them what they had acted in his abſence, how many ways they had rebelled, and by variety of Arguments endeavours to prove that that League was made againſt the Emperour and him: He charges them therefore to aboliſh and reſcind the ſame, to deliver to every one their Seals back again, and to put the draught of the League into the hands of his Commiſſioners; which if they did not, that he ſhould adviſe what was to be done. Though the Emperour had capitulated with the Duke of *Saxony*, as we told you, yet the Garriſon of *Wittemberg* conſiſting of about 3000 men, and the Citizens alſo refuſed to ſurrender the place, unleſs their Prince himſelf would command them: for the Towns-people were extreamly terrified at the licentiouſneſs of the Souldiery,

King *Ferdinand*'s Letter to the *Bohemians*.

Souldiery, when from the very Walls they could ſee what miſchief was done in the Country about, eſpecially by the *Spaniards* and *Hungarians*. Therefore when on the one and twentieth day of *May* the Brother and Son of the Duke of *Saxony*, with ſome Counſellors, who were come from the Town to him in the Camp, he diſcharges them of their Military Oath, and orders them within three days to depart, and leave the Place. The Towns-people having received theſe Orders, beſeech the Emperour, that he would not ſuffer the Forreign Soldiers to enter the Town. He promiſed it to them, and made good his word, giving them power to keep out all who ſhould offer to preſs in without expreſs Orders from him. The Town being then ſurrendred, the Dutcheſs of *Saxony*, *Sibylla* of *Cleve*, attended by her Son and Brother-in-law, came into the Camp, where falling upon her Knees before the Emperour, with Floods of Tears ſhe begg'd Favour for her Husband. The Emperour received her moſt graciouſly, and comforted her, giving the Duke leave alſo to go into the Town, and ſpend a whole Week with his Wife and Children. The ſame day that the Garriſon marched out by the Duke of *Saxony*'s order, the Emperour ſent in ſome *German* Foot, under the Command of *Nicholas Madruccio*. Two days after, King *Ferdinand*, with his Sons, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and Duke *Maurice*, went into the Town, only to ſee it; and after a ſhort ſtay there, returned again to the Camp. In the afternoon the Emperour alſo entred the Town, and going into the Caſtle, ſaluted the Dutcheſs of *Saxony*, again comforting her, and bidding her take heart, and not be diſcouraged.

1547.

The Duke of *Saxony* diſcharges the Soldiers in *Wittemberg* of their Military Oath, and then they ſurrender the Place to the Emperour.

The Dutcheſs of *Saxony* makes interceſſion to the Emperour for her Husband.

We ſpoke before of the Death of *Francis* King of *France*, who on the twenty fourth of *May* was buried in the Church of St. *Denis*, the Burying-place of their Kings, and with him two of his Sons, *Francis* and *Charles*; of whom the firſt died eleven years, and the other two years before, but were kept unburied till now. In the mean time, whilſt Preparations were making for the Funerals of King *Francis*, for ſome days his Effigies, in moſt rich Apparel, with his Crown, Scepter, and other Regal Ornaments, lay upon a Bed of State, and at certain Hours Dinner and Supper was ſerved up before it, with the very ſame Solemnity as was commonly performed when he was alive. When the Regal Ornaments were taken off, they clothed the Effigies in Mourning; and eight and forty Mendicant Friers were always preſent, who continually ſung Maſſes and Diriges for the Soul departed. About the Corps were placed fourteen great Wax Tapers, and over againſt it two Altars, on which from Day-light to Noon Maſſes were ſaid; beſides what were ſaid in an adjoyning Chappel alſo, full of Tapers and other Lights. Four and twenty Monks, with Wax Tapers in their Hands, were ranked about the Hearſe wherein the Corps was carried, and before it marched fifty poor men in Mourning, every one with a Taper in his Hand. Amongſt other Nobles, there was eleven Cardinals preſent. *Peter Caſtelan* Biſhop of *Maſcon*, whom we mentioned before, preached the Funeral Sermon; and amongſt many other things ſaid in praiſe of the King, he told the Hearers, That he intended to have erected a Colledge, wherein all Arts and Languages were to have been taught, and ſix hundred Students entertained; for which end it ſhould have been endowed with a yearly Revenue of Fifty thouſand Crowns.

The Funeral of King *Francis*.

Mention has been made before of Duke *Erick* of *Brunſwick*; but now, that he might defend his own Lands, he leaves the Siege of *Bremen*: *Urisberger*, who commanded the other part of the Army, did the like, and both together appointed a place where they ſhould joyn their Forces again. But Duke *Erick* fell in with an Enemy; and that was the *Hamburghers*, who were coming to the Relief of *Bremen*. It was obſtinately fought on both Hands, even till Night; but Duke *Erick* being at length put to flight, and forced with his Cavalry into the River of *Weſer*, loſt a great many of his Men, beſides all his Ordnance. However, he eſcaped ſafe, and came to the Emperour; to whom he excuſed himſelf, laying all the blame upon *Urisberger*, who did not come to his aſſiſtance. With the *Bremers* were *Albert* Count *Mansfield*, Count *Heideck*, *Thumſern*, *Conrad Pheninghen*, and many more; but after the Duke of *Saxony* had made his Peace with the Emperour, all theſe Forces were ſcattered.

Duke *Erick* of *Brunſwick* defeated.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing, Duke *Maurice* and the Elector of *Brandenburg* earneſtly intercede for the *Landgrave*: And that the matter might be managed with more convenience, they invite him to come to *Leipſick*. But when the

The Interceſſion of Duke *Maurice* and the Elector of *Brandenburg* for the *Landgrave*.

1547. the Emperour ſtood poſitively upon this, That he ſhould render himſelf up without any Condition, and put all his Caſtles and Ammunition into his Hands, he went home again without Succeſs, and that day got as far as *Weiſefels*, four *German* miles from *Leipſick*. Next day diſcourſing on the Road about the Conditions propoſed, and his own Fortune, with *Chriſtopher Ebleben*; *Were I but ſure*, ſaid he, *that the Emperour would be entreated, ſuffer me to return home, and let me have but one of my Caſtles furniſhed with Guns, I ſhould not refuſe, for Peace ſake, to demoliſh all the reſt, and deliver up the Ordnance.* Then ſaid *Ebleben*, *I'll not fail to inform Duke* Maurice *of what you ſay; and within a few days you ſhall either ſee me again, or hear from me: In the mean time I beſeech you not to think of taking any other Courſe.* Having been to wait upon Duke *Maurice* then, he returned ſhortly after, bringing with him Letters both from Duke *Maurice* and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, dated at the Camp before *Wittemberg* the fourth day of *June*, which were to this purpoſe: That ſo ſoon as they had underſtood more of his mind from *Ebleben*, they had acquainted the Emperour with it: That he might ſee what they had obtained, in the Draught of the Articles of Peace which *Ebleben* brought along with him; and that they doubted not, ſince the Conditions were tolerable, but that he would embrace them, eſpecially ſeeing he was ſenſible of the greatneſs of his own Danger: That he ſhould not then refuſe them, but ſubmit himſelf to the Emperour without any Condition: That he had no reaſon to fear, that the Emperour would impoſe any heavier Burden upon him, or detain him Priſoner; for that they would become Sureties that he ſhould not, and that if any thing ſhould be demanded of him more than what was contained in the Articles now ſent by *Ebleben*, or if he ſhould be detained Priſoner, they would not refuſe to undergo the ſame Fortune, and be ready to give all ſatisfaction to his Children, when demanded of them: That as to his Religion, he ſhould have the ſame Security that they and Marqueſs *John* already had; which being ſo, and ſeeing that this Pacification tended not only to his own private Advantage, but to the good of the Publick alſo, they moſt earneſtly deſired him, that he would come with all expedition, bringing with him *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* and his Son, and relie upon their Word of Honour for his Safety: That he needed not fear *Brunſwick* might be taken from him by force on the Road; for that they would take all the danger upon them; and that ſo ſoon as he did ſet out upon his Journey, a Party of Horſe ſhould meet him on the way, and guard him from all Attempts.

Chriſtopher Ebleben.

Duke *Maurice*'s Letter to the *Landgrave.*

The Articles of Peace.

Theſe were the Articles of Peace: *That he ſurrender his Perſon and Province into the Emperour's Hands without any Condition: That he come himſelf and humbly beg the Emperour's Pardon: That for the future he behave himſelf obediently and dutifully towards the Emperour: That he obſerve the Decrees which the Emperour ſhall make for the Publick Good: That he ſhall ſubmit to the Sentence of the Imperial Chamber to be eſtabliſhed by the Emperour, and be at a proportionable part of the Charges of it: That he depart from all Leagues, chiefly that of* Smalcalde, *and put all the Writings he has of that kind into the Emperour's Hands: That he ſhall never make any League, wherein the Emperour and King* Ferdinand *are not comprehended: That he baniſh the Emperour's Enemies his Country: That if the Emperour think fit to puniſh any man, he ſhall in no ways undertake to defend him: That he give the Emperour free Paſſage through his Territories, when there ſhall be occaſion for it: That he ſeverely puniſh thoſe under his Juriſdiction, who ſhall ſerve againſt the Emperour or King* Ferdinand: *That thoſe who are now in actual Service, he recal, and command them to depart from their Colours within a Fortnight, upon pain of Confiſcation of all their Goods and Chattels, which ſhall in that caſe fall to the Emperour: That for the Charges of the War, he pay an hundred and fifty thouſand* Florins *to the Emperour within four Months: That he raze to the Ground all the Caſtles and Forts he has, except* Zeigenheim *or* Caſſell; *and that he make the Officers and Soldiers of the Garriſons that he ſhall put into the ſame, take an Oath to be true to the Emperour: That he ſhall not hereafter fortifie any Place, without the Emperour's leave: That he forthwith deliver up all his Artillery and Ammunition into the Emperour's hands; of which the Emperour ſhall beſtow upon him as much as ſhall be thought ſufficient for the defence of that Place which the Emperour is to give him: That he ſet at liberty* Henry *Duke of* Brunſwick *and his Son, and reſtore to Duke* Henry *his Province, diſcharging his People of the Oath of Fidelity they took to him, and compounding with the Duke for the Damage done unto him: That he make Reſtitution of what he violently took from the Maſter of*

Pruſſia

Pruſſia *and the reſt: That he attempt nothing againſt the King of* Danemark, *or any elſe, upon account that they did not aſſiſt him, or were on the Emperour's ſide: That he diſcharge all Priſoners who ſerved the Emperour without any Ranſom: That he ſhall appear and anſwer to all Suits of Law that may be brought againſt him by any man: That his Children ratifie theſe Conditions: The ſame ſhall his Nobility, and other his Subjects do alſo.; and that if he obſerve not his Covenants, they ſhall apprehend him, and deliver him up to the Emperour: That for his performance of all theſe Conditions, the Elector of* Brandenburg, *Duke* Maurice, *and* Wolffgang *the Prince Palatine's Son-in-law, ſhall be his Sureties, and, unleſs he obey, promiſe to employ all their Force againſt him, and compel him to perform his Articles.* 1547.

The *Landgrave* accepts the Conditions.

After the *Landgrave* had received theſe Articles, with the common Conſent and Aſſent of his States, he accepted them; yet ſo as that he deſired a fuller Explication to be made to him as to ſome Points. The Emperour being now about to remove his Camp, *June* the ſixth, draws the Garriſon of his Soldiers out of *Wittemberg*. Immediately thereupon, Duke *Maurice* puts one of his own in their place, and having the ſame day ſent for the Burgomaſters and Council into the Caſtle, he aſſures them, that he will not in the leaſt diminiſh their Priviledges and Liberty; and at the ſame time takes an Oath of them, that they ſhall be true and faithful to him. For *Wittemberg* is the chief Town of the Electorate, which the Emperour lately conferred upon Duke *Maurice*, when all the Goods and Chattels of *John Frederick* were confiſcated, as has been ſaid. Then the Towns-people and Nobility entreated Duke *Maurice*, that he would repair their Univerſity, which in the tumult and hurry of War was broken up and run into decay: That he promiſed to do, and at the ſame time ordered, that the Boors who had fled ſhould be called home again, promiſing to ſupply them with Materials for Building, and Corn for Seed and Suſtenance, the poorer ſort *gratis*, and the reſt to be paid again. He afterwards re-ſettles *Julius Pflug* in the poſſeſſion of the Biſhoprick of *Naumburg*, and turns out *Nicholas Amſtorſt*, who, as we ſaid in the Fourteenth Book, had been put in by *John Frederick*. Moreover, *Lazarus Schuendi* was by the Emperour ſent with a Party of Soldiers, to raze the Caſtle of *Gothen*, and ſet at liberty Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, who was there kept Priſoner. The Winter before the Archbiſhop of *Magdenburg* had tranſacted with *John Frederick*, as we ſaid, and reſigned to him the Province: but now, in this Turn of Fortune, both the Emperour and Clergy being vexed at it, *Frederick* Son to the Elector of *Brandenburg* was put upon him to be his Coadjutor.

Wittemberg falls to Duke *Maurice*.

Lazarus Schuendi razes *Gothen*.

King *Ferdinand* returning from the Camp at *Wittemberg* to *Bohemia*, ſtopp'd at *Leutmevitz*, a Town upon the Borders of it: From thence in the beginning of *June* he writes to all the States of *Bohemia*, complaining again of the League, which he ſaid was made in oppoſition to him: Wherefore he charges them to depart from it, and to write to him ſeverally what their Reſolution was as to that: That he knew many had been drawn in, and had erred through ignorance, whom he purpoſed to pardon, and intended not to call any to account but ſuch as had wilfully impeached his Authority.

King *Ferdinand's* Letter to the *Bohemians*.

What was done at the Diet of *Ulm*.

When the States were met at *Ulm*, the Emperour's Commiſſioners, whom we named, repreſent to them at large, how great care the Emperour and King *Ferdinand* had always had of the Peace and Quiet of *Germany*, in all their Actions, as well publick as private: But that without any regard thereunto had, the Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* had not only rebelled themſelves, but forced others alſo to do the like, and ſlighting all Law and Juſtice, had put all *Germany* into confuſion and diſorder: That therefore the Emperour was neceſſitated, for the ſupport of his Dignity and Authority, to take up Arms, and make War, to the great danger of his Perſon, and prejudice to his Exchequer: That it was very well known what damage thoſe Rebels and Outlaws had done to the Territories of *Mentz*, *Magdenburg*, *Halberſtadt*, *Aichſtadt*, *Ausburg*, *Fulde*, to the People of *Stolberg*, *Mansfield*, and the City of *Gemund*; and that ſince the Emperour bent all his thoughts to the keeping of *Germany* in peace, it ſeemed very requiſite unto him, that ſome League ſhould be made for that purpoſe: That King *Ferdinand* was of the ſame mind; and that both would enter into the Aſſociation, that ſo not only the preſent Troubles, but any other alſo that ſhould perhaps ariſe hereafter, might be eaſily quelled: So that they being reſolved to uſe their utmoſt diligence and endeavours for the welfare of the com-

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1547. mon Country, they expected the like mutually from them. But the Plague breaking out at *Ulm*, ſuperceded their Conſultations, and made them adjourn themſelves to *Ausbourg*; where the Emperour intended to hold a great Aſſembly of the Empire, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. All affairs being now ſetled at *Wittemberg*, the Emperour removes to *Hall* in *Saxony*, a Town lying upon the River *Saal*, intending from thence to march into *Heſſe*, if the *Landgrave* did not make his Peace.

This Diet is adjourned to *Ausbourg*.

The *Landgrave* being now in theſe ſtreights, and there being no other courſe for him to take, he reſolved to rely upon the promiſes and aſſurances given him by Duke *Maurice* and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and ſo ſetting out on his Journey, *June* the 18th, in the evening he arrived at *Hall*, riding on horſeback betwixt Duke *Maurice* and *Brandenburg*, who went to meet him as far as *Naumburg*. About an hour after came alſo *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, with his Son *Charles Victor*, that had been Priſoner, his other Son *Philip*, and Duke *Erick* of *Brunſwick*, who after the overthrow which he received in battle, as hath been ſaid, was lately come thither. Next morning, *Chriſtopher Carlebitz* coming to the *Landgrave*, preſents him the Articles of Peace to be ſigned, to which a new Clauſe was added; *That all the heads and points therein contained, ſhould be underſtood according to the Emperours meaning and interpretation*. Wherefore becauſe that Clauſe was not inſerted in the Draught which Duke *Maurice* and the Elector of *Brandenburg* ſent, the *Landgrave* ſends word to the Biſhop of *Arras*, that he could not ſign it. The Biſhop caſt the blame upon the negligence and omiſſion of the Clerk that tranſcribed them, and again urged him to ſign, which then he did. The Biſhop of *Arras* put it to him beſides, that ſince he would have the ſame ſecurity as to Religion, that Duke *Maurice* and the Elector of *Brandenburg* had, he ſhould on his part alſo engage and promiſe to the Emperour, to ſubmit to the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*. To which he made anſwer, That no ſuch thing had been mentioned to him before, nor was it ſpecified in the Articles of Peace; and that he had rather be without that ſecurity from the Emperour, than be obliged to give any ſuch Promiſe. But after a long debate about the matter, and ſome threats too, when he was told that the Emperour had already taken his ſeat in the Hall, expecting him, and was diſpleaſed with his delay, that therefore he ſhould make haſt, leſt it might go worſe with him; at length he thus ſubſcribed: *That he would ſubmit to the Decrees of a free, holy, and General Council, wherein both Head and Members might be reformed, as Duke* Maurice *and* Brandenburg *ſhould do; for they had promiſed him not to recede from the* Auguſtane *Confeſſion*. This being done, and the Emperour ſet on a Throne in his own Lodgings, the two Electors I named, introduce the *Landgrave*, who approaching the Emperour, fell upon his knees, and next to him his Chancellor *Guntherod*, who read aloud a Writing, to this purpoſe. *Foraſmuch, moſt mighty Emperour, as in the late War the* Landgrave *has grievouſly offended your Majeſty; ſo as that you may juſtly puniſh him with utmoſt rigour, he is moſt heartily ſorry for it, and therefore, as he promiſed before, wholly refers himſelf to your Majeſties will and pleaſure, and prays you by all that is ſacred, that according to your wonted clemency you would pardon his Fault, reverſe the Outlawry he hath incurred, reſtore him to his former ſtate, and take him and all his into your Majeſties protection: This he will look upon as the higheſt favour that can be conferred upon him, and be from henceforward loyal, dutiful, and obedient to your Majeſty in all things*. The Emperour after ſome deliberation, ordered *George Selden* to give his anſwer: *That though he had deſerved the ſevereſt of puniſhments, as was publickly known, and appeared alſo by his own confeſſion; yet he was content, out of his own generoſity, and becauſe ſome Princes had interceded for him, that he ſhould be acquitted of the proſcription and puniſhment he had deſerved; and that he ſhould ſuffer no more, neither by impriſonment nor fine, than what was preſcribed by the Articles of Peace: That he alſo pardoned his Nobility, Gentry, and Commons, provided they kept their Engagements, and hereafter acknowledged this his ſo gracious favour towards them.* There were preſent at this ſolemn ſubmiſſion and pacification, *Maximilian* Archduke of *Auſtria*, *Philibert* Prince of *Piedmont*, the Duke of *Alva*, the Maſter of *Pruſſia*, the Biſhops of *Arras*, *Naumburg*, and *Heildeſſeim*, *Henry Erick*, *Charles* and *Philip* Dukes of *Brunſwick*, the Popes Nuncio, and the Embaſſadours and Deputies of *Bohemia*, *Denmark*, *Cleve*, and of ſome free Sea-port-Towns, beſides many of the Nobility. The *Landgrave* thinking all ſafe, and well, thanked the Emperour; but having kneeled a little too long, and the Emperour making him no ſign to riſe, he roſe unbidden. A little after the E-

The *Landgrave* comes to the Emperour at *Hall*.

A Draught of the Articles of Peace preſented to the *Landgrave*, different from that which he had received.

The *Landgrave* ſignes the Articles of Peace.

The *Landgrave* begs Pardon of the Emperour.

The Emperour's Anſwer to the *Landgrave*, by the mouth of his Chancellor.

The *Landgrave* riſes from off his knees unbidden.

lector of *Brandenburg* approached, and told him, that he muſt ſup with Duke *Maurice* and him at the Duke of *Alva*'s Lodgings: nor could he all this while ſmell out any thing for all that. They went then to the Duke of *Alva*'s and ſupt. After Supper Duke *Maurice* and the Elector of *Brandenburg* fall into diſcourſe with the Duke of *Alva* and Biſhop of *Arras*, and the *Landgrave*, in the mean time, for diverſion play'd at Dice. When it was now late in the night, Duke *Maurice* and *Brandenburg* call him to them aſide, and bid *Euſtace* and *Eccleben* let him know in their names, That all their life-time they had behaved themſelves as became Princes and Men of Honour, and faithfully performed whatever they promiſed: That they had expected the ſame fidelity and honeſt dealing from others; but that now the Duke of *Alva* and Biſhop of *Arras* had told them, that he muſt lodge there that night, and have a Guard ſet over him; which was the greateſt grief and trouble that ever befel them: but that they would ſpeak with the Emperour himſelf, and were in good hopes that he would not be detained. To which he made anſwer, That that was the thing in the world he leaſt expected: that upon their word and aſſurance he had come thither; and that they knew well enough how they had bound themſelves to him and his Children, and that therefore they might look to't, how they would ſatisfie their Promiſe and Obligation. However, ſince there was a neceſſity of ſtaying, Duke *Maurice*, and ſome of *Brandenburg*'s Counſellors tarried with him all night. Next day they waited upon the Emperour, and made a heavy complaint to him, ſhewing him how much their Honour lay at ſtake: for that if there had been but the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch a thing, neither would they have adviſed him to come thither, nor would he have come to that place where he was to loſe his liberty. They therefore beſeech his Majeſty, that he would have regard to thoſe who had mediated, and give him leave to be gone, ſince they had engaged their Faith and Honour unto him, that it ſhould be ſo. The Emperour told them, That he had, indeed, paſt his word, not that he ſhould not at all be detained, but that he ſhould not be made a perpetual Priſoner, and that was all he meant. From the Emperour they went to his Counſellors, and chiefly to the Biſhop of *Arras*: After a long and brisk Debate, they ſend the *Landgrave* word, that he had liberty to be gone if he pleaſed: *With all my heart*, replied he, *provided I may be conducted home in ſafety*. Here again his two Friends intercede, but all in vain: for two days after he had notice given him, that he ſhould prepare to go along with the Emperour; but that he flatly refuſed, declaring that he would not budge, unleſs he were dragg'd by force. There again Duke *Maurice* and *Brandenburg* earneſtly beſought and adjured him not to refuſe; and the more to encourage him, gave him their hands, in preſence of ſome Noblemen, that they would not depart from the Emperour's Court, till he had his liberty. Having gone with him then to *Naumburg*, they went afterwards to ſollicite his affair with the Emperour. But three days after, to wit, *June* the 26th, they ſend *Carlebitz* to him, to pray him that he would not take it ill that they waited not upon the Emperour any longer, for that he had plainly charged them not to do it; and that if they ſhould do otherwiſe, he would be ſent away into *Spain*: That nevertheleſs they underſtood, that if he would pay in the hundred and fifty thouſand *Florins*, and faithfully promiſe to fulfil the reſt of the Conditions, he would be ſet at liberty within a fortnight: that they were to go ſhortly to the Diet at *Ausbourg*, where they would beſtir themſelves in his Cauſe with all zeal, fidelity, and diligence. The *Landgrave* who ſuffered his confinement very impatiently, made anſwer, That he would take care the money ſhould be payed, and his Caſtles demoliſhed, and therefore truſted that what they had put him in hopes of would be fulfilled. Afterwards, when he was come out of the Borders of *Thuringe*, and arrived at *Grevetall* with his *Spaniards*, he ſhew'd the Duke of *Alva* his Letters of ſafe conduct, and obligation of ſurety: But *Alva* told him that the Emperour had promiſed nothing to the Mediators, but that he ſhould not be kept in perpetual impriſonment. *And what is to be the term and period of this Captivity then*, ſaid the *Landgrave*, *or by what ſpace of time is it to be limited? Though the Emperour ſhould detain you for the ſpace of fourteen years or more*, ſaid *Alva*, *yet he would do nothing contrary to his promiſe*. The *Landgrave* then, that he might recover his liberty as ſoon as he could, payed in all the Money not long after, razed his Caſtles, and delivered up his Artillery. Now the Emperour had got a vaſt number of great Guns, partly from him, partly from the Dukes of *Saxony*

1547.

The *Landgrave*'s Captivity.

The Remonſtrance of Duke *Maurice* and *Brandenburg*'s Counſellors to the Emperour.

1547. and *Wirtemberg*, and the Free Towns, which, as they ſay, amounted to Fifty in number. Of theſe he ſent ſome to *Milan*, ſome to *Naples*, others to *Spain*, and the reſt he diſtributed in the *Low-Countries*, there to be kept as the Monuments and Trophies of his Victory. *Ebleben*, a worthy Gentleman, who, as we ſaid, had been the Meſſenger and Truchman in negotiating the *Landgrave*'s Pacification, took his Captivity extremely ill, and ſhortly after died for grief of it, as moſt People thought.

The number of great Guns taken from the Proteſtants.

Ebleben dies for grief.

The City of *Magdeburg* alone did not ſatisfie the Emperour.

Sebaſtian Vogelsberg raiſing Men in *Germany*.

The Emperour had reſolved to fall upon the City of *Magdenburg*, which lies upon the *Elbe*, two days Journey below *Wittemberg*; for they were the only People that ſtood it out; but at the very ſame time *Henry* King of *France* employed *Sebaſtian Vogelsbergh* to raiſe Men in *Germany*, to the number of ten Enſigns; a thing the Emperour began to be jealous of: Wherefore partly for this cauſe, and partly becauſe he thought he had another way to humble them, leaving *Hall*, he marched into *Upper-Germany*, and *June* the ſeven and twentieth ſent the Marqueſs of *Matignan* with an Aid of eight Enſigns of *German* Foot to his Brother King *Ferdinand*. *Ferdinand* was then at *Leutmeritz*, expecting an Opportunity of Action; and ſo ſoon as he had received Intelligence of the Emperor's Succeſs, and the taking of the *Landgrave*, he wrote to thoſe of *Prague*, *July* the firſt, commanding them to appear before him in the Caſtle of *Prague*, the ſixth of the ſame Month, to anſwer for what they had done. Being come thither with his Forces, he lays open before them in a publick Aſſembly all the paſt Tranſactions, and how many ways they had offended him, accuſing them of High-Treaſon, and bidding them anſwer to every Particular. There they humbly ſubmit to his Will and Pleaſure, beſeeching him not to uſe the Rigour of Law againſt them. Wherefore at the Interceſſion of young *Ferdinand* the Son, *Auguſtus* the Brother of Duke *Maurice*, and ſome other great men, the King on the tenth of *July* propoſes theſe Conditions unto them: *That in the next Convention of States they wholy annul the League they had entred into, by cancelling it, and breaking all the Seals: That they deliver up to him all their Charters and Writings of Liberties and Priviledges, to the intent he may reform ſome of them, and grant and confirm to them anew ſuch as he ſhall think fit: That they alſo reſign all the Charters of Liberties and Immunities granted to Companies and Incorporations, becauſe ſome of them did give occaſion to Stirs and Commotions: That in like manner they give up their Caſtles, and renounce all Juriſdiction and Cuſtoms, as alſo all Inſtruments of Leagues, and eſpecially of that Aſſociation which they made amongſt themſelves, and of that Alliance they had entred into with* John Frederick: *That they pay for ever the Exciſe of Beer, which had been granted him only for three years: That they bring all their Artillery and Ammunition into the Caſtle, and all their private Arms into the Town-houſe. If they thus do, he promiſes to ſpare the Multitude, excepting ſome few, whom he reſolved to puniſh as they deſerved, and keep Priſoners for the Publick Good.* The People being acquainted with this, and fifty Priſoners ſet at liberty, the Conditions were accepted and agreed unto. Some of the Nobility being cited, and not appearing at the day, were ſentenced to have forfeited Honour, Life, and Goods; ſo that ſome other Cities and Nobles ſubmitted without any Condition, as *Prague* had done. But *Caſpar Pflug*, whom the Confederates had made their General, as we ſaid, was condemned of High-Treaſon, and a Reward of Five thouſand *Florins* ſet upon his Head. Afterwards, in the Convention of States, the League was abrogated and cancelled, and the King obtained from them every thing almoſt that he had demanded.

King *Ferdinand* calls before him the Citizens of *Prague* in the Caſtle of *Prague*, and there ſeverely expoſtulates with them.

The *Bohemians* ſubdued and fined by King *Ferdinand*.

Caſpar Pflug condemned of High-treaſon.

A Sedition at *Naples* becauſe of the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*.

Whilſt the Emperour is triumphing in *Germany*, a dangerous Sedition broke out at *Naples*: The Cauſe of it was, That the Viceroy, *Peter* of *Toledo*, would after the *Spaniſh* manner inquire into their Faith and Religion. The Citizens murmured heavily at this, and being weary of the *Spaniſh* Government, roſe in Arms: But after a great deal of Butchery and Bloodſhed committed in the City, the *Spaniards*, who were Maſters of the Forts and Caſtles, got the better on't: So that ſome of the Seditious being fined, the reſt were baniſhed.

The Reaſon of the firſt Inſtitution of the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*.

Now the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, which makes ſuch a noiſe now adays, was heretofore ſet up in thoſe Places by King *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* againſt the *Jews*, who after Baptiſm obſerved their own Rites and Laws: But now that *Luther*'s Name was up, it was promiſcuouſly practiſed, and that with great Severity and ſhort Proceſs too, againſt all who were in the leaſt ſuſpected. At the very ſame time the *French* King ſends ſeven Cardinals to *Rome*, commanding them to ſtay there till

till freſh Orders. That was thought to have been done, that by their means the *Pope* might be wholly inclined to the Amity and Friendſhip of the King, and that if he chanced to die, being now fourſcore years of age, they might procure another to be choſen that was no Enemy to his Majeſty. Nor were there wanting ſome who gave it out, that it was done by the advice and intereſt of the Conſtable, that they being out of the way, he might alone do all with the King; for generally they all followed the Court, whitherſoever the King went. 1547.

The Pope's Legat in *France* grants many things.

A little before the *Pope* had ſent a Legat into *France*, *Jerome Roman* a Cardinal, with a moſt ample Commiſſion to diſpence with many things prohibited both by the Laws and Decrees of Councils. At that time alſo he created *Charles* the Son of *Claude* Duke of *Guiſe* and Archbiſhop of *Reims*, Cardinal, as knowing him to be the King's Favourite. On the other hand, the King of *France*, to ingratiate himſelf the more, promiſes his Natural Daughter, a young Lady of nine years of age, in Marriage to *Horatio Farneſe*, the *Pope*'s Grandchild by his Son.

Charles of *Guiſe* made Cardinal.

The Pope and King of *France* make a Match between their Baſtards.

The Emperour leaving *Hall*, came to *Bamberg*, that at ſo near a diſtance he might awe the *Bohemians* the more, and give Strength and as it were Sinews to his Brother King *Ferdinand*. Whilſt he was here, on the third day of *July*, he called a Diet of the Empire, commanding all to meet the firſt of *September* at *Ausburg*, the Princes in Perſon, and all the reſt by Deputies, with full Power and Commiſſion; and declaring, That the War had hindred him from holding a Diet at *Ratisbonne* the firſt of *February* paſt, as he had intended; but that now the Troubles being over, and the Authors of the Commotions in his power, he would no longer delay, but uſe means to heal the corrupt Members of the Commonwealth; and that the ſame Matters were to be brought into deliberation, which ſhould have been treated of at *Wormes*, and a year before at *Ratisbonne*. This Diet was to have been held at *Ulm*; but by reaſon of the Plague the Place was changed, as we intimated before. From *Bamberg* he goes next to *Norimberg*: Being there, he received ſome Towns of *Saxony* into Favour; and *July* the ſixteenth by Proclamation he declares upon what Terms he had tranſacted with the *Landgrave* and pardoned him; and that ſeeing he was concerned leſt ſome out of ignorance might uſe Force upon his Lands and Subjects, he therefore, at his Requeſt, charged all Men to deſiſt, and that thoſe who had any Action or Suit againſt him ſhould try it fairly by Law. At the very ſame time Duke *Maurice* ſent for *Melanchthon*, *Pomerane*, and *Couriger*, Divines of *Wittemberg*, to *Leipſick*, treated them very civilly there, and having made a large Profeſſion of his Zeal for Religion, committed to them the Care and Adminiſtration both of the Church and Univerſity, exhorted them to proceed in their wonted manner, ſettled Salaries upon them, and, as they themſelves write, diſmiſſed them with Preſents: For in a Book afterwards publiſhed, *Pomerane* highly commends his Goodneſs and Liberality.

A Diet at *Ausburg*.

Some Towns of *Saxony* are reconciled to the Emperor.

The Emperour publiſhes his Pacification with the *Landgrave*.

Duke *Maurice* graciouſly receives the Divines of *Wittemberg*.

The King of *France* who ſucceeded to his Father, *July* the twenty fifth in the afternoon, came to *Reims* to be Crowned; and being received at the Door of the Cathedral Church by three Cardinals, he was by them conducted to the High Altar, where having kiſſed the Relicks of the Saints in Golden Shrines, and aſſiſted at Veſpers, he went to Supper. After Supper he came back again, and having ſaid his Prayers, and confeſſed his Sins to a Prieſt, went home to Bed. Next day he ſent ſome Nobles to entreat the Abbot of St. *Remy* that he would bring the Viol of Holy Oyl, which, they ſay, came down from Heaven. Afterwards they who are called the Peers of *France*, met in the Church, to the number of twelve; the Biſhops of *Reims*, *Laon*, *Langres*, *Beauvais*, *Noyon*, and *Chaalons*; then the King of *Navarr*, the Dukes of *Vendoſme*, *Guiſe*, *Niverne*, *Mompenſier*, and *Aumale*, who repreſented the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, and *Aquitaine*; the Earls of *Tolouſe*, *Flanders*, and *Champaigne*. The Biſhops of *Langres* and *Beauvais*, with two Cardinals, were choſen to go and wait upon the King to the Church: When theſe were come into the Bedchamber, and ſaid ſome Prayers, they lifted up the King, who, as the Ceremony requires, was lying upon the Bed, and attended by a multitude of Prieſts, lead him to the Church, the Conſtable carrying before him the Sword drawn. The King having ſaid his Prayers at the High Altar, was by the Biſhops led to his Seat, and in the mean time, whilſt the Sacred Viol is a coming, the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, having made an end of the Prayers that are contained in the Book

The manner of the *French* King's Coronation.

Twelve Peers of *France*.

1547. of Ceremonies, ſprinkled the King and all the reſt with Holy-water. And when word was brought that the Sacred Viol was now coming, which in abſence of the Abbot, the Prior of the Monks brought, riding on a White Steed, and accompanied by all his Monks, and thoſe Noblemen who were ſent by the King, as we ſaid before. The Archbiſhop, with ſome other Biſhops, went to meet him as far as the Porch of the Church, with the Croſs carried before him, and there received the Viol from him, upon Security given that he ſhould reſtore it again; and as he came back to the High Altar, the King riſing out of his Seat made him a Bow. Afterwards the Archbiſhop went into the Veſtry, and from thence coming out in his Pontificals, he took the Oath of Fidelity of him, wherein, by ancient Cuſtom, as they ſay, Kings are bound to the Church. Then the King was led by two Biſhops to the High Altar, where putting on other Apparel, he kneeled, and was girt with a Sword which the Archbiſhop had conſecrated, as they call it, by many Prayers. This Ceremony being over, the Archbiſhop fitted and prepared the Oyl, and whilſt the reſt of the Prieſts ſang aloud their Service, he prayed ſoftly with the King, both proſtrate on the Ground. Then he anointed the King's Head and Breaſt, both his Shoulders, and the Joynts of his two Arms at the bending of the Elbow, ſaying the uſual Prayers in the mean time. This being done, the King was clothed in new Garments, as if he had been a Miniſter of the Church, and anointed in the Palms of his Hands; then he laid his two Hands on his Breaſt, and put on Conſecrated Gloves, as they call them. The Archbiſhop alſo put a Ring upon his Finger, and the Scepter into his Hand; and at the ſame time the Chancellor calls forth thoſe who are named the Peers. They being preſent, the Archbiſhop took from the Altar the Crown of *Charlemaigne*, and after the Peers had touched it, put it upon the King's Head, leading his Majeſty to a Throne erected in a higher place, and all the Nobles following after, where having ſaid ſome Prayers, he kiſſed him. The Nobles did the ſame, and then with loud Acclamations and the Sound of Trumpets, all cried, *God ſave the King.* After that, Gold and Silver Medals were thrown promiſcuouſly amongſt the People. Then the Archbiſhop began Maſs, and when the Goſpel was read, the King offered at the Altar ſome pieces of Gold, Silver, Bread, and Wine, and after Maſs received the Sacrament with the reſt: And then all went to Dinner. The King would have had it thought, that he raiſed thoſe *German* Foot under the Conduct of *Vogelsberg*, as has been mentioned, for this purpoſe only, that none might dare to diſturb the Ceremony of his Coronation.

The Emperour ſqueezes Money from the States of the Empire.

In the mean time the Emperour demands Money of the reſt of the Orders of the Empire, for defraying the Charges of the War, which he ſaid was undertaken chiefly for their ſakes, and for the preſervation of *Germany*. All the Nobility alſo, and they who had ſerved the Confederates, are fined all over *Germany*: And the Money which at that time the Emperour raiſed from the Princes and Free Towns, both *Catholick* and *Lutheran*, was thought to amount to the Sum of above Sixteen hundred thouſand *Florins*, as appeared by the Publick Accounts. Some alſo the Emperour wholly excluded from his Grace, as being more notorious Rebels; and amongſt theſe were Duke *George* of *Wirtemberg*, *Albert* Count *Mansfield*, *John* Count *Heideck*, and the Counts of *Oetinghen*, Father and Son: For this laſt he puniſhed ſo ſeverely, that he gave all his Lands and Poſſeſſions to his other Sons, *Frederick* and *Wolffgang*, who had been true and faithful unto him; ſo that he being baniſhed, and ſtripp'd of all, came with his Wife and Children to *Strasbourg*, and went wandring about from place to place many years after, until there hapning a new Change of Affairs, the Emperour pardoned them, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. The Emperour puts the City of *Magdenburg* alſo to the Ban of the Empire; nay, and King *Ferdinand* too, becauſe the War had been carried into his Dominions, demands Money from the Proteſtant Confederates, eſpecially the Free Towns, and obtains a vaſt Sum from *Ausburg* and *Ulm*: Beſides, he commences a Suit againſt *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg* for his whole Dukedom, as if he had broken his Promiſe, and the Articles of Agreement made in years paſt; nor did it any way avail him, that he had lately bought his Peace of the Emperour upon very hard Conditions. Moreover, the Cardinal of *Ausburg* alſo extorts from the City a vaſt Sum of Gold; nay, the Cardinal of *Trent* was upon them likewiſe for Money, pretending that he had ſent Soldiers to the Aſſiſtance of King *Ferdinand*,

The Sum of Money which the Emperour got.

Counts whom the Emperour would not pardon.

Magdenburg proſcribed.

King *Ferdinand* and the Cardinal of *Ausburg* obtain vaſt Sums of Money from the Free Towns.

nand, for regaining that Pass in the *Alps*, that, as we said, was taken by *Scherteline*. 1547.

The Emperour again sollicits the *Suitzers* to enter into a new League; but he exempts the Cantons of *Basle*, *Zurick*, *Schafhausen*, and some others, because, as he said, they belonged to the Empire. They unanimously make answer, That they had a League already with the Houses of *Austria* and *Burgundy*, which they firmly observed, so that there was no need they should enter into any new Alliance; and they expected he also would do the like. About the end of *June* the Emperour came to *Ausburg*, with his Prisoner the Duke of *Saxony*; but he left the *Landgrave* at *Donawert*, under a Guard of *Spaniards*, who did many things daily in contempt and scorn of him. This was an Armed Diet; for there was a Garrison before of ten Ensigns of Foot in the Town, and in the Country about were the *Spanish* and *Italian* Forces; to be free from whom, the Town of *Memmingen* gave thirty thousand, and *Kempen* twenty thousand *Florins*. There came besides about six hundred Horse from *Lower Germany*, whom the Emperour quartered in the Country about. Twelve Ensigns of *Spaniards*, who had for some time wintered at *Bibrach*, were led into the Country bordering upon the Lake *Britannine*; and at *Weissemburg*, a Town in *Nortgow*, seven hundred *Neopolitan* Horse lay in Garrison. *Gerard Feltwig*, who, as we said in the seventeenth Book, went Envoy to the *Turk*, came back to the Emperour on the twelfth day of *August*, with a Truce concluded for five years. When the Emperour came to *Ausburg* he took the Cathedral and some other Churches for his own use, leaving the rest to the Magistrates and People of the Town: But the Priests, before they would officiate in their Churches, with certain Ceremonies purged and consecrated them anew, as being polluted by *Lutheranism*. The Emperour appointed *Michael Sidonius*, Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Mentz*, to preach in the Cathedral Church. Amongst others, he preached many Sermons upon the Sacrifice of the Mass, which he afterwards published in Print. But their Churches being very empty of Citizens, the Catholicks are said to have given Money to the poorer sort of People, to perswade them to repair to them. This was a most full Diet; all the Electors were present, and amongst these *Adolph* Elector of *Cologne*, and Duke *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*: Thither came also King *Ferdinand*, the Cardinal of *Trent*, *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick*, the Duke of *Cleve*, the Lady *Mary* the Emperour's Sister, and his Niece the Dutchess Dowager of *Lorrain*. The Diet opened the first of *September*, where *Maximilian* the Arch-Duke of *Austria* having made a short preliminary Speech, the Emperour made his Secretary, as the Custom is, declare his Mind from a written Paper; who having spoken first of his great Love and tender Care towards their common Country, told them, That two years before he had held a Diet at *Wormes*, for the composing of all Differences; but that few being present, he had adjourned the whole Debate to *Ratisbonne*, whither he came the first of all, though at that time he was much indisposed in Health; and that when he had expected the coming of others, to whom he had written to that purpose, but very few came, and of these some went away without acquainting him: That when he came to know of it, he also dismissed the rest; so that that Diet had had no effect, but proved abortive, to the shame of many: That when he came to understand that the Craft and Calumnies of some was the cause of these Miscarriages, it behoved him necessarily to apply a Remedy; and that therefore he had long ago signified by Letters, what his design was, and how he would have that Difference about Religion to be adjusted: But now that God had blessed his Counsels with happy Success, he had called a Diet, that with their unanimous Advice and Consent he might enact what might be for the Publick Good: That however, since the Dissension about Religion was the Cause of all the Troubles of *Germany*, and that no Peace could be had unless it were removed; since also that by his procurement chiefly, a Council was called and begun at *Trent*, the thing they had so often importuned him about, it was therefore his will and pleasure, that that should be the chief Matter first debated of: That for keeping of the Peace, Decrees were already made; however, if they thought it needful to have any thing amended, or more fully explained in them, that he was very willing to hear their Reasons: That Justice also should be administred, was a thing chiefly to be minded; for that it was a Disgrace and great Prejudice to *Germany*, that now

The Emperour sollicits the *Suitzers* into a League.

An Armed Diet at *Ausburg*.

A Truce between the Emperour and *Turk*.

The Expiation of Churches.

Michael Sidonius a Champion for the Mass.

The Opening of the Diet at *Ausburg*.

1547. now for ſome time the Laws had been ſilent there, and a ſtop put to Juſtice: That it was true, a Decree had been made before, concerning the Conſtitution of the Imperial Chamber; but that ſome things had intervened, which had hindred the accompliſhment of it: That ſome Princes and Free Towns had lately engaged to him, that they would ſtand to the Judgment which he ſhould pronounce, and be at ſome Charges alſo in the matter: That therefore he deſired they would refer the Management of that Point to his Care, and every one contribute their proportionable ſhare of the Expences: That he would make it his Buſineſs, that fit Men ſhould be admitted into that Judicature, who ſhould take a ſolemn Oath to determine all Matters according to Law and Equity: And that becauſe, through the intermiſſion of Juſtice for ſome time, the number of Actions and Law-ſuits was mightily encreaſed, he thought it might be expedient, that for a Supplement, ten Judges extraordinary ſhould be added to the uſual number: That he himſelf would hear and judge of the Complaints of the Church-men, concerning the loſs and deprivation of their Juriſdictions and Lands, and right all Treſpaſſes, if it lay in his Power: That it was his will and pleaſure, that nothing ſhould be moved about Supplies againſt the *Turk*, until his Brother King *Ferdinand* ſhould come, who might ſatisfie them as to the Truce made, and what was fitting to be done for the future. Laſtly, That he did not like the private Deliberations and Cabals of ſome; for that they were a hinderance to publick Tranſactions, many by private Suggeſtions and Perſwaſions being often diverted from the Opinion and Reſolution they had conceived; a thing undecent, and not to be ſuffered in the publick Diets of the Empire, ſince every one ought to ſpeak what he thinks freely, and in open Aſſembly: That theſe were the Matters he thought fit to lay before them, deſiring them to take them into their ſpeedy Conſideration, and give him their Reſolutions concerning the ſame.

Pietro Aloiſio, the Pope's Son, is aſſaſſinated at *Piacenza*.

On the tenth of this Month, *Pietro Aloiſio*, the Son of *Paul* III. was aſſaſſinated in his own Houſe at *Piacenza*; and ſhortly after *Ferdinando Gonzaga*, Governour of *Milan* for the Emperour, takes poſſeſſion of the Town. The News of this came within few days to *Ausburg*; and becauſe it was given out, that the Emperour was told of it, a Relation of the whole Matter was communicated to the Princes in writing. Now the whole Narrative tends to the infamy and diſgrace of *Pietro Aloiſio*; and this is the Subſtance of it, as it is ſet down in that Writing. When, by an Exchange made, *Pietro Aloiſio* was inveſted Duke of *Piacenza* and *Parma*, he acted many things contrary to Law and Equity, by his ruggedneſs and ill-nature offending all ſorts of people, as amongſt the reſt he did *Jerome Palavicini*, whom he turned out of all; and becauſe the poor man, for avoiding of danger, had fled to *Crema*, a Town in the Dominions of the State of *Venice*, he caſt his Wife and Children into Priſon. Now when the matter ſeemed to tend to ſome greater Commotion, the Cardinal of *Trent*, who favoured the Family of the *Farneſes*, mediates by Letters; but *Aloiſio* anſwered frowardly.

Jerome Palavicini turned out of Houſe and Lands.

Afterwards, when *Octavio* came from the Emperours Camp to *Trent* upon his way home: the Cardinal acquainted him with the whole matter, and entreated him to intercede with his Father. He having done ſo, ſends back word, that *Jerome* might be received into favour, provided he would come in perſon, and humbly beg forgiveneſs. But it being to be feared, leſt contrary to Faith and Promiſe, ſome greater miſchief might be done unto him, the Cardinal with a ſmall Retinue goes to *Crema*, and ſends for *Jerome*: But he fearing ſome treachery, would not come, till he was aſſured that it was the Cardinal who ſent for him. After they had diſcourſed and taken counſel together, and the Cardinal had promiſed to do him all the good Offices he could, they both take Journey in company. In the mean time the Cardinal ſent one or two of his Servants before to acquaint *Aloiſio* that he and *Jerome* were coming to wait upon him. But he, contrary to what his Son *Octavio* had before ſignified, ſends back word, that he cannot reſtore him: And though the Meſſengers that were ſent, wiſe and diſcreet men, ſaid many things to have appeaſed his anger, yet he perſiſted in the ſame mind. So that the Cardinal of *Trent* having brought *Palavicini* ſafely back again to *Crema*, returns home. Now before this, ſome of the Nobility who hated *Aloiſio*, had conſpired his death, and having for that end hired ſome Ruffians, they waited for an occaſion. That they appeared ſeverally abroad now and then with

with their *Banditi* about them, pretending that they were only upon their guard, becauſe of private Quarrels: but in the mean time every one of them puts the queſtion privatly to their men, if they would faithfully ſerve them in revenging an injury which they had received, as they ſaid, from the Steward of *Aloiſio*: They briskly promiſe not only to ſerve them faithfully in that matter, but if they pleaſed, in killing his Lord himſelf. About the ſame time *Paul* the Third writes to his Son *Aloiſio*, bidding him have a care of the tenth day of *December*; for that the Stars foretold him ſome extraordinary misfortune that day. Now Pope *Paul* was not only much addicted to Aſtrology, but, as it is affirmed for certain, to Necromancy alſo. Upon the receipt of this Letter, *Aloiſio* grew very anxious and apprehenſive: However, when the day came, he went abroad out of the Caſtle in a Sedan well attended, to view the Fortifications of the Town that he had begun. The Conſpirators alſo were there; but finding that they could not then put their deſign in execution, they ſtop, and as he was returning home, wait upon him, officiouſly walking before his Chair, to the number of twenty ſix. So ſoon as his Chair was within the Caſtle, they pull up the Draw-bridge, that no body might come after; ſo immediatly approaching him with their drawn Swords, they firſt bitterly revile the Tyrant, and then kill him in his Chair; murdering at the ſame time his Confeſſor, Gentleman of the Horſe, and five *Germans* that guarded him. Afterwards they run up and down the Caſtle, ranſack and plunder all they meet with, and ſeize a great deal of money which he had deſigned for the Fortification of the Town. In the mean time a vaſt concourſe of people gathered about the Caſtle, enquiring what the matter was, that they heard ſo much noiſe and clamour within? The Murderers make anſwer from above, *That they had killed the Tyrant, and retrived the ancient liberty of the City.* But when they could hardly be believed, they capitulate with the Citizens, and upon ſecurity given them that they ſhould be pardoned, hang the dead body in a Chain over the Wall, which for ſome ſhort time they ſwung too and again, and then let it fall into the Ditch. With that the people came running in, and with their Daggers and Feet ſtabb'd and ſtampt upon it, ſo great and implorable was their hatred to their Duke. Having afterwards conſulted what was to be done, they poſt away an Expreſs to acquaint *Ferdinando Gonzaga* with the matter, throw themſelves into the Emperours protection, and deſire aſſiſtance to be ſent them with all ſpeed. *Gonzaga* preſently ſent them a Garriſon, and having taken poſſeſſion of the Town, made them ſwear Fealty to the Emperour; and then informs him by Letter of what he had done, deſiring to know his will and pleaſure therein. The Inhabitants of *Parma* were alſo ſollicited to ſubmit themſelves to the Emperour; but they having wrote to the Pope, aſſured him, that they would continue faithful to him, and not refuſe *Octavio* for their Prince, ſince now his Father was killed. This is the ſum of the account that the Emperours familiar Friends ſaid was ſent to him, and which was communicated to the States: but others give a far different Relation of the matter, ſaying, That it was a laid Deſign, and that within a few hours after the ſlaughter, *Gonzaga* was at the Gates with a Garriſon; but I cannot affirm any thing poſitively. However it be, all men confeſs that *Pietro Aloiſio* was an impious and lewd man; and there are ſome *Italian* Pamphlets extant, that reckon up his flagitious Luſts; amongſt which, the moſt memorable is, That in an unnatural manner he forced the Body of *Coſmo Cherio* Biſhop of *Fano*, having made his Servants hold him by violence till he did the Fact; which abominable Villany lay ſo heavy upon the poor mans Heart, that it is ſaid he died of grief. Nor are there wanting ſome, who think he was poyſoned by him, leſt he ſhould have informed the Emperour of that deteſtable *Sodomy*. Pope *Paul* nevertheleſs tenderly loved this Baſtard, making it his whole care to promote him; and when ſometimes he was told of his lewd Practices, he is reported not to have been much troubled thereat, but only to have uſually ſaid, *That he had not learn thoſe Vices of him.*

1547.

Pope *Paul* III. an Aſtrologer and Necromancer.

Thoſe of *Piacenza* ſubmit to the Emperour.

The deteſtable wickedneſs of *Aloiſio* the Pope's Baſtard.

We mentioned before, that the Fathers of the Council leaving *Trent*, had removed to *Bolonia*: This the Emperour was highly diſpleaſed at, and when he came now to *Ausburg*, he moved the Colledge of the Princes to repreſent the matter to the Pope. Wherefore, *September* the fourteenth, the Biſhops wrote to him, repreſenting the State and Danger of *Germany*, *which*, they ſay, *might have been prevented, if a timely Remedy had been applied to the growing Diſtemper, to wit, a Publick Council, wherein they had ſeveral times importuned the Emperour, that he would*

The Council of *Trent* divided.

The *German* Biſhops Letter to the Pope.

1547. *would procure it to be held within the Limits of* Germany, *that ſo the Biſhops of that Country, who were moſt concerned, might be preſent; for ſeeing their Juriſdiction was of ample extent, it was not expedient for them, eſpecially at that time, to be at a great diſtance from their own Charge: That at length, when no man would repair to* Mantua *or* Vicenza, *a Council indeed was by the diligence and care of the Emperour got to be called and begun, but without the Bounds of* Germany *ſtill, to wit, at* Trent, *which belongs rather to* Italy: *That for that reaſon alſo not many of the* Germans *had come to it; nor, indeed, could they, eſpecially in time of War, when the Ways were every where beſet and intercepted; but that now the Storm being over, when the Veſſel was brought almoſt into Harbour, and all men were in good hopes, contrary to all expectation, the Council, wherein the Publick Safety wholly conſiſted, ſhould be tranſlated to another Place, or rather, indeed, divided, was a thing that exceedingly grieved them, becauſe of the danger it threatned; for that* Germany *had now no leſs than theſe ſix and twenty years ſtruggled with new and pernicious Doctrines and Sects, that the Biſhops had loſt almoſt all their Authority, and that in this Deſolation and Confuſion innumerable thouſands of men endangered the Salvation of their Souls: That, in ſhort, whatever was formerly ſound and ſincere, was by that peſtilent Contagion ſpoil'd and corrupted; and that the States of the Empire being rent aſunder, had loſt all mutual Love and Correſpondence: That in theſe their ſo great Calamities, they had no Refuge but to the Apoſtolick Church: That therefore they moſt earneſtly begg'd, he would reſtore the Council; which if he did, he might expect any thing from them; but if not, that they could not tell where to look for Help; for that the noiſe of ſtormy Winds and Tempeſts was heard on all hands, againſt which God had appointed the Church of* Rome *to be as a ſtrong Bulwark and firm Rock of Defence: That he ſhould then have regard to their Demands, and reflect with himſelf, that if he had not a care, other Courſes may be taken, to ſet things to rights: That after all, they prayed him to take theſe things in good part; for that both the neceſſity of the Times, and the obligation of their Duty, had conſtrained them to write.*

A Victory of the *Engliſh* over the *Scots.*

About this very time, alſo, the *Engliſh* obtain a great Victory over the *Scots*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Somerſet* the King's Uncle. The Cauſe of the War was the ſame that was before in the time of King *Henry* his Father, to wit, becauſe the *Scots* would not give their Queen in Marriage to King *Edward*, as it had been agreed upon. After this Victory, the *Engliſh* took many Places in *Scotland*, and advanced a great way into that Country.

The Opinions of the Catholicks and Proteſtants differ about the Council of *Trent.*

All the Diet was not of the ſame mind as to the Emperour's Demands; for the Eccleſiaſtical Electors urged the Council of *Trent* without any Limitation or Condition: And again, the Deputies of the Elector *Palatine*, Duke *Maurice*, and *Brandenburg*, did not refuſe it, provided it were free and holy, wherein the *Pope* ſhould not preſide, but ſhould abſolve the Biſhops from the Oath they had taken to him; wherein their Divines might alſo have a deciſive Vote, and the paſt Decrees be recalled. However, the reſt of the Princes and States urged the Continuation of the Council, and that the *Proteſtants* might have Safe-conduct to go thither and be heard, and then be compelled to ſubmit to and obey its Decrees.

The Proteſtants are ſollicited to ſubmit to the Council.

Some Proteſtants, drawn in or overawed, aſſent to the Council.

The Emperour being informed of all their Opinions, gave his Anſwer *October* the eighteenth, deſires them all to ſubmit to the Council, and deals privately with the Elector *Palatine* and Duke *Maurice* that they would aſſent. The Prince *Palatine* beſides was over-awed, becauſe of the late Offence he had given the year before, as we ſaid, that Sore not being as yet well skinned over. Duke *Maurice*, who was both deſirous that the *Landgrave* his Father-in-law might be ſet at liberty, and had been lately highly promoted by the Emperour, thought himſelf obliged to do ſomewhat. Wherefore the Emperour having by Meſſengers given them large Aſſurances of his Favour and Good-will, and put it to them, that they would refer themſelves to his Faith and Promiſe, at length, *October* the twenty fourth, they give their Aſſent. There remained no more now but the Free Towns, who thought it a matter of great danger, to ſubmit themſelves indifferently to the Decrees of the Council. Theſe did *Granvell* and *Haſen* induſtriouſly manage; and in the mean time a Report went over the Town, that they were ſtubborn, in refuſing that which all the Princes had already approved: Some Threats were alſo let fall, that they ſhould be far more ſeverely dealt with than formerly. At length they found a way both to ſatisfie the Emperour, and to ſecure themſelves. Being therefore called before his Imperial Majeſty,

The Free Towns ſcrupulous to aſſent to the Council.

Majeſty, they told him, that it was not their part to correct the Anſwers of the Princes, but at the ſame time preſent a Paper to him, declaring the Conditions upon which they were willing to approve the Council. The Emperour having heard their Speech, makes them an Anſwer by the mouth of *Selden*, That he was very well ſatisfied, that after the example of others, they referred the matter to him, and gave their conſent with the reſt. So that he attributed more unto them, than they were deſirous of: for they had not conſented with the reſt; but that they might give no cauſe of offence, were unwilling to cenſure the Judgment of the Princes; and nevertheleſs, that they might not afterwards be concluded, thought fit to give in writing the Conditions upon which they accepted the Council, that ſo they might leave to Poſterity ſome Monument of their ſincere intentions. This happened about the latter end of *October*, and at the ſame time King *Ferdinand* came thither, as ſhortly after the Elector of *Brandenburg* did: wherefore the Emperour ſent the Cardinal of *Trent* in all haſt to *Rome*, in the beginning of *November*, that he might move the Pope to recall the Council of *Trent*. 1547.

The Emperour's Anſwer to the Speech of the low Towns.

The Emperour's Embaſſie to the Pope for the continuation of the Council.

In the month of *November*, *Chriſtina* Wife to the *Landgrave*, his Sons, and ſome ſelect Counſellours, wrote Letters to all the Princes and States of the Empire, acquainting them, *How he was made Priſoner, when under ſafe conduct he came to* Hall: *And that ſeeing all the Conditions preſcribed by the Emperour, which then could or ought to be performed, were fulfilled; his Fine being paid;* Duke Henry *of* Brunſwick *and his Sons ſet at liberty; all the Letters of the Confederates delivered up; the Nobility ſworn, and the Obligation of the Sureties given; all the* Ordnance *given up, and the Caſtles and Forts demoliſhed; and that then ſeeing they themſelves were willing to be Hoſtages for him, till all the reſt ſhould be performed, they could not but with great grief and ſorrow of heart, look upon this his ſad fate and ſhameful captivity: for that when he went to* Hall *his affairs were not in ſo deſperate a condition, but that he might for ſome time have kept out his Caſtles againſt the force of the Enemy; the truth of which could be atteſted even by the Commiſſioners whom the Emperour ſent afterwards into thoſe parts; but that in compaſſion to the people, he had preferred Peace before War: That it was therefore their moſt earneſt deſire, that they would intercede with the Emperour, and uſe all endeavours that he might be ſet at liberty and ſuffered to return home, ſince that if he ſhould be longer detained, it would extreamly endanger his health.* Now the more effectually to ſollicite this affair, the *Landgrave*'s Wife came to *Ausburg*, and both her ſelf in perſon, and by the intervention of Duke *Maurice* and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, ſollicited the Princes to interpoſe. When this came to the Emperours knowledge, before any interceſſion was made, *November* the 25th, he repreſents to the States, that he heard what ſuggeſtions were made unto them; and that becauſe various Reports were ſpread abroad, and the Diſcourſes of men were different, he would give them a plain and true account of the whole matter. *And in the firſt place,* ſaid he, *when laſt year the Confederate Proteſtants were encamped near* Giengen, *the* Landgrave *ſent* Adam Trot, *who by means of the Elector of* Brandenburg, *might ſollicite his Peace; but he had this anſwer from me, That there was no other terms to be expected, than that he ſhould come in perſon, and without any capitulation ſurrender himſelf to me. When he was returned home after that flight, he made frequent applications to me by the mediation of Duke* Maurice, *at ſeveral places, as* Hailbrun, Ulm, Nordlingen *and* Egra, *treating only for himſelf, without any mention of* John Frederick *or the Confederates: may he continued to urge the ſame thing, when I was upon my march into* Saxony. *To all this, I made anſwer to Duke* Maurice, *That becauſe the* Landgrave *had offended me ſo much and ſo often, no ſeverity could ſatisfie me, unleſs he came and preſented himſelf in perſon, and delivered all his Caſtles and ſtrong Holds into my hands. But when the Duke of* Saxony *was taken, and that he ſaw the whole ſtreſs of the War like to be turned againſt him, he came to* Leipſick, *and there propounded ſome unſatisfactory Conditions. Duke* Maurice *and the Elector of* Brandenburg *did intercede for him, indeed, and offered to be bound body for body for him, that he ſhould perform the Conditions; but thinking it baſe and unjuſt, that they whom I had always found faithful and true to me, ſhould put themſelves in danger for another man, I rejected that ſecurity, and demanded his own perſon. Not long after, when the War of* Saxony *was over, and I had repaſſed the* Elbe, *he left* Leipſick, *and ſending one of his Nobles into the Camp, by the mediation of Duke* Maurice *and* Brandenburg, *propounds theſe Conditions, That he would without any limitation ſurrender himſelf unto me, demoliſh his Caſtles, and deliver up all his* Ordnance: *He only deſir'd that he might be allowed to keep one of his Forts, either* Zengheim *or* Caſſel, *and then as many great Guns as might*

Letters to the States in behalf of the *Landgrave*.

The Emperour's Excuſe to the States concerning the Captivity of the *Landgrave*.

1547. *might be ſufficient for the defence of one place. Thereupon Duke* Maurice *and the Elector of* Brandenburg *deſiring to know, that if he ſo ſurrendered himſelf, what the effect of it would be, and how far it might reach? they were fairly and ingenuouſly told, that he ſhould ſuffer neither any corporal puniſhment, be kept perpetual Priſoner, nor be farther fined, than was agreed upon by the Articles of Pacification; but it was likewiſe added that the* Landgrave *ſhould not be made acquainted with this; which was alſo put in writing in their preſence: and no other hopes given at that time, as I think they themſelves can bear me witneſs. So then he came to* Hall, *and having made his ſubmiſſion to me, the Elector of* Brandenburg *asked me, if I would not ſpeak with him, and give him my hand, as I had done to others whom I had received into favour? I anſwered, That it was not fit I ſhould do that, before he had his full liberty. I afterwards gave the Duke of* Alva *orders that he ſhould carry him to the Caſtle, and ſet a Guard over him. He invites Duke* Maurice, *the Elector of* Brandenburg, *and the* Landgrave, *to Supper; and when afterwards he ſtood him, a Diſpute aroſe, and many words were exchanged. When this came to my ears, the firſt queſtion that I deſired might be put as to that affair, was, Whether or not they thought I did juſtly or unjuſtly, in keeping him Priſoner? I plainly told them alſo, That rather than the ſincerity of my words ſhould be made liable to any ſuſpicion, I was content to ſet aſide all the Treaty, and ſuffer the* Landgrave *to return home; that ſo I might take the courſe with him I intended. Then did Duke* Maurice *and* Brandenburg *confeſs, That I had done nothing unjuſtly, and that they would maintain it, if any man ſhould offer to ſpeak to the contrary: only they prayed and interceded, that his impriſonment might not be too long. To this their Requeſt, I made anſwer, That I would firſt conſider and ſee, whether or not he ſtood to his Promiſe, and performed his Articles. But now, though I did believe he might fulfil the Conditions, yet it is no ſlight matter that I have ſtill to charge him with; for neither hath he produced the Papers, and diſcovered all the ſecrets of the* Smalcaldick *League, as he promiſed, nor hath he neither demoliſhed his Caſtles as they ought to be; and not long ſince too, he hath tampered with his Keepers, that contrary to their duty to me, they would obey him. This is the plain and naked truth of the whole matter; which I thought fit to acquaint you with, for my own Juſtification.*

The States acquaint *Maurice* and *Brandenburg* with the Emperour's Relation.

The very ſame day the States give Duke *Maurice* and the Elector of *Brandenburg* an account of this Relation of the Emperours; whereunto they next day make anſwer, to this effect: *That they now confeſs what hitherto they had always done, that they had no cauſe to accuſe or find fault with the Emperour in this particular; but that nevertheleſs, they had had ſeveral and private Negotiations with King* Ferdinand, *before he went home from the Camp before* Wittemberg, *and with ſome of the Emperours Counſellors, though not many: and that perhaps through a ſlip of Tongue ſome miſtake might have happened, which they will not much contend about: That however it be, they had for the preſervation of the innocent Multitude, and that* Germany *might recover its long wiſhed-for Peace, adviſed the* Landgrave, *when he had not the leaſt apprehenſion of Cuſtody or Confinement, to come to* Hall, *beg the Emperours Pardon, and accept of the Conditions of Peace. But now that he had loſt his liberty, and was ſtill kept Priſoner, to the great danger of his health, was a thing that no man but muſt ſee, did extreamly reflect upon their Honour and Reputation: That therefore they did moſt earneſtly deſire them, that they would joyn with them in an Addreſs to the Emperour, and beſeech his Majeſty, that it would pleaſe him to have more regard to them who had faithfully ſerved the Empire, than to the* Landgrave's *Offence, and not to ſuffer them to be any longer expoſed to Obloquy and Cenſure, but to reſtore him to his liberty, eſpecially ſince all the Conditions were in a manner fulfilled, and that the Emperour had moſt ample ſecurity for the performance of them to the leaſt title.* So then an Interceſſion was made in the common name of all: and the *Landgrave*'s Wife prevailed with the Lady *Mary* the Emperour's Siſter, to ſecond it; but it was all in vain. And becauſe Duke *Maurice* and the Elector of *Brandenburg* ſaid, that they had paſt their promiſe, and obliged themſelves by Bond to the *Landgrave*'s Sons, ſo long as he ſhould be detained Priſoner; the Emperour ſent *John de Lire* to the *Landgrave*, who then was at *Nordlingen*, being removed thither lately by the *Spaniards*, requiring him to deliver up all his Writings, and amongſt the reſt, alſo the Letters of ſafe Conduct and obligation of Security. He told him, That they were not in his keeping, but that his Sons and Counſellors had them: That although he ſhould write to them, it would be to no purpoſe; for that they had told him at parting that they would not deliver them up, before he were ſet at liberty: That nevertheleſs, if he might have aſſurance from the Emperour of the time of his enlargement, he would do what lay in his power to perſwade them to deliver all up.

The Emperour is not wrought upon by Interceſſions.

De Lire ſent to the *Landgrave*, deſires up all Obligatory Letters that he had.

1547.

ip. The Emperour diſſatisfied with that Anſwer, ſhortly after removed his ervants from him, allowing him but one or two at moſt.

Peter Martyr goes into England.

About the latter end of *November*, *Peter Martyr*, a *Florentine*, who had for ive years with great applauſe taught at *Strasburg*, went now with leave from the Senate into *England*, whither he had been invited by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the King's Name, and was made Profeſſor of Divinity in *Oxford*. His Companion that went along with him was *Bernardine Ochino* of *Siena*; who being in high eſteem in *Italy* for his Eloquence, and the opinion Men had of his Virtue, forſook his Monaſtick Life, and embraced the Reformed Religion; and going firſt to *Geneva*, and from thence afterward to *Ausburg*, publiſhed ſome Sermons of his in print. Much about this time King *Henry*'s Laws about Religion, which we mentioned in the twelfth Book, are by publick Proclamation aboliſhed all over *England*, and Images and Pictures removed out of the Churches, which was the beginning of the Reformation there. On the ninth day of *December*, the Cardinal of *Trent* diſcharged the Commiſſion the Emperour had entruſted him with, in a full Conſiſtory of Cardinals, where the Pope himſelf preſided, repreſenting in an elaborate Speech what Pains and Danger the Emperour had undergone for the ſake of the Council, and that now, through his Diligence and Authority, Matters were brought to that paſs, that all the States were willing to obey and ſubmit to its Decrees: That therefore by all that was Sacred he beſought the Pope, in name of the Emperour, King *Ferdinand*, and the whole Empire, firſt, That he would order the Fathers at *Bolonia* to return to *Trent*, there to perfect the Work begun, which was ſo very neceſſary for the Publick-Good: next, That he would ſend a Legat or two into *Germany*, hat with their Advice and Counſel ſome Rules of Good-living might be eſtaliſhed, until the Council ſhould be ended, and that the Clergy might be reformed: Laſtly, That he would alſo conſider and determine, that if the Pope ſhould happen to die during the ſitting of the Council, whether or not the power of Election ought to lie in the Fathers of the Council, or in the Cardinals; leſt if the Caſe ſhould happen, it might give occaſion to new Commotions. Five days after the Cardinal of *Trent* had had his Audience, *James Mendoza*, by Orders from the Emperour [illegible]oke in the ſame Auditory to the ſame purpoſe; and beſides, That if the Pope did make any delay or excuſe, he ſaid, he was commanded by his Maſter, to joyn with the Embaſſadors of other Kings and Princes, and openly proteſt againſt the Council. The very ſame day, which was he fourteenth of *December*, the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, who, as we ſaid already, was made Cardinal the Summer before, being by the *French* King ſent to *Rome*, nakes an Harangue to the Pope and Cardinals. In the beginning, he commends he late King *Francis*, that, amongſt other his Virtues, he was ſo tender of the Rights and Liberties even of other Princes, that upon that account he never declined Danger nor Coſt: That his Son King *Henry* did in no ways degenerate from him in Manners and Inclination; who ſo ſoon as he was ſeated on the Throne, and had performed his laſt Duty to his deceaſed Father, had nothing more in his thoughts, than how to make appear his Zeal and Duty towards the See of *Rome*, therein treading the Steps of his Anceſtors the Kings of *France*, who had given ſo many and illuſtrious Inſtances of their Affection towards the Popes of *Rome*, that they were juſtly reckoned the firſt, and went before all other Nations in that Character: And that ſince now adays there was a Race of froward and ſaucy People ſprung up, that oppoſed and railed againſt the Majeſty of that Place, it was a matter of greateſt moment, that at the ſame time a moſt potent King did, as it became the eldeſt Son of the Church, and Chief Captain of Chriſtian People, ſubmit himſelf and all he had to the ſame Church, for the maintenance and defence of whoſe Dignity he was ready to employ and ſacrifice all that was near and dear unto him: That it was his greateſt Wiſh, indeed, he might in Perſon have made this Declaration, and beheld the moſt Sacred and Auguſt Countenance of his deareſt Father; but that he had been hitherto ſo taken up about many and various Affairs, that he could neither come himſelf, nor ſooner ſend another to do his Duty for him: That they ſhould therefore ſeriouſly weigh theſe things, and ſo demean themſelves, that the King his Maſter might be convinced of their Love and Friendſhip; for that ſince Commonwealths ſubſiſted by Reward and Puniſhment, they ought to take care, hat by Kindneſs and Favour they might retain pious and good Princes in their Duty; but, on the other hand, ſo repreſs the Inſolence and Boldneſs of ſuch as

The Reformation of the Church in *England*.

The Cardinal of *Trent*'s Speech to the Pope in the Conſiſtory of Cardinals.

The Speech of the Emperour's Embaſſador to the Pope.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain*'s Harangue to the Pope.

1547. they knew did attempt either to leſſen or undermine their Dignity, that they ſhould be made ſenſible, that the Sword which God had put into their Hands, was not dull'd nor blunted: That he would not be ſo underſtood neither, as if he had any doubt of their Severity and Prudence, or that he intended to raiſe in their Minds a Suſpicion of any Perſon; but that by exciting in them a laudable Emulation in Well-doing, the King's Good-will towards them might be the more conſpicuous: That by the Canons it was provided, That ſo ſoon as the Popes of *Rome* were promoted to the Papacy, they ſhould ſend their Legats into *France*, for ſetling a Friendſhip betwixt them; and that ſo likewiſe it had been the King's Reſolution, upon his entry into the Government, to digniſie this moſt holy See with the like reciprocal Civility: That his Holineſs, then, was deſired to admit of the moſt Chriſtian King into the Boſom of the Church, from whom he might expect all Friendſhip and Fidelity; and that after all, he would uſe his Endeavours that the Church ſhould receive no detriment: That he himſelf knew very well, from how ſmall Beginnings Factions had broke out of old, when no man ſet himſelf to it to oppoſe the Attempts of ill men: That Inſtances of that might be ſeen in Pope *John* XIII. in *Gregory* VII. in *Paſchal* III. and many others, who fell into the greateſt Calamities, until the Popes that came after them, by the Aſſiſtance of the Kings of *France*, recovered their loſt Dignity; and amongſt theſe, *Alexander* III. who forced the Emperour *Frederick* of *Suabia* to accept a Peace, and retrived the Liberty of the Church, and Rights of chuſing the Pope. The *French* King, who knew that the Pope was extreamly vexed at the Murder of *Pietro Aloiſio*, and perceived that his Diſpleaſure was heightned by the Tranſlation of the Council to *Trent*, thought this a proper time to be laid hold on for his own Advantage: Wherefore, by frequent Embaſſies ſent to the Pope, and ample promiſes of his Aſſiſtance, he encouraged and confirmed him in his Diſcontents.

The French King hunts after a fit occaſion.

When the Pope had heard the Demands of the Cardinal of *Trent* and *Mendoza*, he ſaid, *That he would adviſe with the Fathers that were at* Bolonia, *and acquaint the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes with the Matter.* Since the Cardinal of *Trent* then could have no other Anſwer from him, he returned home, leaving behind him *Mendoza*, to whom the Emperour had ſent Orde[illegible] diſpatch what remained to be done. But the Pope on the ſixteenth of *D[illegible]mber* wrote to Cardinal *John Maria de Monte*, his Chief Legat in the Council, to this effect. *The Cardinal of* Trent, ſays he, *told me t'other day in the Emperour's Name, how that all* Germany *had ſubmitted to the Council: Wherefore he demanded of me, in the Name of the Emperour, King* Ferdinand, *and of the whole Empire, that I would take care that the Council ſhould be continued at* Trent. *The ſame thing* James Mendoza *alſo demanded, in preſence of the Embaſſadours of other Princes whom he had invited to joyn with him, and preſs'd that it might be done without delay; but having communicated the matter to the Cardinals, I thought it proper to adviſe with the Fathers of the Council, that nothing might be done raſhly; and that the Decrees already made, as well that of the Tranſlation of the Council, as the reſt might remain inviolate. Seeing then I am very much concerned for the Welfare of* Germany, *and for the Emperour's ſake unwilling to make any delay, I command you, that having implored the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, you declare the whole matter to the Fathers, and with all ſpeed write me word what anſwer you think fit to be given to the Emperour.* The Cardinal *de Monte*, according to his Inſtructions, brings the matter into the Council, and afterwards writes back to this purpoſe: *Although the Council of* Trent *was lawfully tranſlated from* Trent *to* Bolonia, *though all the Fathers had notice given them publickly in the Seſſion, the day that the Decree was made for the tranſlation of the ſame, that they ſhould repair to* Bolonia; *and although he himſelf and the reſt of the Fathers had written to* Trent, *exhorting them lovingly to come to* Bolonia, *yet many remained there ſtill to this very day; which was a thing that tended to the contempt of the Council, and gave offence to many. The Fathers therefore do not ſee how, with the Dignity and Reputation of the Council, they can think of returning: Let thoſe who are at* Trent, *firſt come to* Bolonia, *joyn with the reſt, and acknowledge the Power of the* Council. *Again, it is neceſſary that the Fathers have aſſurance given them that* Germany *will ſubmit to the Council, and approve the Decrees thereof, both which are already made, and which may be made hereafter, ſo that they be cavilled at by no man. Beſides, ſince there has been a hot Report abroad, that it was to be a Popular Council, the Fathers deſire alſo to have aſſurance given them as to that firſt: for if that ſhould take place, all the order and method of Councils from the age of the Apoſtles, down to this very time, would be inverted. They alſo*

The Pope's Anſwer to the Cardinal of *Trent* and *Mendoza*.

The Pope's Letter to his Legate in the Council.

The Legat's Anſwer to the Pope.

alſo deſire to know how they are to be ſecured, that they may live there with ſafety and freedom, and when they think fit, depart thence without let or moleſtation. And laſtly, that it is a neceſſary Caution alſo, that they may have aſſurance given them, that when for ſome reaſons it may ſeem convenient to the major part to remove the Council, they may have liberty to do ſo: as alſo when it ſhall appear that the reaſons for which the Council was called are ſatisfied, it may be free to the Fathers to put an end to it and deſiſt. That theſe were the things the Fathers, after much Deliberation, and Invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, had to anſwer to his Demands; which they entreated he would take in good part. 1547.

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When the Pope had received this Letter, *December* the 27th, he ſends for *Mendoza* the Emperour's Embaſſadour, to the Conſiſtory of Cardinals, acquaints him with what the Council of *Bolonia* had anſwered, and aſſures him, *That neither he nor the Colledge of Cardinals diſliked their Opinion, as being conſonant to Right: That for his own part, there was nothing but what he was willing to do for the ſake of* Germany; *and in that he could appeal to the Emperour's own Teſtimony: That he had omitted nothing which belonged to the Office of a good Shepherd and moſt loving Father: That he ſaw indeed what it was, that the Emperour, King* Ferdinand, *and the States of the Empire demanded; but that ſtill he thought they deſired it ſo, as that it might conſiſt with the Good and Peace of all other Nations, and the Liberty of the Church.* When *Mendoza* perceived that the Pope took that Aſſembly at *Bolonia* for a Council, he reſolved to have proteſted againſt it upon the ſpot; but the Dean of the Sacred Colledge, and ſome Cardinals interpoſing, he was perſwaded to ſend that Anſwer to the Emperour, wait for Inſtructions from him, and to put off the Proteſtation until the 20th day. When *Mendoza* then wrote an account of the whole matter to the Emperour, the Pope alſo on the firſt of *January* writes an Anſwer to the Letter of the *German* Biſhops, which we mentioned before, wherein having commended them for their Piety, he tells them, *That they had good and lawful cauſe to be concerned for the Publick, amidſt thoſe Stirs of heretical and ſeditious men, for that he himſelf was extreamly affected thereat; and that becauſe it was a matter which concerned his Paſtoral Office, it was continually in his thoughts, how to find a Remedy for it: That for that reaſon alſo, ſo ſoon as he was promoted to the Pontificate, he had betaken himſelf to the Refuge which they themſelves mentioned, and of his own accord had called a Council firſt at* Mantua, *and then at* Vicenza; *but ſeeing that proved unſucceſsful, he had pitched upon* Trent, *a Town on the very Borders of* Germany, *whither they might come without danger: and that a War breaking forth about the ſame time, which hindered free acceſs to the place, though his Legates had been already ſent thither, he was neceſſarily obliged to defer the matter till another opportunity, which happening by the Peace that was afterwards made, he had again called the Council, and acquainted all Princes and States therewith by Letters: That though a year and more had intervened betwixt that time and the laſt War, yet none of them came to it, nor indeed, excepting one or two, ſent their Deputies neither: for though perhaps, becauſe of the danger of neighbouring Hereticks, it was not fit they ſhould have come ſo far, and left their own charges at home; nevertheleſs they might have been preſent by their Proxies, as he himſelf had diſpenſed with him in his Bulls: That a great number of Biſhops and other Prelates came to* Trent, *not only from* Italy, *but from more diſtant Provinces alſo; and that by their unanimous and harmonious conſent, Decrees had paſt there, as well concerning Religion as Diſcipline, wherein a great part of thoſe wicked Doctrines that are maintained by the Hereticks of theſe times, are refuted and condemned; which was to him indeed matter of great joy, and gave him cauſe not to diſlike that place wherein ſate an Aſſembly ſo uſeful to the Chriſtian World: Now that it was removed from thence, it was done without his knowledge, and the news thereof brought to him, before he ſuſpected any ſuch thing; but that there was no doubt, that the Council had power to do ſo, and that therefore he did believe they had a lawful cauſe for doing it, unleſs he were ſure of the contrary: and that though ſome few had left the Council, yet it was not therefore divided; for what the greater part did, was to be conſidered. That moreover, it was not tranſlated into a Town, which was either too far diſtant from* Trent, *or unſafe and inconvenient; for that the interval was not too great, and then it was a place highly commended, both for the wholſomneſs of the Air, and alſo for plenty of all Proviſions, and good Accommodation and Lodging: That that City, as being under the Juriſdiction of the Church, ought not to ſeem the more unſafe to* Germany, *which had received long ago not only the Chriſtian Faith and Religion from the Church, but many other Monuments alſo of Bounty and Liberality: That beſides, it was to be conſidered that the Neighbouring Princes and People were under the Emperour's Juriſdiction: That though this was the caſe, yet he was not much concerned in what place chiefly the Council ſhould be held; but that if any o-*

The Pope's Anſwer to the Emperour's Embaſſadour.

Mendoza ſends the Pope's Anſwer to the Emperour.

1548.

The Pope's Anſwer to the Biſhops of *Germany.*

1548. *ther place were choſen by the common conſent of the Fathers, he ſhould not oppoſe it, provided the Fathers might have their freedom, and be under no conſtraint there: That the reaſon that was urged why they deſired and wiſhed them to return to* Trent, *was, that the* Germans *might come to the Council more willingly: That he commended, indeed, this deſire and endeavour of theirs, nor doubted he but that for their parts, they were not very anxious about the place, but that they might know by the Letter of the Fathers at* Bolonia, *what ſort of Obſtacles they were that lay in the way: That the reaſon why he was ſo ſlow in anſwering them, was, that not long after he had received their Letter, the Cardinal of* Trent *came to him from the Emperour; and that ſeeing the Demands which both he and the Embaſſadour* Mendoza *made to him, jump'd exactly with their Letter, he did not think fit to anſwer them, till he had firſt anſwered the Emperour: That ſince they had treated that Affair with him not only privately, but alſo publickly, and often in the Conſiſtory of the Cardinals, he had by an Expreß ſent and conſulted the Fathers aſſembled at* Bolonia, *and afterwards communicated their Anſwer to* Mendoza, *when the Cardinal of* Trent *was gone, a Copy of which Anſwer he now ſent them, that they might ſee what was firſt to be done, before there could be any thought of returning: That therefore he prayed them to have regard to the Peace of the Church, and come to* Bolonia *with the reſt, either in Perſon, or ſend their Proxies thither to continue the Council, or if the place ſhould not ſeem ſo fit, that they ſhould there debate the matter with the reſt of the Fathers: That now in the cloſe of their Letter they hinted, that it was to be feared leſt if he neglected his duty, other courſes would be taken, he was not at all moved thereat, ſeeing he had omitted no duty in that Station and Dignity wherein God Almighty had placed him, as in a Watch-Tower, to take care of the whole Flock, but eſpecially of thoſe who had gone aſtray from the reſt: That ſeeing nothing was wanting to him then, and that it was publickly known how much he tendered the Welfare of* Germany, *he was the leß apprehenſive of any Accident, but reſted ſatisfied in the Conſcience of his own Integrity and honeſt Endeavours: That as for themſelves, and the Emperour, of whoſe Conſtancy and Sincerity there was no doubt to be made, he thought they would do nothing raſhly: That yet it was not in his power to hinder, but that other things might be done, and new deſigns hatched againſt the Authority of the See of* Rome; *ſeeing when Chriſt himſelf the Architect laid the foundation of that Church, he foretold Storms and Tempeſts to come; but that he did not at all fear that ſuch Attempts would prove ſucceſsful, or that any guſt of Wind could overturn the Fabrick built by Chriſt, becauſe it ſtood upon a moſt firm Rock: That that had been oftener than once attempted by others heretofore, but that their deſigns being diſappointed, God had made an example of them viſible to all men, as both ancient and modern Hiſtories made appear: That if there were any, then, at preſent, who were not moved nor terrified by the Calamities and Judgments of others which they had before their eyes, he heartily pitied their condition, and chiefly for the Miſeries that were hanging over their heads: But to conclude, that he earneſtly exhorted and required them to perſevere in that Religion and Fidelity which they had always profeſſed, and not ſuffer thoſe Councils which were conſiſtent with the Dignity of the Church, to have any place in their Aſſemblies.*

The Emperour's Embaſſadours ſent to *Bolonia*.

The Pope and Synods of *Bolonia* perſiſting then in their reſolution, the Emperour's Ambaſſadours *Franciſco de Vargas* and *Martino Velaſco*, who had been purpoſely ſent to *Bolonia*, having deſired Audience of the Council, *January* the 16th, came into the Seſſion. There were at that time preſent the Cardinal *de Monte*, and about forty Biſhops and other Prelates. Then *de Vargas* read the Credentials granted by the Emperour to him and his Colleague, whereby he empowered them to act, and ſo was about to ſpeak; but the Cardinal *de Monte* interrupting, told him, *That in thoſe Credentials, the Emperour called them not the Council, but the Convention at* Bolonia: *And though*, ſaid he, *this Congregation be not obliged to hear any Speech from you, inaſmuch as the Commiſſion exhibited does not relate to this holy Council, yet that no man may have any cauſe to complain, we do not refuſe to hear you, but upon this condition, that it be without Prejudice to us, or advantage to you; and that it may be lawful for us ſtill to continue the Council, and proceed to ſentence againſt thoſe who are contumacious and refractory, and to inflict ſuch puniſhments upon them as are appointed by the Canons of the Church.* After that *de Vargas* the Emperour's Embaſſador, proteſts that it may be entered into the publick Act, that he was hindered from ſpeaking firſt, and then goes on in this manner: *Since you have ſeen*, ſaid he, *the Emperour's Credential Letters, I'll now tell you what our Inſtructions are. We come hither before you to treat of a matter of greateſt importance, and not only we, but all Chriſtendom alſo, with earneſt Prayers do beg and beſeech you, that you would do therein what is reaſonable; for all men are of opinion, that if you too obſtinately perſiſt in a Reſolution, which*

The Pope's Legate to the Emperour's Embaſſadour.

De Vargas, the Emperour's Embaſſadour, his Speech to the Fathers.

which you have too raſhly once undertaken, it will prove very fatal to the Publick; but that if you deſiſt, and comply with the Emperour, all will be well: and that this may be underſtood by all men, we will trace the matter a little more backwards; for ſo it will plainly appear both how foully you'll erre, if you change not your mind, and alſo how laudably the Emperour ſtands affected towards the publick Concern of Chriſtendom: and herein we ſhall not ſpeak one word of our own heads, but ſtick cloſe to the Orders we have received. Here the Cardinal *de Monte* again interrupting him, *I am here,* ſaid he, *Preſident of this Sacred Council, the Legate of* Paul *III. Succeſſor to St.* Peter, *and the Vicar of Chriſt upon Earth, and here are theſe moſt holy Fathers to proceed in the Council lawfully tranſlated from* Trent, *to the Glory of God, and Salvation of Mankind. Wherefore we beſeech the Emperour, that he would change his Reſolution, and herein aſſiſt us, by reſtraining the Diſturbers of the Council: for he is not ignorant that they who hinder or obſtruct Holy Councils, whoever they be, are liable to the ſevereſt Penalties impoſed by the Canons; but happen what will, and whatſoever terrours are threatened, yet will we not abandon the Honour and Dignity of the Church and Council, nor our own neither.* When *de Vargas* had then openly read their Commiſſion, his Colleague *Velaſco* read the Proteſtation. It began with an account, *How the Emperour being earneſtly preſſed by the* Germans, *had often importuned Pope* Leo, Adrian, Clement, *and laſtly* Paul *III. to call a Council: How that* Paul *III. had called one firſt at* Mantua, *then at* Nicenza, *and laſtly, when it could not be had in thoſe places, at* Trent, *with conſent of the Emperour and the reſt of the States, becauſe it was a place very commodious for the* Italians, Spaniards, French *and* Germans, *and not deſtitute of Proviſions and other Neceſſaries: That when this place was then choſen for holding the Council, the Pope,* ſays he, *ſent thither his Legates the Cardinals* Pariſio, Mocono, *and* Pool; *as likewiſe the Biſhop of* Arras, *his Father* Granvell *and* Mendoza, *came from the Emperour; but when neither that ſeemed to the Pope to be a time fit enough, the matter was delayed, and new Legatees ſent from* Rome, *the Cardinals* de Monte, Santamore *and* Pool, *and from the Emperour the ſame* Mendoza *and* Franciſco *de* Toledo: *The Embaſſadours of other Princes came alſo, and People from all hands flocked in great numbers to* Trent. *Now at the ſame time the Emperour had Arms in* Germany *chiefly for the defence and propagation of Religion, that whom he could not perſwade, he might compel: And when by his proſperous ſucceſs in the War, he had brought into the way again thoſe who had ſlighted the Council, you who take to your ſelves the Title of Legates of the See of* Rome, *ſuddenly, and without acquainting the Pope, as you your ſelves ſay, for I know not what pretended cauſe, propoſe the tranſlation of the Council, and ſcarcely allowing time for conſultation, break up in a hurry, and depart from* Trent, *contrary to the advice and conſent of many excellent and virtuous Fathers, who ſaid it was an unreaſonable removal, and that they would not ſtir from* Trent. *In the mean time the Emperour marching into* Saxony, *overcame the Enemy at the* Elb, *and took the two Heads and Generals of the War; and nevertheleſs, both before and after the War, he often ſollicited the Pope by Letters and Meſſengers, that he would order the Fathers to return from* Bolonia *to* Trent; *for that it was very dangerous if it ſhould be otherwiſe. Afterwards he called a Diet at* Ausburg, *wherein at the Emperour's requeſt all the Princes and States, with great conſent, approved the Council of* Trent, *and promiſed, without any Condition, to obey it. When he had obtained that, he preſently ſent the Cardinal of* Trent *to* Rome, *to acquaint the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals therewith, and in name of the whole Empire to demand the continuation of the Council at* Trent. *He ordered* Mendoza *alſo to do the ſame: but the Pope took time to conſider of it, and having thought fit to conſult you about the matter, obtained from you a dubious, crafty, and captious Anſwer. Beſides, he anſwers the Emperour oddly, and ſhews ſufficiently by his tergiverſation, that he is little concerned for the Publick: for the cauſe of the removal ought to have been proved by credible Witneſſes. The Emperour,* King Ferdinand, *and the Princes, by Letters and moſt ample Embaſſies, declared what the mind of the States was concerning the Council; but the Pope believed and preferred the Report of ſome mean and baſe People, before the Teſtimony of all theſe. How many tedious and irkſome Journeys hath the Emperour made upon the account of the Council? What Charges and Expences hath he been at? And muſt all theſe be loſt? For moſt weighty and neceſſary cauſes was the Council both called and begun at* Trent, *the Emperour and* Germans *demanding it, and all other Chriſtian Princes conſenting thereunto; ſo that unleſs the publick Authority of all States intervene, it cannot be tranſlated to another place: for indeed there was no cauſe for the Tranſlation, only ſomething invented for an excuſe, as ſome ſlight Feaver, and badneſs of Air, forſooth; and for that purpoſe ſome Phyſicians were ſuborned, but chiefly Serving-Maids and Cooks. Now what a trifling cauſe that was, the thing it ſelf, and the event,*

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The ſawcineſs of the Cardinal *de Monte.*

The form of the Proteſtation againſt the Council.

1548. *vent, declared. You ſay, that you went away without the Pope's knowledge and advice; but the Letter he wrote to you, and the Anſwer he gave the Emperour, imply the quite contrary. Certainly you ought not to have departed, nor changed the place, but with conſent of the Emperour, to whom it belongs to protect all Councils; but you poſted away in ſo much haſte, that ye rejected the Opinion of thoſe who ſaid, that the Emperour and Pope ought firſt to be conſulted. Now if you muſt needs have been removing, ye ought to have obſerved at leaſt the Decrees of the Holy Councils, and remained within the bounds of* Germany, *that the* Germans, *for whoſe cauſe chiefly the Council was called, might ſafely come to it: but now ye have choſen* Bolonia, *a Town ſeated in the heart of* Italy, *and under the Juriſdiction of the Church of* Rome, *whither it is certain the* Germans *will not come; and therefore have you choſen it, that to the great prejudice and diſgrace of* Chriſtendom, *the Council may be either diſſolved, or managed at your pleaſure. The Emperour therefore requireth, and that moſt earneſtly, that you return to that place which pleaſed all before, eſpecially ſince all things are now ſafe and quiet, and no more cauſe of any fear remains. But if this you refuſe, I do here in the name, and by command of the Emperour, proteſt againſt this Tranſlation of the Council, as frivolous and unlawful, and that all that has been done or ſhall be done therein, is of no force nor effect. I alſo publickly declare, That that Anſwer of yours is ſilly and full of Lyes, and that the prejudice and inconveniences which hereafter ſhall enſue to the Publick, are not to be imputed to the Emperour, but to you, affirming withal, that you have no Power nor Authority to remove the Council: And becauſe you neglect the publick Welfare, the Emperour, as Protector of the Church, will take the care of that upon himſelf, in ſo far as it is lawful for him by Law, and the Canons of Holy Church.* When he had read over that Proteſtation, he delivered a written Copy of it, and deſired it to be entered upon Record. With that the Cardinal *de Monte* having highly commended the pious intentions of the Fathers, called God to witneſs, that they had wrong done them, ſaying, They were ready to ſuffer death, rather than that ſuch a practice ſhould be brought into the Church, that the Civil Magiſtrate might call or controul a Council when and how he pleaſed. That the Emperour was indeed a Son of the Church, but not the Lord and Maſter: That he and his Colleagues were the Legates of the Apoſtolick See, and did not refuſe even then to render firſt to God, and then to the Pope, an account of their Commiſſion: That after all, within a few days they ſhould have an Anſwer to their Proteſtation. Much about the ſame time *Mendoza* having received Inſtructions from the Emperour, made a Proteſtation to the ſame effect at *Rome*, before the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals, and in preſence of all the Forreign Embaſſadours, whom, according to his Inſtructions, he had invited to be Witneſſes of it.

THE

1548.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH.

BOOK XX.

The CONTENTS.

In the beginning it is hotly disputed, whether Prussia *belong to the King of* Poland, *or rather to the Empire. The Pope makes a large Answer to the Harangue that* Mendoza *made before. The Emperour being informed of that, and seeing but very little hopes of a Council, causes the Book, which is called the* Interim, *to be made. The Protector of* England *in a very long Letter to the* Scots *counsels them to Peace, and demands their Queen.* Vogelsberg *is beheaded. The Emperour invests Duke* Maurice *in the Electorship, which he had bestowed upon him in the Camp before* Wittemberg. Bucer *refuses to subscribe to the* Interim: *The Pope also publishes a Censure of it: which many of the Electors and Princes also did; and many refuse it, though it was published by the Emperour. The Duke of* Saxony, *though a Prisoner, with great magnanimity rejects it. The* Landgrave, *by Letters which were published from the Emperours Court, seems to approve it, that he may obtain his freedom. Whil'st the Mass is abolished in* England *by Act of Parliament, the free Towns of* Germany *are solicited to accept of the* Interim, *and especially* Strasburg, *which is pressed by Threats to do it.*

WE have shewn in the former Books, that Marques *Albert* of *Brandenburg* did Homage to the King of *Poland*, and altered the Government of *Prussia*, for which he was Outlaw'd by the Imperial Chamber: As also, that the King of *Poland* had several times solicited the Emperour and rest of the States, in the Publick Diets, to reverse that Outlawry, because he was his Vassal and under his Protection: But since to this day nothing could be obtained, and that by this Victory of the Emperours, some greater danger seemed to be threatned; the King of *Poland* sends an Embassy to this Diet, whereof the chief was *Stanislaus Alaski*. He in the month of *January* delivered to the Emperour and Colledge of the Princes, a Speech in Writing, whereof the substance was: That the Cause of *Prussia* had been some times already debated, but because it had been always put off to other Diets, he was commanded to open it again; that the King was in good hopes, because of the civil Answers he had often received from them, and of the equity of his Cause, they would Consider his Affair; yet not as Judges, but as Honourable and Worthy Princes. And in the first place, saith he, for clearing of the matter, I am to speak some things of the *Prutenick* Order. The Kings of *Poland* made over a good part of

The King of *Polands* Embassy in behalf of *Albert* of *Brandenburg*.

The Harangue of the Polish Ambassador in the Diet of *Ausburg*.

The Institution of the *Teutonick Order*.

1548. of *Pruſſia* to this Order, which is commonly called the *Teutonick Order*, upon condition, that they would ſerve them in the Wars againſt Infidels and the Enemies of Chriſtendom: But they, having moſt ungratefully rebelled, turned their Arms againſt their own Sovereigns: So that many times they had Wars together, and many times in Treaties the Conditions were renewed, which, by reaſon of their antiquity, it is to no purpoſe to relate: And I ſhall only mention that, which happened almoſt in our memory.

Caſimire King of *Poland* ſubdues the Teutonicks.

King *Caſimire*, the Father of *Sigiſmund*, having overcome them in a great Battel, forced them to accept of Conditions of Peace. Amongſt other things, it was agreed upon at that time, that, for the future, they ſhould acknowledge the King of *Poland* for their chief Magiſtrate, and ſwear Allegiance unto him. But there were ſome Maſters of that Order afterwards, who violated the Conditions, and put themſelves under the Protection of others. Amongſt theſe was *Albert* of *Brandenburg* for one, who, being by his Tenure obliged to do Homage to the King his Uncle within ſix months, refuſed to do it; ſo that the King, who was a great lover of peace, was forced to make War againſt him. And though it never came to a pitcht Battle betwixt them, yet much miſchief was done by Inrodes, plundering, burning of Houſes, and ſmaller skirmiſhes; in ſo much, that *Albert* being overpowred, came to make a Truce with the King. At the very ſame time, ſome forces came to his aſſiſtance out of *Germany*; which made him depart without concluding any thing, and begin the War again afreſh: But being forſaken of them not long after, he was now forced to do in good earneſt, what he had only pretended to do before, that he might obtain a Peace. So that by the mediation of ſome, Peace was at length concluded, upon theſe Conditions; That he ſhould ſwear Allegiance to the King, and perform all thoſe things, that a true and faithful Vaſſal ought to do to his Liege Lord. It is certain, then, That *Pruſſia* hath, time out of mind, and ever ſince the Chriſtian Religion was planted there, both by the Law of Arms, and by Mutual Compacts and Agreements, belonged to the Crown of *Poland*; for if any others have claimed right to it, that has been done by the Inſolence and Injuſtice of the Maſters of the Order; who, being, by the permiſſion of our Kings, Natives of *Germany*, have often attempted to bring *Pruſſia* under the Dominion of Strangers, which hath occaſioned many broils and quarrels betwixt the *Poles* and *Germans*, and was the cauſe of the Decree whereby *Albert* ſtands proſcribed; But what power had they, who proſcribed him, over the Vaſſal of another? For that he did not appear in Judgment, when he was cited by thoſe who were not competent Judges, he did ſo by the Kings Command, on whom the whole blame is to be laid, if any there be: Now if he be outlawed for acknowledging the King to be his chief Magiſtrate; it is really very unjuſt, that a Man ſhould be puniſhed for doing his Duty: Wherefore it is the earneſt Suit of the King my Maſter to you, moſt Triumphant Emperour, and moſt Noble States, that that unjuſt and unlawful Decree of Proſcription may be aboliſhed. Nor is it to be thought, that the King out of any ambitious or covetous deſign intends to enlarge his Dominions by the acceſſion of *Pruſſia*: For how can he be ſuſpected of any ſuch thing, who has refuſed moſt ample Provinces offered unto him? And, indeed, he values not this Country ſo much, but that, if he could do it with his Honour, he could eaſily diſpenſe with it; but ſince it properly belongs to his Dominions, as it hath been already often made out, he can do no otherwiſe; for that there have been frequent ſtrifes and contentions about it, it hath been always the fault of the Maſters of the Order, as hath been ſaid, whom God failed not, now and then, to puniſh for their Audacious Crimes. Your Grandfather *Maximilian*, moſt mighty Emperour, and King *Ferdinand*, knew this very well, who being mindful of the injuries, which both he and his Father *Frederick* had received from them, made a ſolemn promiſe to King *Sigiſmund*, when they had an Interview at *Vienna*; and this Promiſe he made too, both in his own and your Names, that he would never give any aſſiſtance to that Order. Now *Maximilian* in this did no new thing, but therein followed the footſteps of his Anceſtors; for both *Sigiſmund* the Emperour, in an Interview with *Ladiſlaus* my Maſters Grandfather, promiſed not only as much, but alſo to give aſſiſtance againſt them; and your Great Grandfather *Frederick* the Emperour joyned Forces and Arms with *Caſimire* the Father of King *Sigiſmund*, againſt *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, and the Order we now ſpeak of, who were at that time Confederates. And though King *Caſimire*, being entangled in the War of this Order, could not ſend Auxiliaries to the Emperour *Frederick*, yet he ſupplied him with the Money that he

Albert of *Brandenburg* refuſes to do Homage to the King of *Poland*.

Albert makes Peace with the King of *Poland*.

Owed

owed him by virtue of their League and Agreement. So that it plainly appears, that this Order hath been always an Enemy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which hath ever been moſt cloſely united to *Poland* by the Bonds of Leagues and Alliances; and that King *Sigiſmund* now refers to your ſerious Conſideration. For if there be any of that Order, that look upon themſelves as bound to fight for the Chriſtian Religion, there is nothing for them to do in *Pruſſia*; ſince all Neighbouring States profeſs the Faith of Chriſt. They are to look for other places then, where they may imploy themſelves; and indeed *Jeruſalem* for ſome Ages now has been in the poſſeſſion of a barbarous Enemy, for the defence of which place, this Order is ſaid to have been inſtituted: *Conſtantinople* alſo is in the hands of the ſame People: Here is work enough cut out for them, if they have a mind to be doing. Or, if they think the pretenſion too old, and the place too far diſtant, there have been many ſtrong Holds of Chriſtendom lately taken, why do not the Order march thither, that either they may regain what is loſt, or defend what remains from the Enemy? But if they delight more in Civil War, any Man may then judge, how ill they deſerve their Name. This, indeed, is the Caſe, It is an Order that hath always been out of order. And therefore they were not only driven out of *Pruſſia*, but, an hundred years ago, out of *Bohemia* alſo; nor hath any Man as yet ſued for a Donation of thoſe places in *Bohemia* out of which they were expulſed, as being publick and vacant: *Poland* alone is thought fit to be moleſted that way, whereas it ought moſt of all to have been favoured; for, though that Order is offenſive to many, yet none has ſuffered ſo much from it, as *Poland* does: Becauſe, excepting ſome few, and thoſe too the firſt Maſters, hardly any of the reſt ever did their Duty: Nay, for the moſt part, letting the Barbarians alone, they turned their Arms againſt their own Sovereign, the King of *Poland*: And not only ſo, but they Negotiated alſo a League with the *Tartars*, a cruel ſort of Men, and implacable Enemies to the Chriſtians, as it is reported of *Michael Cochmeſter*. So that if one ſhould reckon up the Labours, Perils, Charges, Wars, Tumults, Battels, Slaughters and Deſolations, that this Order, above all others, has been the cauſe of, he'll find it to be hardly worth ſo much. Now it is the Kings deſire, that, once for all, an end may be put to theſe Evils; for if any make War againſt *Albert* Duke of *Pruſſia*, the King cannot ſit ſtill and ſee him wronged, becauſe he is both his Uncle and Patron. The threatnings of ſome flie about, and are brought to the Kings Ears, and he is very much troubled thereat, for he loves peace and quietneſs, and above all, the Concord of Chriſtendom: However, if any offer Violence, it will be againſt his will, indeed, to take up Arms, but for all that, he will do it for the defence of him and his. He deſires the friendſhip of all Princes, but yours eſpecially, moſt mighty Emperour, and King *Ferdinand*, and wiſhes it may be perpetual; therefore he hath often interceded with you by Letters and Meſſengers, that the Decree of Proſcription againſt *Albert* might be recalled: And that it hath not as yet been done, he imputes it not ſo much to you, as to the troubleſome times: But now, that all rubs and impediments are removed out of your way, he thinks it is now in your power to accompliſh what ſometimes you generouſly promiſed; when in more Letters than one you aſſured him, that you wanted ability rather than good will to gratifie his deſires. Now in caſe the Order will not be quiet, but raiſe Stirs and War, he is very confident that you will obſerve the Articles and Compacts of your Predeceſſors, the Emperours, *Maximilian* and *Frederick*. One thing more I have in my Inſtructions, and that concerns the Cities of *Dantzick* and *Elwang*. Though theſe are under the Dominion of *Poland*, yet are they called to the Diets of the Empire; the King therefore deſires, that no ſuch thing may be done for the future, and ſince no Man, but he, hath any right to them, that henceforward they may be ſuffered to enjoy their own Laws. When the Emperour had heard his Demands, he made a Report of them to the Diet of the Empire, and gave a Copy of the Speech to *Wolfgang*, Maſter of *Pruſſia*; who, *January* the Twenty third, made an Anſwer to it in the vulgar Language; and having begun with a little Preface: The Hinge of the whole Controverſie turns upon this, ſaith he, Whether *Pruſſia* belong to the Dominion of *Poland* or to the Empire? and if I make out the laſt, the deciſion will be very eaſie. The State of the Caſe then, moſt Triumphant Emperour, moſt Potent King, moſt Noble Princes and States, is thus, as I am about to ſhew you.

1548.

The Maſter of *Pruſſia*'s Anſwer to the Speech of the Poliſh Ambaſſador.

About four hundred years ſince, when a publick War was undertaken againſt the Barbarians, who exceedingly diſtreſſed thoſe of our Religion in *Aſia* and *Africa*, the Order we now ſpeak of was inſtituted, by Emperours afterward bountifully endowed, and

The Original of the *Teutonick Order*.

1548. and by Popes confirmed. The Knights of that Order, for ſome years after, ſuſtained moſt difficult and dangerous Wars in thoſe parts for the good of Chriſtendom; but, at length having received a great overthrow, they were ſcattered and diſperſed into ſeveral places. It happened about that time, that *Conrade* Duke of *Muſcovy* was ſadly put to it by the *Pruſſians*, who were then Enemies to the Chriſtian Religion; He, being unable to defend himſelf any longer againſt them, implored firſt the Pope of *Rome*, that, as the Cuſtom was, he would publiſh a *Croiſade*, and by promiſes of Heavenly Rewards encourage Men to become Soldiers: Then next he joyned to himſelf this Order of mine, beſtowing upon them all the Country of *Culm*, bordering upon *Pruſſia*; and the more to excite them, afterwards all *Pruſſia* it ſelf. The Emperour *Frederick* II. confirmed this Donation, and made a promiſe to *Herman Saleie* then Maſter of the Order, That if he would make War againſt the *Pruſſians*, and overcome them, their Land ſhould be his for ever. This was in the year 1226. ſo that my Order having by the help of the Emperours, Popes, and Princes of the Empire carried on a continual War againſt the *Pruſſians*, for almoſt fifty three years, at length they ſubdued *Pruſſia*, and converted it to the Chriſtian Religion, adorning it with ſome Biſhopricks and Colledges, and ſtrengthening it by Caſtles and Towns, which they built, that for the future, that Country might be as a Wall and Bariere to the Empire, and a Sanctuary for the Nobility of *Germany*. Thus one part of that Country continued in our hands, until the year 1450. and the other till the time of *Albert* of *Brandenburg*. When in proceſs of time afterwards, the *Lithuanians*, joyning with the *Tartars*, made War againſt the *Poles* and *Muſcovites*, our Knights, being mindful of their Order and Inſtitution, took Arms, totally routed the *Lithuanians*, and invaded their Country. So that we had a laſting Peace and Amity with the *Poles*, until a certain Prince of *Lithuania* was choſen King of *Poland*. He, to revenge the loſs and affront that his Country had received, ſuddenly ſet upon us, and with the Aſſiſtance of the Barbarians did us much hurt: But being by our Men forced to retreat, and ſtript of a conſiderable part of his own Dominions, he made but an unlucky end of the War, ſo that he preferred his Grievances to the Council of *Conſtance*; whereupon a Decree was made, That our Order ſhould reſtore that part of *Poland*, which they held by the Law of Arms. Having in this manner recovered what he had loſt, he forgot the kindneſs that was done him, and renewed the War, pretending that ſome Provinces of our Order belonged to the Dominion of *Poland*. And though by the Mediation of the Kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* the matter was taken up, yet the ſore broke out again, and at length the Cauſe was brought before *Sigiſmund* the Emperour, who approved the former Compoſition that was made by the two Kings. However the King of *Poland* could not reſt thus, but raiſed another War, which laſted till twenty four years after; in the Reign of *Ladiſlaus*, it was made an end of at *Torn*. In which Pacification, he quits all Claim and Title, calls not himſelf Lord or Inheritor of *Pruſſia*; and obliges all his Succeſſors, that within a year after they come to the Crown, they ſwear to Ratifie that Peace, make the Biſhops and other States of the Kingdom take the ſame Oath, and that every tenth year the ſame be renewed. It was then alſo Stipulated, that if thenceforward any King of *Poland* ſhould wage War againſt the Maſters of *Pruſſia*, his Subjects ſhould not be obliged to obey or aid him, but that they ſhould mutually entertain a perpetual Peace. And this ſame Pacification was ſealed with about two hundred Seals, as it may be made appear; nevertheleſs that Peace laſted not above fourteen years. For in the year 1450, the People rebelled and conſpired againſt the Maſter, and although the Pope Excommunicated, and the Emperour *Frederick the Third* Proſcribed them; although the Maſter was willing to ſubmit to a fair Trial, yet they were ſo far from being reclaimed, that about ſeventy Towns and Caſtles made a deſertion in one day: *Caſimire* King of *Poland*, the Father of *Sigiſmund*, ſtruck in with this Conſpiracy, and reduced us to ſuch ſtreights, that *Lewis Erlinſuſe*, who was then Maſter of the Order, forced by fear of the preſent danger, which may affect even the ſtouteſt of Men, that he might both retain the Province, and live ſecurely therein, Capitulated with him upon moſt unreaſonable Conditions, without the Authority of Pope, Emperour, or States of the Empire. Amongſt others, theſe are the Conditions of this Peace, That henceforward the Maſters of *Pruſſia*, within ſix months after they enter into the Government, ſhall come to the King of *Poland*, and by Oath acknowledge him for their Sovereign, whom they ſhall aid and aſſiſt againſt all Men: That they ſhall receive *Poles* as well as *Germans* into their Order, and admit

Conrade Duke of *Muſcovy* afflicted by the *Pruſſians*.

Pruſſia converted to the Chriſtian Religion.

A Pacification betwixt the King of *Poland* and Maſter of *Pruſſia*.

The King of *Poland* takes 70 Towns from the Maſter of *Pruſſia*.

The Articles of the Peace betwixt *Caſimire* King of *Poland* and the Maſter of *Pruſſia*.

mit them to Perferments, and that what Lands and Poſſeſſions they ſhall acquire for the future, the ſame they ſhall hold in fee of the King of *Poland*. Now theſe are Conditions, which tend not only to the private loſs and prejudice of my Order, but alſo to the publick detriment and diſgrace of the Empire and Nobility of *Germany*. And therefore there have been Maſters ſince, who, perceiving the injuſtice of the thing, made ſad Complaints of it to the Popes and Emperours, but, for all that, they have been forced to Swear. And *Pruſſia* continued indeed, in Vaſſalage to the Empire, until *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, and Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, became Maſters of the Order. For theſe would not ſwear Allegiance to the Kings of *Poland*, becauſe that neither the Pope nor Emperour had ratified that Tranſaction of *Caſimire*'s; and that in the year 1500, the Emperour *Maximilian*, by a Decree made in the Diet of *Ausburg*, commanded them to do Homage only to the Empire. And when afterward for ſettling the Controverſie, *Maximilian* had appointed a Meeting at *Paſſaw*, in the year 1510. whither Ambaſſadours were ſent, yet nothing could be concluded; whence this laſt War aroſe; beſides *Albert* himſelf was four and twenty years ſince at the Diet of *Norimberg*, where he took his place amongſt others as a Prince of the Empire, and ſigned the Decree that paſt there. It is manifeſt then, that neither the King of *Poland* had any right to *Pruſſia*, nor *Albert* any colour of Law to do Homage and Swear Allegiance to him. Now whereas the Ambaſſador reproacheth my Order with ingratitude and breach of Treaties, he does us an injury, and it may be made out by Authentick Records, that the King of *Poland* ſeldom or never kept faith to us. Was there ever any publick Inſtrument ſeen, to which more Seals were put, than that which was made with King *Ladiſlaus*? Can greater ſecurity be given? And nevertheleſs, that Writing being cancelled, and the Seals broken, the War was again renewed againſt us: and this was the Thanks we had, for reſtoring unto them *Tartary* and a good part of *Lithuania*. He names ſome Emperours of former times, who, he ſay's, were offended with my Order; but the matter is far otherwiſe. For *Sigiſmund* not only determined the Controverſie, and judged in our favours, as was ſaid a little before, but alſo ſent us Aids againſt our Enemy. Then again, *Frederick*, at that time when the People rebelled, as we have already mentioned, ſhew'd us not only all friendſhip and favour, but alſo proſcribed the Conſpirators, and for that end held a Diet of the Empire at *Norimberg*, in which Diet, a Decree paſt for ſending us Succours. The ſame were the good Intentions of *Maximilian* towards us; for neither would he have us to ſwear Allegiance to the King of *Poland*; but ſent ſeveral Letters upon that account to King *Sigiſmund*, both in his own Name, and Name of the Empire, and made then an Honourable Decree in our Favours. The Orator goes on, and in a facetious manner plays upon us; asking, Why we do not recover *Jeruſalem*, and ſuch other places? I am not ſo wholly a Stranger to Affairs, but that I could could retort many things upon him; but in Reverence to this Auguſt Aſſembly I forbear, and ſhall only ask one Queſtion again of him; Firſt, Why the King of *Poland* does not recover the places, which ſome years ago the Duke of *Muſcovy* took from him? and which are as large in extent, as all *Pruſſia* is: And then, why in this his proſperous fortune, he defends not his borders againſt thoſe daily incurſions of the *Tartars*? Theſe now are puniſhments for his breach of faith. He ſaith, that heretofore our whole Order was driven out of *Bohemia*: What reaſon he had to alledge that, I cannot tell, unleſs he intended to prove by Example, that it was lawful to rob and ſpoil us alſo of our Lands and Poſſeſſions. For the Calamity of that time reached not only our Order, but alſo overſpread all *Bohemia*, plagueing thoſe chiefly who adhered to the Religion of their Forefathers, when grievous troubles aroſe about the Doctrine of *John Huſs*. My Order, I confeſs, have had Wars with the Kings of *Poland*, but that they were the Cauſes of the War, I utterly deny: Nor did they ever take up Arms, unleſs it were to defend or recover their own Right. He ſaith, we made a League with the *Tartars*, but that had more truely been ſaid of themſelves; it being notoriouſly known, that they have made uſe of their helps againſt thoſe that profeſſed the Chriſtian Religion: Beſides, it may be eaſily gathered from the ſituation of the Countrys, whether, by reaſon of propinquity, the *Tartars* are more for their turns, or ours. Laſtly, what he ſaith of *Dantzick* and *Elwang*, hath no reaſon to ſupport it; for both are Cities within our Juriſdiction, and belong to the Empire of *Germany*, nor hath the King of *Poland* any other Right or Title to them, but what he has made to himſelf by the treachery and deſertion of the Citizens, as might be made

1548.

How long *Pruſſia* continued under the Empire.

1548. made out by many proofs. Wherefore, in conſideration of all theſe things, I humbly beg, moſt Triumphant Emperour, moſt Powerful King, and moſt Noble States, that the Sentence already pronounced may be put in execution. For the Juſtice of the Cauſe, the Dignity of the Empire, the State of Religion, and the Honour and Profit of the Nobility of *Germany*, all theſe things, I ſay, ought and do plead for this at your Hands.

The Ambaſſadour of *Poland* had, indeed, prepared a Reply to this Speech, but did not give it in; for the Reaſons of both Parties being heard, a Committee out of the whole Diet was choſen to conſider of the Matter. The Reſult of their Deliberation was, That the Sentence paſt againſt *Albert* ſhould ſtand good; but nevertheleſs, becauſe they ſaw, that it would prove a moſt difficult Buſineſs to put it in execution, they refer the whole Matter to the Emperour. Some time after King *Sigiſmund* died at a great Age, after he had Reigned Two and fourty years. *Caſimire*, as has been ſaid, was his Father. He had three Brothers, of whom *Ladiſlaus* was King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, the Father of King *Louis* and *Anne*; *John*, *Albert*, and *Alexander* having ſucceſſively Reigned after their Father *Caſimire*, died without Children, and left the Government to their youngeſt Brother *Sigiſmund*; to whom ſucceeded his Son of the ſame Name, and Son in Law to *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*.

The death of *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*.

It has been ſaid in the former Book, that *Mendoza* proteſted againſt the Council at *Rome*. To that, the Pope, having called a Conſiſtory of Cardinals *February* the firſt, made this Anſwer. When you told Us, ſaid he, my Lord Ambaſſador, that you had Orders from the Emperour, to proteſt againſt the Council, you ſtruck us all with great grief: But when afterwards we diligently conſidered your Commiſſion, we took heart again; and firſt, I will ſay ſomewhat to the cauſe of our Grief. And it is, becauſe that kind of proteſting is a thing of bad Example, made uſe of chiefly by thoſe, who have either wholly ſhaken off their Obedience, or have begun to waver in it. Wherefore it grieved me exceedingly, who have always born a Fatherly Love towards the Emperor, and, as it becomes the Paſtor of the Church, ſtudied Peace and Concord. And it grieved both me and the Colledge of Cardinals the more that at this time, it was the thing we leaſt expected; ſince the Emperour when he made War againſt his and the Churches Enemies, had Aid and Aſſiſtance from me. And though, my Lord Ambaſſador, you ſeem to make but ſmall account of this, yet it ought to be reckoned as a ſingular favour: For the Aid, I ſent, was very great, ſo as it even exceeded the reach of the Apoſtolical Chamber, and came beſides in a moſt ſeaſonable time. What could have been leſs expected then, than that after a Victory, and lately obtained too, the Emperour ſhould render unto me ſuch fruits of his Faith and Benevolence? Such, I ſay, as that the end of the War ſhould be the beginning of proteſting againſt me. I have now found by Experience, what the Prophet complaineth of, *That I looked for good Grapes, but found none but ſower Grapes.* From my entrance into the Popedom, I have, with much care, cheriſhed the Emperour, as a moſt noble Plant, that ſome time or other I might reap a moſt plentiful Vintage; but this attempt of his hath made me almoſt deſpair of any fruit. You have heard the cauſe of our Grief, now you ſhall know what it is that hath given us Comfort. You have uſed that Authority, which, you think, has been given you, of proteſting againſt me and this ſacred Colledge, in a manner as was neither Honourable to us, nor becoming the Character of the Emperour: But in your Letters of Inſtructions there is not one word, which ſhews it to have been the Emperours will, that you ſhould have acted ſo: I ſay, not one word, that you may the better underſtand me, that gives you power to do ſo. The Emperour, indeed, Commands his Agents at *Bolonia*, that they ſhould ſo roteſt before our Legats there, who changed the place of the Council; and hen you found that that was done there, you would needs uſe the ſame form of roteſtation here with us; but in that you have tranſgreſſed the bounds of your ommiſſion. If, my Lord Ambaſſadour, you were not ſenſible of that before, ike now Admonition and acknowledge it. For the Emperour's Orders are, not hat you ſhould proteſt againſt us, but that you ſhould do it in this our Conſiſtory, gainſt the Legats, who were the Authors of the Tranſlation. Wherefore the mperour in that did the Duty of a moſt modeſt Prince, who confined himſelf ithin thoſe limits, and would have that Proteſtation to be made before me, hom he knew to be the only lawful Judge of the whole Matter. Had I, indeed, refuſed to take cogniſance of the Affair, then would he have had a cauſe of

The Popes haughty Speech to the Emperours Ambaſſador.

The Pope taxes *Mendoza* as having tranſgreſſed his Commiſſion.

Pro-

Proteſtation; but you, taking another courſe than you ought to have done, made no application to me, that I ſhould examine the Matter, but made uſe of a certain Prejudice, demanding, that I ſhould annul the Decree made for tranſlating the Council, and enjoyn the greateſt part of the Fathers to give place to a few, who remained at *Trent*. And what could more enervate all the Authority of the Council, than that? Had it not been much more reaſonable, that, if the ſmall number which is at *Trent* had had any cauſe of Complaint againſt the reſt, who are at *Bolonia*, they ſhould have brought it before me: I would not then, truly, have rejected their demands, nor would I neither now reject them Since, then, it is certain, that your way of acting is not conſonant to the Emperours Intentions, we have cauſe to thank God, who thus diſpoſes his Mind and Purpoſes; we have cauſe to Congratulate, and you alſo to Rejoyce, in your Princes behalf. And though by what we have ſaid, the foundation of your Plea and Proceeding is wholly overturned, ſo that there is no need of making Anſwer to your Proteſtation; nevertheleſs, that I may not by my ſilence ſeem to acknowledge the truth of your Accuſations, and thereby offend many, eſpecially the weaker ſort, I will refute them ſeverally. And in the firſt place, therefore, You ſeem to have propoſed this Scope to your ſelf, that you may expoſe me as negligent, a Shuffler, and Starter of Delays, to baffle the ſitting of the Council, and make the Emperour appear on the other hand, to be a vigilant and active Prince, ſolicitous for the publick good, and wholly bent upon the ſitting of the Council. Truly, I do not, nor ought I, envy the Emperours Praiſes; and had you ſtopt there, and gone no farther, I ſhould have nothing to anſwer; but, becauſe you ſo extol him, as to depreſs me; ſo celebrate his Praiſes, as to render me in ſome ſort Contemptible; whilſt you ſay, that he urged not only me, but my Predeceſſors, Popes of *Rome*, to call a Council; the Thing it ſelf requires, that I ſhould anſwer you, as to theſe things. Wherefore, if it has been always the Emperours mind and deſire, that a Council ſhould be held, I have ever been of the ſame mind, as well as he: And beſides, as I am older than he, ſo alſo have I wiſhed for this ſooner than he, which the moſt eminent Cardinals, who were then of this Colledge, can teſtifie. When I was made Pope, I perſevered in the ſame mind, and upon the very leaſt occaſion that offered, I called a Council, firſt at *Mantua*, and afterwards at *Vicenza*; but thither hardly any, and hither but a few, came: And the Legats, that I ſent, for ſix months ſtayed, expecting the reſt of the Biſhops, whom I called, by Letters and Meſſengers ſent unto all Parts. Now, you ſay, that theſe Towns were not fit for Men of different Nations to meet in, but *Trent*, with you, is a proper place. And yet all Men know, that *Trent* is not to be compared with them, either for bigneſs, or plenty of all things. It was not the inconvenience of the place, then, but the Wars of Princes that was the hindrance. Tell me, then, now, which of the two was moſt zealous in this particular; the Emperour, who by Wars and Commotions hindered the Council; or the Pope, who was always a Lover and Promoter of Peace, who never ſided with any Prince but the Emperour alone, and that too, only in that War which ſeemed to ſecure a way for a Council? Whether the Emperour was forced upon War, and unwillingly engaged in it, or not, I ſhall not diſpute; but, it is certainly known, that the Wars put a ſtop to the progreſs of the Council. I enter not willingly unto this Compariſon, becauſe it is a contending for the praiſe of Virtue and Goodneſs; which is all to be aſcribed unto God; but you have put me upon it, my Lord Ambaſſadour. However, I will not inſiſt any longer, only adviſe you, to reflect ſeriouſly on the ſeveral years of my Pontificate, and attentively conſider, what care and pains we have taken. And, indeed, the two things, which I always propoſed to my ſelf, were, that I might entertain peace amongſt Princes, and call a Council, wherein I have ſpared neither coſt nor labour, though I be ſtricken in years; but neither do you find fault with any thing that preceded the Council, and only accuſe the Legats, that, without my knowledge, they removed to *Bolonia*: Then it offends you too, that I call the Aſſembly of the Fathers at *Bolonia*, a Council, and you think, that therein I do an injury to thoſe who are at *Trent*; but what hurt is there in that? for ſo all Men ſpeak; The Council is tranſlated from *Trent* to *Bolonia*. Wherefore, if I would do the duty of a juſt Judge, I cannot but call it ſo, till I be otherwiſe convinced by contrary Evidences, eſpecially ſince the greater part of the Biſhops went thither with my Legats. Nor ought the ſmaller part, as you affirm, but the greater, to be reckoned the founder, in a dubious caſe. And it is certain, that

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The Popes Expreſſions concerning his perpetual reſolution of calling a Council.

His comparing himſelf with the Emperour.

The ſinguſar purpoſe of the Pope.

1548. it is in the Councils power to remove to another place; but whether or no it be lawfully removed, which is the thing in controverſie, I reſerve that to my own Judgment, to which it is referred, and, in the mean time give the name of Council to that Aſſembly. But you ſay, that the Authors of the Tranſlation are devoted to me: Do you think, that is to be found fault with, then? You conſequently praiſe thoſe, who remained at *Trent*, becauſe they are not ſo complaiſant. Conſider, what danger there is in that; for Schiſms and Diſſentions, that are very pernicious to the Church, commonly ſpring from this, when Biſhops withdraw themſelves from their obedience to the Pope. But if, by being addicted to me, you mean Factious Men, that right or wrong take my part, I own no ſuch. For I have no other private Concerns, but thoſe of a Father towards his Children, and of a Paſtor towards his Flock; nor hath there any ſuch Controverſie been as yet ſtarted in the Council, that I ſhould ſtand in need of any ſuch addicted and pre-engaged Creatures; but I chiefly required of the Biſhops, that they have regard to the liberty of their Conſcience, and I laid ſtrict Injunctions on my Legats, when they departed from me, to the Council, that they ſhould take ſpecial care, that the Fathers might have no cauſe to complain, that they were not allowed the freedom of ſpeaking their Judgments. You find fault alſo, that I will not be prevailed with by the Intreaties neither of the Emperour, King *Ferdinand*, nor of the States of the Empire, to recal the Fathers to *Trent*, and from thence gather, that I take no care of *Germany*; eſpecially ſeeing, with great pains and trouble, the Emperour has brought it about, that thoſe, who heretofore were fallen off from the Church, would not now refuſe the Decrees of the Council, provided it were continued at *Trent*. Truly, I never refuſed in poſitive terms, but that they might return to *Trent*, if it might be done lawfully, and without giving offence to other Nations. Now, how deſirous I am of the welfare of *Germany*, is manifeſt from this, that I have called the Council there twice already, and twice ſent my Legats, where the Cardinals *Pairizio*, *Morono* and *Pool*, in the firſt Legation, ſtayed the ſpace of ſeven Months, expecting the coming particularly of the *Germans*, and yet you your ſelf know, that none came then. There came, indeed from the Emperour, *Granvell*, the Biſhop of *Arras*, and you your ſelf, my Lord Ambaſſador, and you can bear witneſs, with how much patience our Legats expected the reſt. But what was the iſſue? Ye your ſelves did not tarry, and though my Legats prayed, that one of you three, at leaſt, might ſtay, becauſe it would be an example to others, nevertheleſs you alledged a certain kind of excuſe, and a few days after departed. Then two years after, being, indeed, a more convenient time, there was a ſecond meeting there, and I ſent Legats, the Cardinals *de Monte*, *Santacruce*, and *Pool*; whither you alſo, and *Don Franceſco de Toledo* came. But you may call to mind, what a tedious expectation there was, and how many Months ſpent in vain, before any thing was done. Nay more, after that they had fallen to Buſineſs, and many uſeful Decrees were made, you know, how few of thoſe came, who chiefly wanted that Remedy. Not any of the Biſhops came; ſome few ſent their Proxy's; and in ſhort, they gave no hopeful ſigns, that they would admit of any Remedy. For when many flocked thither out of *Spain*, *France*, *Italy* and more remote Provinces, ſcarcely one came from *Germany*, which is the next of all. But the ſtate of Affairs is now much altered, you ſay, and the Emperour, whoſe Power and Authority is now much increaſed, will engage, that if the Council return to *Trent*, all the *Germans* ſhall ſubmit to its Decrees. Good, my Lord Ambaſſadour, if what you ſay be true, and if the *Germans* be in that mind, why do not they abſolutely ſubmit to the Council, wherever it be? Yet I would not be ſo underſtood neither, as if it much concerned me, in what place the Council be held. But you ſtick ſo cloſe to *Trent*, that, you ſay, *Germany* is loſt, unleſs it be finiſhed in the ſame place where it was begun. But take heed what you ſay. For whil'ſt you faſten us to the Walls of one City, you do an injury to the Holy Ghoſt. God of old ſet apart *Jeruſalem* as the peculiar place of his Worſhip; ſo it pleaſed him then: But when our Saviour *Chriſt Jeſus*, that Sun of Righteouſneſs, ſhone forth, diſpelling the Miſts and Shadows of Legal Ceremonies, he would be Adored in all places. You introduce, then, a new Bondage, when you inſiſt ſo much upon one place. But, ſeeing *Germany* is to be healed, it is neceſſary, that the Council be kept there: What then, if the *Danes*, *Goths*, and *Britans*, were ſick of the ſame Diſeaſes? Muſt every one of them have a General Council held within their own Countries? No, not ſo; and in calling of Councils, regard is had not ſo much

much to thoſe for whom Laws are made, as to them who make and preſcribe them; which are the Biſhops, and other Fathers, whoſe convenience is moſt minded. It may be made out by many inſtances, that Councils have been often held without thoſe Provinces, where Hereſies were broached. Would it not be a very unjuſt thing, that the *Germans* ſhould take upon them, to appoint a place for a publick Council wherever they pleaſed, and rob all other Nations of the right and priviledge of election? And this is enough to ſhew and convince you, that there was no need of that pert Proteſtation of yours: But now I proceed to the reſt. The Anſwer, you ſay, which we gave to the Emperour, was unlawful, full of Lies, and grounded neither upon Right nor Reaſon. Modeſter words would not have been ſo injurious, but, becauſe you give no Reaſons to back what you ſay, I cannot diſtinctly anſwer you: Nevertheleſs, it troubles you, I doubt, that we demand, that the Decrees may be ratified; that fit ſecurity may be given to thoſe, who come to the Council; that the ſame order and method of proceeding be obſerved, which from the Age of the Apoſtles downwards to this very time, has been always retained in the Church; And, laſtly, that nothing may be wanting in the ſafe Conduct. Now there is nothing new or unreaſonable in theſe Demands, and they are matters commonly provided for not only in the Canon, but Civil Law. But what you further ſay, That whatſoever damage or inconvenience enſue hereafter, the Emperour will impute it to me; and at the ſame time, whil'ſt I am negligent, take the care of the Church upon himſelf. Really, *ſo far as I am able, by the Grace of God, I will give no juſt cauſe to any Man, to think me negligent in the concerns of the Church*; Nevertheleſs, if it ſhould prove ſo, as all Men are frail, I ſhall not take it ill, if my negligence can ſtir up and put an edge upon the Emperours diligence, to ſuccour the Church; ſtill, provided, he keep within the limits you have ſtaked out to him, to wit, that therein he follow the Rule of Right, the Canons of the Church, and the conſent of the Chriſtian World. Which, if he do, I make no doubt but that both our Functions, though different and diſtinct, will prove profitable to the Church. Laſtly, As to that part of your Proteſtation, where you alledge, that the tranſlation of the Council is unlawful; becauſe the ſtreſs of the Controverſie reſts there, according to the power I am inveſted with, I take upon my ſelf the deciſion of that Point, committing the examination thereof to their Eminencies, the Cardinals *Pariſio*, *Burgos*, *Pool*, and *Creſcentio*, and, in the mean time, whil'ſt they are taken up in bringing the Matter to an iſſue, I charge all Men not to attempt any thing to the contrary. In like manner, I command the Fathers, as well thoſe that are at *Bolonia* as at *Trent*, that if they have any thing to ſay in this Matter, they do it within a Month. And that I may not any way ſeem to ſlight the Intereſts of *Germany*, I ſhall not refuſe to ſend Legats thither to cure the infirmities of that People, when I am ſatisfied, that it will not be ungrateful to the Emperour and them. After all, if it appear upon tryal, that it was not well done to remove the Council to *Bolonia*, I ſhall by all means take care, that it be continued at *Trent*: And, in few words, I'll omit nothing that can be done, for reſtoring the ancient Religion of *Germany*. 1548.

The Cardinal of *Trent* was before this returned to *Ausburg*, as we ſaid; when the Emperour, then, from his Diſcourſe, and *Mendoza*'s Letters dated at *Rome* about the end of *December*, perceived there was but ſmall hopes of a Council; *January* the Fourteenth, he acquaints the States with the whole Affair, telling them, That he had ſent Orders to his Ambaſſadour *Mendoza*, to proteſt againſt the Tranſlation of the Council, at *Rome*; that, ſo ſoon as it is done, he will give them a Copy of it to be tranſcribed; and, that although all hopes of a Council are not to be laid aſide, yet, becauſe it is like to be delayed ſomewhat too long, it ſeemed to him very requiſite, that, in the mean time, ſome courſe ſhould be taken, that might contribute to the Peace of *Germany*; that, it was true, the care of that Matter was committed to him, but that he thought it expedient, that ſome few good and Learned Men ſhould be choſen out of the whole Body of the Dyet, to manage that Affair; That he would alſo appoint ſome to conſult with them; That therefore he required them, that they would ſeriouſly apply themſelves to this, and, laying aſide all prejudices, conſider, how much it concerned the Publick and every Mans private Intereſt, that ſome Reconciliation were made; That they would conſider, that before that unhappy Diſſenſion, *Germany* was one of the moſt flouriſhing Countrys in the World; and a Pattern that attracted the Eyes of all People: That they would conſider, moreover, that all the pains and

The Emperour's Report to the States.

1548. trouble he had taken, to get the Council continued at *Trent*, had been to diſcharge himſelf of his Duty, and to ſhew the ſingular Affection he bore to his Country. Some Commiſſioners were therefore choſen to Treat of the Matter; but they not agreeing among themſelves, the whole Cauſe was referred to the Emperour. Wherefore he appointed ſome Perſons to draw up Heads of Doctrine, Ceremonies, and of the Reformation of the Clergy. Theſe were *Julius Pflug*, Biſhop of *Naumburg*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *John Iſlebius Agricola*, who, Eighteen years before, had, with *Melancthon* and *Brentius*, defended the Confeſſion of the Proteſtant Doctrine, as we mentioned in the Seventh Book. They therefore Compile a Book of Doctrines, but very ſecretly; and when they had ſpent much time about it, and viewed and reviewed it many times, they at length preſent it to the Emperour. *Joachim* Elector of *Brandenburg*, who was very deſirous of a Reconciliation, having conſulted with *James Sturmey*, wrote to the Senate of *Strasburg*, entreating them, that, for the ſake of Religion, they would ſend *Bucer* unto him; for that the Pope declining the Council, the Emperour had taken another courſe, and that therefore there was great hopes of Reformation. *Bucer* is therefore ſent, who taking his Journey privately, about the end of *January*, ſtopt, not far from *Ausburg*, to ſtay there, till the Prince ſhould ſend for him.

The Interim is made.

Bucer, being ſent for by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, comes to *Auſburg*.

Mention has been made in former Books, how the *Engliſh* had given the *Scots* a great overthrow in Battel; Nevertheleſs, the *Scots* perſiſting ſtill in their Reſolution, and relying on the Promiſes of the *French* King; *Somerſet*, the Protector of *England*, and the reſt of the Privy Council, publiſhed a very long Declaration and Letter, dated *February* the Fifth, exhorting them to Peace, in this manner: Although, ſay they, the thing it ſelf required, that ye, who have the worſt on't, both in your Cauſe and the Defence of it, ſhould have made the firſt ſtep; and although we are now poſſeſſed of a large part of your Country, yet, we cannot but give you a friendly warning to conſult your own ſafety. Before the Battel that was fought laſt year, we invited you to Peace and Friendſhip, and declared our minds unto you; but that Paper was ſuppreſſed by the great Men and Regent of the Kingdom, and never delivered unto you; for they are ſuch, that if matters go well with themſelves, they are but little concerned, what becomes of you. Wherefore, if they uſe the ſame arts ſtill, and will not ſuffer you to be informed of our Purpoſe and Deſire, we openly declare by theſe Preſents, that we have neglected no Duty that was incumbent on us. Many and moſt bloudy Wars have been often carried on betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Scots*; and it is not to be doubted, but that they, who read Hiſtory, or hear of publick Affairs, do much wonder, that People, of the ſame Country and Language, ſhould entertain ſuch bitter Diſſentions and Animoſities amongſt themſelves, and do not think it a moſt deſireable thing, that ſome way were found out, whereby the whole Iſland might be united, and ſubjected to one Government; but that the moſt expedient way that can be thought on for that, is Marriage, all Men confeſs. Now God, in his great mercy, hath pointed out this way unto you, and dropt, as it were, into your Lap, the faireſt occaſion that may be. Your King, after he had broken his Promiſe, having loſt a Battel, ſhortly after died, whether of grief, or ſome other cauſe, we determine not. He had three Children, two Sons and a Daughter; and the Sons, indeed, might have ſtood in the way of any Condition betwixt us, but both of them God removed almoſt in one day, when they were Infants, and left you, for Heireſs, a young Daughter, born a little before her Fathers death: He hath given us a moſt hopeful King, *Edward*, the Son and Heir of King *Henry*. What? Do'nt you ſee a Bond of a perpetual and immortal friendſhip, betwixt us, prepared to your hands? Such occaſion hath been often wiſhed for, indeed, but for theſe Eight-hundred years never offered before. Nor can they themſelves, who, amongſt you, hinder the Peace, deny the truth of this; but alledge, that we would, by this means, get the chief Rule and Government into our own hands, and bring you into bondage and ſlavery: But in a Declaration we directed to you a year ago, we ſufficiently refuted that, and now take God to witneſs, that the Kings mind is, to joyn with you in the cloſeſt and moſt indiſſoluble bond of Friendſhip; but, if you refuſe, and by your obſtinacy move us to War again, conſider, pray, who is like to bear the blame of all the common Evils that may enſue? You promiſed, in full Parliament, your young Queen in Marriage to our King, Contracts and Writings were thereupon made, and ſealed with the great Seal of the Kingdoms: Many Cautions and Securi-

The *Engliſh* Declaration to the *Scots*.

Securities were given, nay, and Hoſtages too, until both were come to the Age of Maturity: Theſe your publick Writings we have, and they are a ſtanding Evidence againſt you; and *Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, the Regent of your Country, was not only preſent when the Matter was tranſacted, but had alſo a chief hand in carrying it on; though afterwards, when the Cardinal of St. *Andrews*, and ſome other Prelats, had ſuggeſted to him fears and jealouſies, and put him in great hopes, he fell off from the Agreement, and violated his Faith. Him, now ye are to blame, for all the miſchief that is befallen you; that ye have loſt ſo many Towns and Caſtles; that ſo many have been killed in Battel; and that we have advanced ſo far into your Country, it is all to be imputed to him. But what end, after all, do ye expect of this obſtinacy and perfidiouſneſs? We are Conquerours, and yet offer you Peace: We are in poſſeſſion of a good part of your Kingdom, and yet invite you into *England*: The diſgrace that is commonly impoſed upon the vanquiſhed, that when they are united to a Conquering People, they ſhould forſake and loſe the name of their own Nation, we willingly ſpare you, and are content to take the ancient name of *Britains*, which is common to both. For the love of God, what is it that we can do more? Will not all Men ſay, that we had a juſt cauſe of War, when they find, that ſuch generous, juſt and Honourable, Conditions have been rejected by you? We lay open unto you all the ways of entring into friendſhip, and drive not your Queen out of her Kingdom, but will Eſtabliſh her and her Daughter in *England*: Again, it is not our thoughts to alter your Laws; for both *England*, and *France*, and the Emperours Dominions alſo, are governed by different Laws. They, who endeavour to obſtruct the Peace, ſcare you with ſuch Bugbears; but it is their own profit and pleaſure, and not your welfare they ſeek. Turn your Eyes, and Thoughts then, off them, and weigh with your ſelves the State of your Country: Ye have a young Princeſs and Heireſs to a Kingdom; ſome time or other, ſurely, ſhe muſt be Married; and that either to one of your own Country, or to ſome Foreign Prince. If at home, our Right and Claim is ſtill good, and it will be a thing that will occaſion Domeſtick Troubles and Envy: If you take any Foreigner, you will both have us for perpetual Enemies, and muſt truckle under the wretched Bondage of Strangers. Succours you muſt ſeek from a far, and it is not to be expreſſed, what hurt and damage you'll receive from the Forces that may be ſent you, and with what Pride and Inſolence they'll domineer over you. For they'll be perſuaded, that your ſafety and preſervation depends wholly on their Arms and Protection. What's more, they'll take from you both your Queen and Princeſs, and carry them whither they pleaſe; and if they happen to have War on any other hand, which is not impoſſible, their whole care will be to defend their own, and they'll leave you in prey to us. But if they ſend only Officers and no Soldiers; theſe will imperiouſly give Laws to you, and if any thing ſucceed proſperouſly, all the glory muſt be theirs, but if any diſaſter happen, the whole Storm will fall on you, who venture your Lives, and ſpend your deareſt Bloud. You may be convinced alſo of the danger there is, in making uſe of Foreign Aids, by a Domeſtick Inſtance. The *Britains*, who were the ancient People of this Iſland, heretofore called in the *Saxons* to their Aid, and by the ſame were afterward driven out of their Country, and forced into the Mountains and Bogs. Betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Scots* formerly lived the *Picts*, a ſturdy and Warlike People; the *Scots* having ſome time defended them againſt their Enemies, at length ſo utterly ſubdued them, that the very Name of them is at this day extinct. Did not the ſame thing happen to the *Gauls* from the *Francks* or *French*; to the *Greeks*, in former times, and to the *Hungarians* in our own memory, when they made uſe of the Aſſiſtance of the *Turks*? Did not the *Goths*, by the ſame means, anciently, gain *Italy*; and the *Lombards* all *Inſubria*, ſince called *Lombardy*? Do not long, if you be wiſe, to have a trial of the Pride and Inſolence of Foreign Soldiers; but, put an end to all theſe Wars and Troubles, by Marriage and Honourable Alliance, and in that follow the Cuſtom and Example of Neighbouring Nations. The Emperour *Charles V.* by this means, holds now, *Spain* and *Burgundy*: And the *French* King in the ſame manner, purchaſed to himſelf *Bretanny*: The like do all other Nations. For there are but two ways of putting an end to Wars, either by force and Conqueſt, or by Marriage-Alliance. If you hate to be forced, why do you not comply and embrace the Marriage that is offered, and to which you formerly agreed? We are not ignorant, who they are that diſſuade you from wholeſome

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Sebaſtian Vogelsberg is condemned to die, and two Captains with him.

In the former Book we ſpoke of *Sebaſtian Vogelsberg*, who brought to the King of *France* ten Enſigns of Foot from *Germany*; and who, having disbanded his Men, returned home in Autumn. The Emperour took it heinouſly, that he had ſerved the *French* King, and, waiting his opportunity, gave Orders to *Lazarus Schuendy* to apprehend him, who coming to *Weiſſemburg*, where he had a Habitation, took him and brought him to *Ausburg*. Preſently he is put to the Rack, and Examined about ſome who were before ſuſpected of having entred into a *French* Confederacy; and though, with great conſtancy both of Body and Mind, he had endured the Torture without any Confeſſion, yet, becauſe he was accuſed of having ſided with Rebels, that he had offended againſt the Emperours Edicts, and that he had carried on Treacherous Deſigns, he was condemned to die, and with him two Captains, *James Mantell* and *Wolf Thomas*. Therefore on the Seventh of *February*, four days after he came thither, he was brought out into the Market Place, where ſome Companies of Foot were drawn up, and a vaſt multitude of Spectators gathered together. When he was come to the place of Execution, which was higher than the reſt, looking about him, with a preſent and undaunted Mind, and perceiving Perſons of great Quality placed in the Windows and adjoyning Houſes to ſee, he civilly addreſſed himſelf to them, and gave them an account of his paſt life, telling them, that he had formerly ſerved the Emperour, in the Wars, and that the Crime for which he was now to die, was only, that, the year before, he had carried ſome Forces to the *French* King, at the time of his Coronation. *Vogelsberg* was a proper handſome Man, who, not ſhewing the leaſt ſign of fear and terror, attracted towards him the Eyes of all the Spectators. After him, the two Captains alſo, whom we mentioned, were beheaded. The Sentence was given againſt them by two Judges, who followed the Court and Camp of the Emperour, the one a *Spaniard, Brivieſca*, and the other a *German, Nicholas Zinner*, both Lawyers. *Vogelsberg* had accuſed *Schuendy* as having entrapped and circumvented him; but theſe publiſh a Paper, ſhewing the cauſe why he was condemned, and juſtifie *Schuendy*, as having acted nothing but by the Emperours Order, proteſting, that the Accuſation was falſe.

A Perſecution in *France*.

At this time, all over *France*, but chiefly at *Paris*, *Lutheraniſme* is again perſecuted with Fire and Faggot, whil'ſt, in the mean time, the publick Deliberations in *England* tend to the utter aboliſhing of the Popiſh Maſs.

The

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The Ceremony of Inveſting Duke *Maurice* into the Electorſhip.

The Emperour, as we ſaid before, had in the Camp before *Wittenberg* beſtowed upon Duke *Maurice* the honour of Electorſhip, and greateſt part of the Territories of *John Frederick*: But in this Dyet, he put him, as it were, in poſſeſſion of it, by a publick and ſolemn Ceremony, as he had promiſed; this was done on the Four and twentieth of *February*, which was the Emperour's Birth Day. Now the manner of the Ceremony was thus: There was a large and open Pavillion made of Boards in the Market place, with an aſcent up to it by Steps: Thither came the Emperour about three in the Afternoon, attended by the Electors; from thence he went into an adjoyning Houſe, and put on his Robes; and coming out again afterwards with the Electors, went and placed himſelf on his Throne: So did the Electors alſo, every one according to his Degree behind him: And over the Emperour the Trumpeters were placed on a kind of Stage. Then advanced Duke *Maurice*'s firſt Squadron, and putting Spurs to their Horſes came galloping towards the Pavillion, as the Cuſtom is. Duke *Maurice* himſelf, in the mean time, with his other Squadron, was poſted over againſt them, accompanied by a croud of Princes and Great Men, and twelve Trumpeters were ranked immediately before him. Out of that Company preſently advanced *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, *Wolffgang* Brother to the Elector *Palatine*, and Duke *Albert* of *Bavaria*, who, having galloped their Horſes to the place, alighted, and going up to the Emperour, humbly begg'd his Imperial Majeſty, that it would pleaſe him to confer upon Duke *Maurice* the publick Inveſtiture and Enſigns of Principality and Electorſhip. The Emperour, conſulting with the Electors, anſwered by the Mouth of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, That he was willing, provided he came and demanded it in perſon. When Duke *Maurice* had received this Anſwer, he ſpeeded forward with the whole Body: Before him were carried ten Banners, with the Arms of ſo many Countries, as he deſired to be Inveſted in. So having alighted, and kneeling down before the Emperour, he begg'd the ſame thing, as alſo did *Hoier* Count *Mansfield* in name of his Brother *Auguſtus*. The Emperour therefore made anſwer by the Mouth of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*: That ſeeing they had both done him faithful Service, he gave to Duke *Maurice*, and his Male-Iſſue, or if he had none, to his Brother *Auguſtus*, and the Heirs of his Body, the Electorſhip of *Saxony*, and all the Lands and Poſſeſſions of *John Frederick*, except ſo much as had been before made over to his Children. Then the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* read over the Oath which the Electors take; and when Duke *Maurice* had ſaid it over after him, and taken it, the Emperour gave him a Sword, and by that Ceremony put him, in a manner, into poſſeſſion: He returned him thanks, promiſing him all Fidelity and Obedience. Afterwards the Emperour gave Duke *Maurice* the Banners we mentioned, which were immediately thrown amongſt the people, as it is cuſtomary. *John Frederick* might have ſeen, and indeed did behold, all this Ceremony, from the Houſe where he lodged, for it ſtood in the ſame Market place.

Bucer rejects the *Interim*.

Bucer, who was ſent for, as we have already ſaid, came at length to *Ausburg*, and was entertained at the Elector of *Brandenburg*'s Court. And now the Book about Religion, which, as it is mentioned before, was ordered to be Compiled, was Finiſhed. The Elector of *Brandenburg* preſents it, as it was written, to *Bucer*, and deſires him to Subſcribe to it, but, upon peruſal, finding, that the Popiſh Doctrine was therein eſtabliſh'd, he made anſwer, That he could not approve it. The Elector of *Brandenburg* took that very ill, and was extremely angry with him; for he lookt upon it to be a moderate Book, as *Iſlebius* had perſuaded him. *Granvel* preſſed him to it alſo by Meſſengers, and promiſed him large rewards, if he would approve it: But when he could not prevail by fair promiſes, he began to threaten, which made *Bucer* return home, but not without danger; for there were Gariſons of Spaniards all over the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, as has been ſaid before.

Brandenburg angry with *Bucer*.

The Archbiſhop of *Cologne*'s firſt Maſs.

In the Month of *April*, the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, who was lately made a Prieſt, ſaid his firſt Maſs. The Emperour, King *Ferdinand*, and a great many Princes were preſent, whom afterwards he entertained at a moſt Magnificent Dinner.

The King of *Tunis* comes to *Ausburg*.

At this time, *Muleaſſes* King of *Tunis*, whom thirteen years before the Emperour had reſtored to his Kingdom, having expelled *Barbaroſſa*, as has been ſaid in the ninth Book, came to *Ausberg*. His Eldeſt Son had invaded his Kingdom, and put out his Eyes: And therefore the poor baniſhed Prince came out of *Africa*, to implore the Emperours help; as not long after, another of his Sons came alſo.

That

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That Book, which was made concerning Religion, treats firſt of the State of Man, both before and ſince his Fall, of Redemption by Chriſt, of Charity and good Works, of the aſſurance of the Remiſſion of Sins, of the Church, of Vows, of Authority, of the Miniſters of the Church, of the Pope, of the Sacraments, of the Sacrifice of the Maſs, of the Commemoration, Invocation, and Interceſſion of Saints, of the Remembrance of thoſe who are dead in the Faith, of the Communion to be joyned with the Sacrifice, of Ceremonies, and the uſe of the Sacraments. Now amongſt other things, there are theſe Doctrines in it, that thoſe Works which are more than what God commands, and commonly called Works of Supererogation, are to be commanded: That Man cannot without doubting believe, that his Sins are forgiven him: That the Church hath the Power of interpreting Scriptures, of drawing and explaining Doctrines from them, the Power of Juriſdiction, of deciding in doubtful Caſes by a Council, and of making Canons: That there is one Head over the reſt, to wit, the Pope, by Virtue of the Prerogative granted to *Peter*: That the Government of the Univerſal Church is committed to him by *Chriſt*; yet ſo, as that the reſt of the Biſhops have a ſhare in that Cure, every one in his own Church: That by Confirmation and Chriſm, the Holy Ghoſt is received, to enable us to reſiſt the temptations of the Devil, the World and the Fleſh, and that a Biſhop is the only Miniſter of that Sacrament: That the Sins, which we remember, are to be confeſſed to a Prieſt: That by ſatisfaction, which conſiſts in the Fruits of Repentance, eſpecially in Faſting, Almſdeeds, and Prayer, the cauſes of Sin are rooted out, and Temporal Puniſhments either taken quite away, or mitigated: That extreme Unction hath been in the Church ever ſince the Apoſtles time, that it might either relieve the Body, or fortifie the Mind it ſelf againſt the fiery Darts of the Devil: That then it is to be adminiſtred, when the hour of Death ſeemeth to draw nigh: That Marriage contracted without the Parents conſent ought to ſtand good, but that Children are in Sermons to be admoniſhed, to ask the advice of their Parents: That Chriſt at his laſt Supper inſtituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood: Firſt, that it ſhould be received by Believers, as the ſaving Food of their Souls, and then, that it ſhould be offered up in memory of his Death and Paſſion. For that there are in all, two Sacrifices of Chriſt; one a bloody Sacrifice upon the Croſs, and another, wherein under the form of Bread and Wine, he offered up his own Body and Blood to the Father, and afterwards commanded his Apoſtles, and their Succeſſors, to do the ſame in remembrance of him to the end of the World: That by the firſt, Mankind was reconciled to God the Father; but by this unbloody Sacrifice, Chriſt is offered up and repreſented to the Father; not that he may again make ſatisfaction for Sins, but that by Faith we may apply to our ſelves the Redemption purchaſed to us by his Death: That in this Sacrifice, wherein we commemorate the Death of Chriſt, the memory of the Saints is to be celebrated, that they may intercede with God the Father for us, and help us by their Merits: That we muſt alſo remember the Dead, and pray to God for them. In the next place it is enjoyned, that all the antient Ceremonies, which are commonly uſed in Baptiſm, *Exorciſm*, *Abrenunciation*, *Confeſſion of Faith and Chriſm*, be retained, and that nothing be changed neither in the Ceremonies uſed at Maſs: That in every Town, and every Church, two Maſſes a day, at leaſt, be ſaid; but in Country Pariſhes and Villages, one, eſpecially on Holy-days: That nothing at all be altered in the Canon of the Maſs, and that all the reſt be obſerved, according to antient command; but that if any thing have crept in, which may give occaſion to Superſtition, it be taken away: That Veſtments, Ornaments, Veſſels, Croſſes, Altars, Candles and Images, be ſtill kept as certain Monuments: That the uſual Prayers, and that holy ſinging of Pſalms be not taken away, and where they are taken away, that they be reſtored: That the Obſequies and Funerals of the Dead, be performed after the manner of the antient Church, and that the Saints Holy-Days, and thoſe others alſo, wherein Prayers are appointed to be ſaid, be obſerved: That on *Eaſter* Eve, and *Whitſunday* Eve, the Water in the Font be Conſecrated: That, for ſubduing Luſts, and exhorting the Mind to the duties of Piety, on certain days men abſtain from eating of Fleſh, and faſt: That laſtly, though it were to be wiſhed, that there might be found many Miniſters of the Church, who would live chaſtly, nevertheleſs, ſince many up and down have Wives, whom they would not turn away: And that that cannot, without great troubles, now be altered, a Decree of Council concerning that be expected: That the ſame courſe be held with thoſe, who receive the Sacrament in both kinds;

yet

yet ſo ſtill, as that they cenſure not thoſe who do otherwiſe; for that the whole Body and Blood of Chriſt is contained under either kind. After this manner the Book was, indeed, publiſhed, as you ſhall hear hereafter, but it was not ſo compiled at firſt: For it was often Reviewed and Corrected, as has been ſaid, and the Copy which was ſhew'd to *Bucer* was ſomewhat ſofter. After it had been for a long time, then, toſſed to and again amongſt the States, privately, it was alſo ſent to *Rome*. For though all the Points of Popery, in a manner, were eſtabliſhed in it, yet becauſe ſome things were granted to their Adverſaries, it was thought fit, firſt to conſult the Pope about it. His Holineſs afterward ſent the Emperour by Cardinal *Sfondrato* ſome Animadverſions thereupon, which were theſe: That a Prieſt in Orders ſhould marry a Wife, and ſtill execute his Prieſtly Office, was never heard of: That the Cuſtom of receiving the Sacrament in both kinds was abrogated; and in thoſe two things, no man had power to diſpenſe, but the Pope and Council. That the Followers of the Old Religion were not to be aſtricted to theſe Poſitions; but that, if there were any Lutherans that would forſake their new Opinions, they were not to be rejected: That the ſinging of Pſalms ought to be reſtored in all places; that on Holy-days the Commemoration of the Patron of every Church was to be Celebrated: That they who are now, or ſhall hereafter be, Prieſts, muſt abſtain from Marriage: That a ſpeedy reſtitution muſt be made of Church-goods, and Juriſdictions; for ſeeing the Robbery and Invaſion was manifeſt, the uſual forms of Proceſs were not to be obſerved, but, as in a ſelf-evident Caſe, it was to be done by an high Hand, and Imperial Authority. This Cenſure being interpoſed, the Electors of *Mentz*, *Treves* and *Cologne*, to whom it was communicated, anſwer the Emperour in the very ſame manner, urge chiefly Reſtitution, and conclude it to be abſolutely neceſſary, if the Chriſtian Religion ought to be preſerved, and recovered again in thoſe places where it was aboliſhed; and that peace alſo could no other ways be ſetled: That therefore care was to be taken in the firſt place, that Churches, and Religious Houſes, ſhould be compleatly reſtored: And that becauſe the Uſurpation and Robbery was manifeſt, it was to be done *brevi manu*, that the Worſhip of God might with all expedition be reſtored: Finally, they prayed his Majeſty to take theſe things in good part, and defend the Members of the Church by his Power and Protection. But the other three Electors were not of that Opinion, chiefly the Prince *Palatine* and Duke *Maurice*: However, they had both very good cauſe, not to ſtand too ſtifly to it with the Emperour. The reſt of the Princes, who were for the moſt part Biſhops, anſwered in the ſame manner, as the Elector of *Mentz*, and his Colleagues had done; and as for the free Towns, no great account was made of them. Wherefore on the fifteenth of *May*, the Emperour called all the States before him, and having premiſed a few Things of his Love and Affection towards *Germany*; I have found by manifeſt and clear Arguments, ſaid he, and the thing it ſelf ſpeaks it, that no Peace can be had, nor Juſtice done, before an end be made of that Controverſie about Religion, which now for many years hath cauſed various Quarrels and Animoſities, much Hatred, Diſſenſion and War in the Empire. This hath been the cauſe, why, in frequent Dyets, and by ſeveral Conferences, I often ſought for a Cure: But, in the mean time, the Contagion not only over-ſpread all *Germany*, but infected alſo other Chriſtian People, ſo that no preſenter remedy could be thought on, than the calling of a General Council. This, at your earneſt ſolicitation, I procured, after much ado, to be called at *Trent*, and in like manner adviſed you, at the opening of this Dyet, that you would ſubmit to the Authority thereof, and leave it to my care, in the mean time, to find out ſome pious Expedient, whereby *Germany* might live in peace; and, indeed, your compliance therein, and confidence in me, was then, and is ſtill, very acceptable unto me. Being then wholly intent upon ſo neceſſary a Deſign, and having demanded your Opinions, to my great grief and ſorrow I found, that difference in Religion had not only been the cauſe all our paſt Evils, but, unleſs prevented, would be ſo alſo for the future. And therefore, I thought it not good to leave things in that troubleſome ſtate, until a Decree ſhould be paſt in Council, but to bring them to ſome moderation, and the rather for that new Sects did here and there ſpring up. Whilſt I was pondering theſe things, ſome Perſons of eminent Rank and Quality, Friends to Peace, and Lovers of the Publick, preſented to me their thoughts of Religion, drawn up in writing, and promiſed to obſerve them. Now ſo ſoon as that Writing was put into my Hands, I referred it to ſome good and learned Divines, to peruſe it diligently, and examine

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The *Interim* often reviewed and corrected before it could paſs.

The *Interim* ſent to *Rome*.

The Popes Animadverſions upon it.

The Elector's opinions about the *Interim* vary.

1548. amine the Contents thereof. When they had conſider'd it, they made me this Report, That, if rightly underſtood, it was not inconſiſtent to the Catholick Religion, nor with the Doctrines, Canons, and Conſtitutions of the Church, except only in two Points, the one, concerning the Marriage of Prieſts; and the other, touching the Lords Supper: But that it was a proper Expedient in its kind for eſtabliſhing the Peace of *Germany*; the thing I moſt wiſh for: For what would be more agreeable, than to ſee all the States unanimous in following one and the ſame form of Religion? Which being ſo, I require thoſe, who have hitherto, to their praiſe, obſerved the Laws and Rites of the Catholick Church, that they continue in the ſame, without wavering, or ſtarting of any Innovations, as they have heretofore promiſed unto me; and I earneſtly deſire thoſe, who have changed their Religion, that they would either come over to the reſt of the States, and joyn with them in the Profeſſion of the ſame Religion, or moderate their Doctrine according to the Preſcript of this Book, and in every Point make it their Pattern: Nor would I have them alter or add any thing to it, but contain themſelves within the limitation therein preſcribed, and, neither in their Writings nor Sermons, publiſh or vent any thing to the contrary, but obediently expect the Decree of the Council, which, I ſhall endeavour, ſhall be called as ſoon as poſſibly may be. In the mean time, it is my whole care, that a Form of regulation be conceived for reformation of the Clergy. When he had thus ſpoken by the Mouth of his Secretary, as the Cuſtom is, he commanded the Book to be read. So ſoon as that was done, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who has the firſt place amongſt the Electors, without conſulting the reſt of the States, ſtarted up, and, as in name of the whole Dyet, gave the Emperour moſt hearty thanks for the great labour and pains he had been at, for his care and diligence, and for the zeal and affection he had for his Country: And that ſeeing they had formerly referred the Matter to his prudent and faithful management, and that now he had laboured to bring it to effect, It was but juſt and reaſonable, ſaid he, that, with moſt thankful hearts, they ſhould acknowledge ſo great favours, and dutifully ſubmit to the Decree. The Emperour took the thanks for a publick conſent and confirmation, nor would he afterwards admit of any excuſe, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter, and commanded the Book to be printed, both in Latin, and in the Vulgar Tongue. Four days after, he repreſented to the States the great labour and charges he had been at in reſtoring Peace to *Germany*: And that becauſe the thing it ſelf required, that the ſame ſhould be ſecured for the future, it therefore ſeemed to him very neceſſary, that ſome conſiderable ſum of Money ſhould be raiſed, and in certain places kept in a publick Bank, that if any Commotions ſhould happen to ariſe within or without the Empire, there muſt be a remedy ready at hand. Some few days after that, King *Ferdinand* alſo repreſented to the States, that for neceſſary cauſes and conſiderations, which were not unknown to them, and needed not to be related, he had by his Ambaſſadour made a Truce with the Turks for five years, which had begun the year before: And that though the Turk had charged his Subjects, that they ſhould act nothing to the contrary, yet he nevertheleſs deſired, that they would contribute the Aids, which they had promiſed before, that if he ſhould chance to break the truce, he might be in a condition to make head againſt him: That beſides, ſince the Turk fortified his frontier places with ſtrong Gariſons, it concerned him not to be negligent: And that therefore he had reſolved to fortifie all proper places, and keep Gariſons in them: But that, becauſe of the great charges he had been at in the late Wars, he was not able long to ſupport ſo great a burden: That therefore he entreated them, that they would give him a yearly Subſidie for thoſe uſes, during the continuance of the truce: For that that concerned the quiet, and ſafety of them all in general.

The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* his craft in approving the *Interim*, and giving thanks to the Emperour.

The Emperour deſires Money to be raiſed, and put into a publick Treaſury.

King *Ferdinand* craves Money from the States.

Maximilian marries his own Couſin german.

In the mean time, *Maximilian*, the Son of King *Ferdinand*, went from *Ausburg* to *Spain*, to celebrate his Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, the Emperours eldeſt Daughter, and his own firſt Couſin. The Cardinal of *Trent* was ſent with him, and the Duke of *Alva* went ſome Months before, about the later end of *May*.

The Neapolitan Horſe a great burden to the people about *Straſburg*.

The Neapolitan Horſe, who had before quartered in *Nortgow*, came into the Country about *Strasburg*, and continued almoſt three Months there, behaving themſelves with incredible inſolence: They came now and then into the Town, which created no ſmall ſuſpition. Duke *Maurice*, not long after the publication of the Emperours Decree, departed: But Marqueſs *John* of *Brandenburg*, Brother to the Elector *Joachim*, waited upon the Emperour, and, in preſence of King *Ferdinand*, humbly begg'd that he would ſpare him as to that Decree, and having

Marqueſs *John* of *Brandenburg* approves not the *Interim*.

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taken a little notice of the ſervices he had rendered him, told him, that it was chiefly the confidence he had in the Emperours promiſe, concerning the free exerciſe of his Religion, that made him ſerve in the late Wars. The Emperour made anſwer, That the Decree was made with the conſent of the States of the Empire, and therefore not to be diſpenſed with: He, on the other hand, cryed, that all had not aſſented, nor could he with a good Conſcience approve that Decree, and challenged the Emperours Word and Promiſe. When the Emperour perceived, there was nothing to be done with him, he bad him be gone, and it was thought he did ſo, that, by his Example or Diſcourſe, he might not confirm the minds of others. Wherefore, the ſame day towards the Evening, he ſet out on his Journy homewards, and made no alteration in all his Country. His Brother, the Elector, who had made it always his ſtudy to pleaſe the Emperour, ſhew'd no reſiſtance: Nor the Elector *Palatine* neither, who, otherwiſe, was not much in favour at that time with the Emperour. When the Decree was put to the Deputies of the Cities that were of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, they prayed, that they might have leave to conſult their Principals about the Matter, that afterwards they might anſwer according to their minds, which was granted them. *Wolfgang* Duke of *Deux-ponts*, of the Houſe Palatine, had his Deputies there, but the Emperour commanded him to come before him in Perſon; which being done, he preſſed him to approve the Decree. He made Anſwer, That he knew no other Religion, but that wherein he had been born and bred to that very day; wherefore, he prayed his Majeſty, to have ſome Conſideration for him, promiſing to do therein, whatever he could with a ſafe Conſcience. At that time the Emperour did, indeed, diſmiſs him, but plied him ſharply afterwards by Meſſengers and Letters, as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place. Whil'ſt the Senate and Council of *Ausburg* are conſulting, the Emperour poſts Soldiers all over the City. Here lived at that time one *Wolfgang Muſculus*, an eminent Miniſter of the Church. He, finding Affairs in a ſtaggering condition, the Senate timorous, and that he could not approve the Book, departed, and went to *Bern* in *Switzerland*. *John Brentius* was at *Hall* in *Swabia*, and had been in great danger two years before, when, upon the breaking up of the Proteſtants Camp, the Emperour came to *Hall*; but was now in far greater. For at that time, a little before the Emperours coming, which was in the beginning of *December*, ſome of the *Spaniſh* Guards, having entred the Town, march ſtreight to his Houſe, and deſire to be let in, elſe they threaten grievouſly. Being admitted, they grew very inſolent and ſawcy. Wherefore, having no other place of refuge, he ſends his Wife and Family to the Town Hoſpital, and follows himſelf ſhortly after, leaving a Man at home to ſupply them with Victuals and all things neceſſary. Next day after, cometh a Noble *Spaniard* of the Dignified Clergy, who, turning out the others, takes the whole Houſe to himſelf, and going into the Study, makes a diligent ſearch there. Having there found ſome familiar Letters written to *Brentius* by ſome of his Friends, concerning the ſad troubles of the Times, he endeavours to expoſe him to the hatred of his Countrymen and Party, by divulging the Letters. By the Advice of his Friends, then, in a ſharp and cold Winter Night, he removes to a Neighbouring Place in the Country, that his preſence might not be prejudicial to the Citizens. But when the Emperour arrived at *Hall*, and behaved himſelf graciouſly, not ſeeming to take any offence at the Doctrine and Worſhip of the place, *Brentius* returned home thither again, and diſcharged the Office of his Miniſtery, until this time, that the Emperour would have the Decree made about Religion, to be received indifferently by all. For he, as all the Learned Men throughout *Germany* were, being commanded to give his Judgment of that Book: Though he was ſenſible of his own danger, yet, that he might diſcharge his Duty towards his Church, he affirmed it to be contrary to the holy Scriptures, and proved it ſo in Writing. This Piece coming into the Papiſts hands, *Granvell* ſends Orders to the Deputies of *Hall*, in the Emperours Name, as he ſaid, that they ſhould uſe their endeavours to have him brought in Chains to *Ausburg*. But he, having notice of this from his Friends, withdrew into a Neighbouring Country: Nor was it long after, before a Troop of *Spaniards* came to *Hall*, whoſe Commander went ſtreight to *Brentius* his Houſe, where he carefully hunted up and down in ſearch of Booty, if any were to be got; but moſt part of the Houſhold Furniture had been already removed by the Neighbours. So then, the poor Man, after he had preached amongſt them, and taught them for the ſpace of ſix and twenty years, is now baniſhed: Nay, his Wife alſo

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The Electors of *Brandenburg* and *Palatine* receive the *Interim*.

The conſtancy of the Duke of *Deux-Ponts*.

Muſculus went from *Ausburg* to *Bern*.

The labours and dangers of *Brentius*.

Brentius his Judgment of the *Interim*.

The ingratitude of the People of *Hall*, who baniſh *Brentius* and his Family.

1548. alſo, though at that time afflicted with a dangerous Sickneſs, whereof not long after ſhe died, was baniſhed too; ſo that the poor Wretch was forced to wander up and down with ſix Children, not knowing what to do, or whither to go for Relief and Shelter, in ſo great conſternation were all Men becauſe of the *Spaniards*: And, to increaſe her ſorrows at the ſame time, ſhe knew not what was become of her Husband. However, when *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg* came to be informed of the Calamity of *Brentius*, though he was in very great danger himſelf, yet he harboured him and his Family privately.

The Duke of *Wirtemberg* ſecretly received *Brentius*.

Now moſt of the Cities of *Schwabia* ſubmitting to the Emperours Authority, promiſed to obey his Commands. Wherefore the Preachers every where removed, that they might not do any thing unſuitable to their profeſſion. *Andrew Oſiander* therefore left *Norimberg*, and went to *Pruſſia*. *Spire* and *Wormes* had each but one Preacher, who alſo fled for ſafety. *William*, Count of *Naſſaw*, ſuffered *Eraſmus Sancerius* to depart, for the ſame reaſon: The Duke of *Wirtemberg* alſo, whoſe Country was full of *Spaniſh* Gariſons, as hath been ſaid, having received the Emperours Orders, cauſes the Book that now was publiſhed, to be read in the Churches, and, by Proclamation, commands, that no Man preſume to act contrary to it; gives liberty for any that pleaſed, to ſay Maſs for the future; charges his Subjects not to moleſt or diſturb any Prieſt, and turns away from about him thoſe Miniſters that did not ſubmit to the Decree, amongſt whom was *Erard Schnepfius*. The Emperour ſets *Granvell*, and the Biſhop of *Arras*, upon the Duke of *Saxony* Priſoner, to perſuade him to obey the Decree, and to follow the Doctrine of the publiſhed Book. And though they tempted him with promiſes, and gave him ſome hopes of liberty, yet he conſtantly perſevered in his opinion. Why, ſaid he, laſt year, when the Emperour propoſed Conditions unto me, this was alſo one, that I ſhould approve both his and the Councils future Decrees concerning Religion; but finding, that I was not to be moved by terrour, or any fear of danger, to conſent thereunto, he waved that Condition, and never after mentioned any thing of Religion unto me. This, I then looked upon as a very ſingular favour, and, being eaſed of that importunity, as of a very heavy burden, I bore more eaſily, and with a more chearful Mind, all the other Conditions, whereby the Emperour diſpoſed of me and my Fortune at his pleaſure; hoping, that my Religion, at leaſt, might be my own: But now, that he again urges and commands me to ſubſcribe to the Decree that hath been made, I here proteſt, that I have been ſo brought up from my Youth, and then, by the reading of holy Books, have been ſo confirmed, that I do believe this Doctrine to be altogether conſonant to the Writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and that it cannot be convicted of any Errour. And, it was upon this very ground, that my Father and I, and ſome other Princes, heretofore exhibited a Confeſſion of that Doctrine in Writing, and referred it to a lawful Council. Since, then, God has enlightened me with the knowledge of his Word, I cannot forſake the known Truth, unleſs I would purchaſe to my ſelf Eternal Damnation; wherefore, if I ſhould admit of that Decree, which in many and moſt material Points diſagrees with the holy Scriptures, I ſhould condemn the Doctrine of *JESUS CHRIST*, which I have hitherto profeſſed, and in words and ſpeech approve, what I know to be Impious and Erroneous. But what would that be elſe, than, with gawdy and painted words, firſt, to mock God, and then, the Emperour? And, can there be any greater Crime, than that? For, it is no leſs than the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, of which Chriſt ſo earneſtly admoniſhes us to have a care, and which is never to be pardoned. Theſe things being ſo, and ſeeing my Conſcience is in this manner tied up, I, moſt earneſtly, and by the Mercies of God, that by the offering up of his own Son, he beſtowed upon Mankind, pray and beſeech the Emperour, not to be offended with me for my refuſal. That I retain the Doctrine of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, I do it for the Salvation of my Soul, and ſlighting all worldly things, it is now my whole ſtudy, how, after this painful and miſerable Life is ended, I may be made partaker of the Bleſſed Joys of Life Everlaſting. It is reported to the Emperour, by ſome, as I hear, that it is not Religion I regard, in what I do, but vain-glory, and I know not what other by-end: Good now, what worldly thing is it, that could be more deſirable to me, eſpecially being of a groſs and unweildly Body, than my liberty, than to return to my Wife and Children, than quiet and reſt at home? I call God to witneſs now, and will do then, when he ſhall call us to an account for all we have done in the Fleſh, that I had no other thing before my Eyes, than that in ſerving and worſhipping of him truly,

Wirtemberg receives the *Interim*.

The Preachers are forced to fly.

The conſtancy of *Saxony*, the Priſoner.

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I might attain to the enjoyment of the Inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven. And it is my hearty desire to the Emperour, that he would think, and believe, so of me. In every thing else I have always been, and ever shall be, ready to serve him, and will discharge the Duty and Fidelity I promised him, as it becomes an honest Man, and one of my quality. After all, I beseech him, that he would pardon all my offences, and free me, at length, from this tedious Captivity, that I may not of all Princes be the first, who may be said, to have lived and died his Prisoner. When they saw that he persisted firm and immoveable in his Resolution, they began to use him a little more harshly; all holy Books were taken from him, and he was enjoyned to abstain from Flesh on days forbidden. The Preacher also, whom, till now, the Emperour had suffered to be with him, finding himself in imminent danger, privately slipt away in disguise. Letters were then published, and these out of the Imperial Court too, which the *Landgrave* was said to have written to the Emperour. In these Letters he says, that he had sent Orders to his Wife and Counsellors, that they should fulfil the rest of the Conditions, and satisfie those who had any cause of Grievance, because of the past War: Then, that he had read the Book that was written about Religion; and though there were some things in it, which he did not throughly understand, and could not prove from the holy Scriptures, yet, because they were backed by Antiquity, and the Authority of the holy Fathers, he would not be wiser than they, but had approved the Writing, and would also take care, that it should be observed by his Subjects. After that, he offers him his faithful service, whether he should have War, with the *Turk*, Pope, other Kings, or the *Switzers*, or else if he pleased to make use of him in *Germany*: But prayed him, for Christs and all his Saints sake, that he would forget his Offences, and give him his Liberty: That now he had been a whole year Prisoner, wherein he had endured punishment enough, and was redacted to great hardships: Moreover, that, for greater security, he would give his two Sons Hostages, until he should be fully satisfied, and that he would readily submit to what he pleased to enjoyn him. Nevertheless, all these Prayers did not prevail, for he was by his *Spanish* Keepers carried about from place to place at every turn; first, from *Donawert* to *Wordlingen*, then to *Hailbrun*, and last, to *Hall* in *Swabia*.

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Severity towards captive *Saxony*.

Letters spread abroad in the *Landgrave's* Name.

Whil'st the Emperour is busied in carrying on these Exploits in *Germany*, the Mass, is, by Act of Parliament, abolished in *England*; and, not long after, *Stephen* Bishop of *Wincheſter* is apprehended, for maintaining, that the Laws made during the nonage of the King, were of no force. He had been confined to his House the year before; but being lately enlarged, when it was thought he had changed his Opinion, he made a Sermon before the King and his Nobles, wherein, having told them his mind plainly, he is committed to Prison.

Whil'st the Mass triumphs in *Germany*, it is run down in *England*.

The Bishop of *Wincheſter* is committed to Prison.

The Emperour caused the Form of Reformation, as they called it, to be read over to the Churchmen, *June* the Fourteenth. These were the Heads of it, Of Ordination, of the Duties of Ecclesiastical Orders, of Monasteries, of Schools, of Hospitals, of the Dispensation of Gods Word, of the Administration of the Sacraments, of the Ceremonies of the Mass, of Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, of the Discipline of the Clergy and People, of the Pluralities of Benefices, of Visitation, of Synods, and of Excommunication. The Matters therein enjoyned, amongst others, are chiefly these; That they who sue for Holy Orders, be diligently Examined, as to their Faith, Manners and Learning, especially as to the Heresies most in vogue at that time, and, if they believe as the *Roman* Catholick and Apostolick Church believes: The Inquisition into Manners is commanded to be made according to the Pattern set down by *Paul*, in the third Chapter of the first Apostle to *Timothy*; but, that which St. *Paul* amongst other things advises, That a Minister of the Church be the Husband of one Wife, who rules his own House well, and has obedient Children, is left out: That no Man be admitted to the Office of a Bishop, unless he be a Priest, or promise to take the rest of Orders with the first opportunity: That Bishops take care of their own Flocks, feeding them with sound Doctrine and the Sacraments: That they now and then visit their Churches, and be careful, that the other Ministers do their Duty, lest the Wolves break in among the Flock: That the Monastick Life be again established in those places, where it has been discontinued: That nothing be taught in Schools, but what agrees with Catholick Doctrine: That the *Latine* Tongue be retained in the Administration of the Sacraments and Ceremonies, lest they should fall into contempt, if the People understood the Lan-

The Emperours Ecclesiastical Reformation.

1548. guage: That that which is commonly called the *Canon of the Maſs*, remain entire, and be pronounced with a low Voice, that the dignity of thoſe dreadful Myſteries may be kept up: That nothing be changed in the uſual Ceremonies: That Salt, Water, Hearbs, the Paſchal Lamb, New Fruits, alſo Churches, Chalices, Altars, Copes, Veſtments and Veſſels be Conſecrated by Prayer againſt the Snares of the Devil and Charms: That Wax Tapers alſo be lighted, and Incenſe offered in Churches: That Prayers alſo be made in Churches and Chapels dedicated to Saints: That the Clergy live Temperately and Soberly, and avoid Fornication: That they put away their Concubines, or be puniſhed: That the Civil Magiſtrate aſſiſt the Biſhops in reforming Diſcipline and Manners, and preſerving entire the Liberties of the Church: That Dioceſan Synods be brought into uſe again, and held twice a year, and that in them the Manners and Vices of every one be enquired into: That thoſe, who cannot otherwiſe be reformed, be Excommunicated: That all Men do avoid their Speech and Company: And, that they be not admitted again to Communion, before they humbly beg forgiveneſs, and promiſe amendment. This Formulary being read over, as I ſaid before, was by the Biſhops, after ſome deliberation, approved, and they promiſed to call Synods within a little time after they were returned home: Nevertheleſs, they deſired that the Pope might be moved to give his aſſent to ſome things in it. This Book was Printed alſo afterward. Mention was made before, that the Deputies of the Cities ſent home to conſult their Principals about the Decree. But when the *Strasburghers*, who were the chief, were a little backward in anſwering; the Emperour orders *Granvell* to preſs them to it. He therefore, *June* the Twenty eighth, ſends for the Deputies, of whom *James Sturmey* was the Principal, and ſpeaking to them by *Henry Haſen*, who then was his Interpreter, he told them, that they themſelves knew, how the States had begg'd of the Emperour, and referred it to his care, to deviſe ſome Expedient, that might be obſerved till the ſitting of the Council: That he had done it, and that a Form was drawn up by good and Learned Men, which all the Princes, except ſome few, and the chief Cities had approved. Now, ſeeing they and ſome others had beſought the Emperour, that they might have leave to conſult their Principals, which he granted, and in the mean time waited for their Anſwer, he took it ill, that hitherto they had made him none; and, that therefore, he had commanded him to learn, what their mind was. When the Deputies had told the reaſon of their Silence, they produce a Letter directed to the Emperour from the Senate, wherein they tell his Majeſty: That they deſired nothing more, than to be able to gratifie him in all things; but, that they and all their Citizens were fully perſuaded, that if they ſhould at all admit of that Decree, they ſhould wound their own Conſciences, grievouſly offend God, and endanger their own ſalvation: That ſince he, in his own Wiſdom, knew, how heinous a thing that was, they begg'd for Chriſts ſake, that in ſo nice a point, which concerned not Lands nor Goods, but the ſalvation of their Souls and Eternal Happineſs, he would have ſome regard to them, and as he allowed others, of a different Perſuaſion, the free uſe of their Religion, ſo he would ſuffer them to enjoy that of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, until a Decree ſhould paſs in Council, as it had been often enacted in Dyets, and that he would not compel them, to ſay with their Mouth, what their Heart did not think: That they again, on their parts, ſhould take all imaginable care, that nothing ſhould be done tumultuouſly or irreligiouſly in their City; that no wicked and pernicious Principles or Doctrines ſhould be ſuffered among them, nor no cauſe of Complaint given to their Neighbours. When *Granvell* had heard the Letter read, he told them, that the Emperour had always had a good opinion of their City; and, that ſince all generally commended and approved the Decree, they muſt not expect to be exempted; for they had Orders to admit of no ſuch Anſwer; that it was in vain then to Petition, but that they ſhould tell poſitively, what the Reſolution of the Senate was. To which they Reply, That when the matter was referred to the Emperour, they and the other Deputies had always underſtood it of the Civil, but not Religious, Concerns, that they thought the laſt had been referred to a Council, where, upon hearing of the Parties, the Controverſie ſhould be decided; but, that in this Book, almoſt all the Points of Doctrine, in diſpute, were determined; that if they ſhould now receive them without any previous Diſquiſition, or the Learned Men of their Party being heard, they would no longer remain Controverted, nor ſtand in need of the Authority of a Council: That it was no wonder, that moſt part of the Princes and States approved

The Biſhops approve this Regulation.

Thoſe of *Strasburg* are urged to receive the *Interim*.

The Anſwer of thoſe of *Strasburg*.

Granvell's Speech to the *Strasburghers*.

The *Strasburghers* Anſwer to *Granvell*.

approved the Decree, ſince it was for their own advantage; all being left whole and entire to them, but a manner of Religion preſcribed to the Proteſtants, and commands laid upon them, to forſake thoſe Doctrines that had been always diſputed, without ſo much as a hearing, whereas, nevertheleſs, in all the Dyets, the whole Cauſe was referred to a Council: That to force any Man to act contrary to his own Conſcience, though it were erroneous, was a very grievous thing, unleſs the Errour were firſt made appear: That they believed, there were a great many good Men on both ſides, that nevertheleſs differed among themſelves in Judgment and Opinion: That no conſtraint ought to be put upon ſuch, but that they ſhould be convinced by Reaſon, Truth and Arguments: That ſince then, in all Matters not relating to Religion, they were ready to give unto *Cæſar* the things that were *Cæſars*, they prayed him to recommend to his Imperial Majeſty theſe humble Demands of the Senate: That they were not ignorant of the Emperours great power, nor of the danger they now incurred, if he ſhould think fit to make uſe of force: That therefore, if they were not fully perſuaded, that, by the approbation of this Decree, God was greatly offended, it would be the greateſt madneſs in the world, not to comply with the Emperour. Here again *Granvell*, having repeated what he had ſaid before, told them, that they themſelves, when they were received again into the Emperours favour, had promiſed to obſerve, what he ſhould appoint for the welfare of the Empire: That of this nature was the Decree, made with the Counſel and Advice of Learned Men, and by the greater part approved: That therefore it could not be refuſed, becauſe it was conſonant to the Doctrine of the Church: Did they arrogate ſo much to themſelves, as to think, they ſaw more than the Univerſal Church, that they ſhould make a ſeparation from the reſt? That it was not lawful for them to change Religion, without the common conſent of the whole World. That therefore, if they had no other Inſtructions, they ſhould inform themſelves from their Senate, whether they intended to obey, or not? That, as to what they alledged, that they had only underſtood it of Civil Affairs, when the Matter was referred to the Emperour, it was no matter how they underſtood it, but how the major part of the States did. The Deputies again repreſent, that they and the reſt of the Deputies of their State, had, in a manner, been excluded from all Deliberations; nay, and, that they had not been then conſulted, when the matter was referred to the Emperour; ſo that they had underſtood it no otherwiſe than as they told him: Yea, and that ſome Princes had alſo underſtood it ſo; for that, when they made their peace with the Emperour, they would not promiſe abſolute obedience, for fear it might be ſome time or other extended to Religion; that his own Son, the Biſhop of *Arras*, knew this to be true, who then promiſed in the Emperours Name, that the whole Cauſe of Religion ſhould be referred to a Lawful Council: That, whereas he ſaid, that Decree ought to be received as a publick Statute of the Empire, they refuſed not to undergo any burden, that ſhould be impoſed upon them by the Empire; but, that the preſent Caſe concerned the Salvation of their Souls and Life Eternal: That, beſides, the whole weight of the Decree fell upon good and Pious Men; for, that the Multitude and Rabble, who ſlighted Religion, cared not what was, or might be, enacted; though, no Man was to be compelled to embrace Faith: That they doubted not, but the Emperour was a Lover of Peace and Concord; but, that, however, if this courſe ſhould be taken, and Men be forced, both to think and ſpeak contrary to their Judgment, it was very much to be feared, leſt ſuch and ſo ſudden a change might occaſion great Stirs and Commotions: That that Book had been framed by Learned Men, of whom ſome had the knowledge of the truth, as was apparent enough; but, that ſome others had foiſted in many things, that did not at all agree with the holy Scriptures and the Doctrine of the Fathers, as might, indeed, be demonſtrated, if Men were allowed to ſpeak. That they had made no ſeparation from the reſt; but, that in the chief and fundamental Points of Doctrine, they agreed with the true Church: That therefore, they again deſire him to deliver the Letter to the Emperour, that accordingly, they may acquaint the Senate, for that they had no other Inſtructions. Upon that, he began to ſpeak a little more huffingly, and urged home the Decree upon them; then he made a Digreſſion to other Matters, and told them, how it was talked amongſt the great Men in *France*, that the People of *Strasburg* would not admit of the Decree: However, that the ſhort and the long of the Matter was, that the Emperour

1548.

Granvell's Reply.

The *Strasburghers* inſiſt.

expected

1548. expected a clear and poſitive Anſwer: That no Man, indeed, was to be compelled to profeſs any Faith; but that, that was to be underſtood of thoſe, who were not Chriſtians; ſince they, who deny the Faith that they have once received, might be compelled by Fire and Faggot. To theſe things the Deputies made Anſwer, That they knew not what the *French* might talk, but, that there was no publick Act, as yet, paſt in the Senate, nor any thing elſe done in that Affair, but what they were now diſcourſing about: That, ſeeing then, they would not report theſe things to the Emperour, it was to no purpoſe to inſiſt any longer; and they would acquaint the Senate with what they had done: That a Man might, indeed, be burnt to death, but, that he could not be forced to believe otherwiſe than he did. And here ended the Conference. The Deputies of the other Cities had been before dealt with, much after the ſame manner; they had been beſides threatned, a day prefixed to them, by which they ſhould bring their Anſwer, and commanded to tarry, till it ſhould come from their Principals: But no ſuch thing was impoſed upon thoſe of *Strasburg*. As to the Money, which the Emperour deſired might be raiſed for future Contingencies, the States, though they ſaid it would lie heavy upon them, yet aſſented to it: They promiſed King *Ferdinand* alſo a Subſidy of an Hundred thouſand Florins a year, during the time of the Truce: On the other hand, they deſired the Emperour, that he would remove his Gariſons, and, all things being now peaceable and quiet, disband his Forces that lay quartered up and down, and did much hurt both in Town and Country, whereby he would relieve the poor People, who made ſad complaints thereof. The Emperour made Anſwer, That, for weighty Conſiderations, he could not, at that time, diſmiſs his Forces; that, as for any hurt that was done, it was not with his knowledge nor allowance; for, ſince they were duly paid by him, it was not reaſonable they ſhould wrong any body, and, that they knew to be his will and pleaſure: That ſomething of that nature had already been brought to his Ears, but, that upon inquiry, hardly any thing could be made out of it; that, nevertheleſs, he would uſe all means, that he might be certainly informed of the matter; and that no Man ſhould go unpuniſhed, if he were found to be guilty. The States alſo refer it to the Emperour, to Conſtitute the Imperial Chamber at that time, and to add ſome more Judges to the number, at his pleaſure, they themſelves promiſing, to defray the Charges of it. This was the iſſue of the League, which had been projected, as was ſaid before. That all the Emperours Provinces in *Germany* and the *Low Countries*, be under the Protection and Defence of the Empire, and contribute to all publick Exigencies, yet ſo, as that they enjoy their own Laws and Juriſdiction; and, that, on the other hand, *Germany* may expect the ſame Help and Defence from the Provinces of the Emperour.

The other Cities are alſo urged.

The Emperours Anſwer to the States about the diſbanding of the Soldiers.

The States conſent to the Conſtitution of the Imperial Chamber.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH.

BOOK XXI.

The CONTENTS.

The Authors of the Book called the Interim, *are rewarded by the Emperour: Many nevertheleſs, do impugne it, and upon that account the Duke of* Saxony *is accuſed. Thoſe of* Conſtance *are urged to receive that Book now publiſhed: Ambuſhes laid to ſurpriſe the City, which at length is forced to receive it. The* Strasburghers *write to the Emperour about the* Interim, *and at length admit of it. A Sedition ariſeth at* Bourdeaux. *A Relation of the Deſpair of* Francis Spira: *And the ſtrange Converſion of* Vergerio *to the Reformed Religion. The Queen of* Scots *is carried into* France. Magdenburg *is, by the Emperour, offered as a prey to the ſtrongeſt hand. The State of* England *begins to be turbulent. The Protector of the Kingdom is ſentenced to death and beheaded: The Citizens of* Strasburg *contend with their Biſhop. They of* Wittemberg *are by ſome accuſed as Adiaphoriſts or Neuters, who, by their indifference and double dealing, made way for the Popiſh Impiety.* Melanchton *anſwers theſe. Diſputation in* England *about the Lords Supper. The King of* France *is received at* Paris. Vervinus *is beheaded. The Emperour purſues the* Magdenburgers *with Edicts. Pope* Paul *the Third dies, and horrid things are reported of him. The Conclave of* Rome *is deſcribed, and the manner of Creating the Pope. Maſs is begun again at* Strasburg. *An Edict publiſhed by the* French *King againſt the* Lutherans. Julius *is elected Pope, and makes* Innocent, *a Youth, who was exceedingly dear unto him, a Cardinal.*

ON the laſt of *June* the Dyet was diſſolved. We told you in the Nineteenth Book, that the Emperour had perſuaded all to ſubmit to the Council, upon the aſſurance given them, that he would take care, it ſhould be free and lawful: Now therefore, a Decree is made, for the continuation of the Council at *Trent*, the Emperour promiſing to uſe his endeavours, that it meet there again, as ſoon as conveniently can be. Which being effected, he requires all, eſpecially Churchmen, and thoſe of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, that they repair thither upon the ſafe Conduct that he ſhould give them; for, that there all matters ſhould be Piouſly and Chriſtianly debated and determined according to the holy Scriptures, and Doctrine of the Fathers, without prejudice or affection, and that they themſelves ſhould be heard to the full. Then other Decrees are read over, as it is cuſtomary, eſpecially that concerning

A Decree of the Dyet of *Ausburg* concerning a free Council.

1548. concerning Religion, and all are ſtrictly charged to obey it, as was before declared *May* the Fifteenth. We named before the three Authors of the Book called the *Interim*. One of them, *John Iſlebius*, had liberal Rewards both from the Emperour and King *Ferdinand*, for his pains; but *Michael Sidonius* got afterward the Biſhoprick of *Mensburg* in *Saxony*, this gave occaſion to ſome to joke upon them, and ſay, that they only maintained, amongſt other things, the Popiſh Chriſme and Oyl, to be uſed as ſacred and neceſſary to Salvation, that they themſelves might come off the better greaſed. Not long after, the Emperour ſent his Letters to the Princes that were abſent, eſpecially to thoſe who ſeemed moſt to ſtand in need of it, commanding them forthwith to obey that Decree: And, *July* the Tenth, he wrote to *Eraſmus* Biſhop of *Strasburg*, to uſe endeavours, that that, which, with ſo much labour and pains, he had brought about, ſhould be put into execution; and that, if he wanted fit Men, he ſhould provide himſelf ſomewhere elſe.

The Compoſers of the *Interim* are bountifully rewarded.

The Emperours Letters to the Princes about the receiving of the *Interim*.

The Report of this Decree was ſoon ſpread abroad far and near. And the *Venetians*, *July* the Nineteenth, publiſh a Proclamation, charging all who had Books containing any thing contrary to the Catholick Faith, to bring them in within eight days to ſome certain Men appointed, for that afterwards inquiſition would be made, and ſuch as deſerved be puniſhed; promiſing Reward and Secreſie to Informers: The Pope hath a Legat or Nuncio always there, as in the Courts of Princes alſo; theſe ſee and hear with the Eyes and Ears of many, and are often the Cauſes, why Decrees of that nature are made: But the Senate of *Venice* uſeth this Circumſpection, that they ſuffer not the *Romiſh* Biſhops and Inquiſitors to be ſole Judges, but always joyn with them the Governours of Places, and Lawyers, to Examine the Evidences, and take care, that no Sentence paſs againſt any Man within their Juriſdiction, out of malice, or for love of gain. They made this Law in the year 1521. when, in the Country of *Breſcia*, the Inquiſitors tyranniſed cruelly over poor Wretches, as if they had been Sorcerers, and in Compact with the Devil: And now, when the Doctrine of *Luther* had taken deep rooting, and was ſpread far and near, that Law was in force ſtill, whatever the Papiſt muttered, who would have it abrogated.

The *Venetians* Proclamation.

The Popes Legats in the Courts of Princes.

The prudence of the *Venetians* in the buſineſs of Religion.

The *Venetian* Inquiſition againſt Sorcerers, and thoſe that have commerce with the Devil.

Much about this time, the King of *France* ſent Auxiliary Forces into *Scotland*, againſt the *Engliſh*, and amongſt theſe ſome *Germans*, under the Conduct of the *Rhinegrave*. But the Emperour Proſcribes *Hubert* Count *Bichling*, and *Sebaſtian Schertelline*, in one and the ſame Proclamation; and not long after, the *Rhinegrave*, Count *Heideck*, *Pecrod* and *Pifeberg*, beſeeching all Foreign Princes not to entertain nor protect them, but to gratifie him in that particular, and aſſuring them, that they might expect the like from him, when occaſion offered. The Duke of *Vendoſme*, a Prince of the Royal Blood of *France*, Married the Lady *Jane*, Daughter to the King of *Navarre*, who, ſeven years before, had been betrothed and given to the Duke of *Cleve*, as has been ſaid. *Eleanor*, the Emperours Siſter, Queen Dowager of *France*, leaves *France*, and goes to live in the *Netherlands*. The Duke of *Aumale*, Son to the Duke of *Guiſe*, after he had long courted the Ducheſs of *Lorrain*, the Emperours Siſters Daughter, Married the Daughter of *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*. About that time, *Louis d'Avila*, a *Spaniard*, wrote the Hiſtory of the Emperours Wars in *Germany* in the vulgar Language, which was afterwards Tranſlated into *Italian*, *Latin*, and *French*; where he ſpeaketh of the taking of Marqueſs *Albert*, he ſaith, That he minded his pleaſures ſo much with Women, that he neglected his Duty, and misbehaved himſelf at *Nochlitz*. Though the Emperour had given moſt ſtrict charge, that no Man ſhould in any manner impugne the Book that was publiſhed about Religion; nevertheleſs, ſeveral Pieces came abroad, that confuted all the Doctrine contained in it, and admoniſhed Men to beware of it, as a moſt dangerous Plague. Amongſt theſe was *Caſpar Eagle*, Miniſter of the Church of *Salfield* in *Thuringe*. The occaſion of Writing was given by *Iſlebius*, who was upon his way home from *Ausburg*, and bragg'd mightily of that Book, ſaying, That a Golden Age was now at hand, and that *Eagle* had alſo aſſented to it. When this came to his Ears, he wrote a moſt bitter Anſwer, giving him the Lye; and affirming the Book to be ſtuffed with falſe Doctrines. In *France* alſo, *Robert* Biſhop of *Auranches* wrote againſt it, but upon a different account, and rejected the ſame, chiefly, becauſe it allowed Marriage to Prieſts, and the Sacrament in both Kinds to the Laity; where, taking occaſion by the way, he bitterly inveighs againſt *Bucer* for Marrying a ſecond Wife. *Romey* alſo, General of the Order of St. *Dominick*, wrote againſt it, for the ſame Reaſons, at *Rome*. So that the little Book was found fault with by both ſides.

French Auxiliaries ſent to the *Scots*.

They who ſerved in the Proteſtant Arms, Proſcribed by the Emperour.

The Duke of *Vendoſmes* Marriage.

The Duke of *Aumales* Marriage.

Louis d'Avila's Hiſtory of the *German* War.

Iſlebius brags of the *Interim*.

The Biſhop of *Auranches* writes againſt the *Interim*.

So does *Romey* the Dominican.

1548.

The Emperour had ſent an Ambaſſadour to the City and State of *Norimberg*, to perſuade them to ſubmit to the Decree that was made. On his way thither, he ſolicited the Sons of the Duke of *Saxony* to the ſame purpoſe, but they all reſolutely refuſed. Upon his return, he gave the Emperour a full account of his Negotiation: Wherefore the Emperour makes his application again to the Captive Prince, complaining of his Sons, that not only they rejected the Decree lately made, but alſo ſuffered the Miniſters to rail againſt it in their Pulpits and Writings; wherefore, he deſires him to uſe his Authority with them, that they would give him ſatisfaction, as to both theſe Points. To this he makes Anſwer, That he had lately ſatisfied *Granvell* and the Biſhop of *Arras*, why he himſelf did not approve the Doctrine of the publiſhed Book; which being ſo, he would not perſuade his Sons to do that, which he could not with a good Conſcience do himſelf; that he earneſtly beſought him to take it in good part, and to favour both him and his Sons with his protection. This conſtancy of his, and ſingular fortitude of Mind, in bearing Adverſe Fortune, purchaſed him the Love and Eſteem of all Men.

The conſtancy of the Sons of the Duke of *Saxony*.

The Duke of *Saxony* avows to the Emperour, his rejecting of the *Interim*.

As the States of *Bremen* and *Magdenberg* were the only People in *Saxony*, who were not reconciled to the Emperour, ſo were alſo thoſe of *Conſtance*, that border upon the *Switzers*, the only, in *Upper Germany*; but at length, having obtained a ſafe Conduct, they ſend Deputies to *Ausburg* to Negotiate a Peace. The Emperour propoſed very hard Conditions to them, and amongſt theſe, that they ſhould receive the Publick Book, and conform their Religion unto it. The Deputies deſire ſome mitigation of the Conditions; but that was in vain, and they are commanded to bring their Anſwer by a day prefixt. The Senate being made acquainted with this, on the Thirteenth of *July*, writ a humble and ſubmiſſive Letter to the Emperour, beſeeching him, that he would not force them to do any thing againſt their Conſciences and the Salvation of their Souls; that they ſaw their own danger, and were in great ſtreights; for, that if they obeyed not, their Lives and Fortunes lay at ſtake; but, that withal, if they complied, they muſt abide the Vengeance and Judgment of God: That he would therefore ſpare them, and not reduce to extremity poor unfortunate Wretches, eſpecially ſince they were no more in fault than the reſt, and had formerly ſuffered the greateſt of Calamities for the Empire and Houſe of *Auſtria*, as they were ſtill ready to undergo any burden, that they were able and ought to bear; and, that though their Exchequer was low, and their Fortunes mean, yet they were willing to give for a Fine eight thouſand Florins, and four great Guns; but, that they prayed him, that he would let them enjoy the Religion which for twenty years they had profeſſed, until the Decree of a lawful Council ſhould paſs, and not impoſe a heavier burden upon their City, than it was able to bear. Their Biſhop, *John Veſalius*, who was alſo called Archbiſhop of *Lunden*, as hath been ſaid in the Twelfth Book, threatened them ſeverely at *Ausburg*, after the Emperour had publiſhed the Book; but within a few days after he died of an *Apoplexy*, the Diſeaſe which he prayed might fall upon them. The Reaſon why they alledged, that they had ſuffered great damage for the ſake of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, was this: The Emperour *Maximilian*, by the help of the *Suabian* League, we mentioned in the Fourth Book, made War againſt the *Switzers*; wherefore, the People of *Conſtance*, their next Neighbours, who were of the ſame League, ſuffered great loſſes from them. The *Griſons* and other Neighbouring People, nay, and *Louis* XII. King of *France* alſo, aided the *Switzers* at that time, but at the interceſſion of *Ludowick Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, the matter was made up, in the year 1500. *Maximilian* was then Married to *Mary Blanch*, *Sforza*'s Siſter.

The Deputies of *Conſtance* with the Emperour.

Their humble Letters to him.

The Biſhop of *Conſtance* dies of an Apoplexy, which he had imprecated unto his People.

Maximilian's War againſt the *Switzers*.

On the Third day of *Auguſt* the Emperour called before him the Burgomaſters, all the Council, and ſome of the chief Citizens of *Ausburg*, and having, by the mouth of *Selden* the Lawyer, ſpoken much of the good will and favour, that he and his Predeceſſors had ſhew'd them; he told them, that for many years paſt, the Government of their Republick had been turbulent and factious, and that the reaſon of it was, that inferiour People, ignorant Handy-crafts-men, fitter for any thing than Government, had been choſen into the Council; but, that he, who wiſhed the City well, to remedy that evil, did now diſſolve the Council, and turn them all out of place, not for any diſgrace to them, but for the publick good and profit. Then he commands the names of thoſe whom he had choſen for Common Council-men to be read over; amongſt theſe were the *Welſers*, *Helingers*, *Buntgartners*, *Fuggers*, and *Peutingers*, that being done, he gave them their

The Emperour changeth the Senate of *Ausburg*.

1548. Oaths, and aſſigned to every one their ſeveral Functions and Charges, giving them ſerious Advice to love the Commonwealth, ſubmit to the Decree of Religion, and be obedient to him. At the ſame time he aboliſhes all the Companies and Fraternities, making it death for the future, to have any Conventicles or Brotherhoods, and commanding all Publick Charters and Grants, which contained the Priviledges and Liberties of the Companies, to be delivered up to the new Common Council. This new form of Government, he ordered to be proclaimed by an Herald, and that it ſhould be death for any to oppoſe or cenſure it. The Council thanked his Majeſty, and promiſed all duty and obedience. In the mean time, whil'ſt theſe things were a doing, all the Gates were ſhut, and Soldiers poſted in ſeveral places of the City.

The Companies are aboliſhed.

There had been a Suit depending for many years betwixt the *Landgrave* and *William* Count of *Naſſaw*, concerning the Dominion of *Catzenelbogen*, which at that time the Emperour decided, and gave ſentence againſt the *Landgrave*. The Fifth day of this Month, the Emperour, by the mouth of the Biſhop of *Arras*, anſwered the Deputies of *Conſtance*, diſmiſſing them without any ſucceſs, and becauſe he perceived them not to be much concerned for Peace, he told them, he would take ſome courſe. The ſame day, the *Spaniards*, who, as we told you, were removed into thoſe parts to the number of three thouſand Foot, march towards *Conſtance*, and drawing out of *Uberlinghen* in the night time, part of them take the Woods, that, by break of day, when they knew the People were to be at Sermon in the Churches, they might invade the Town, and part ſtayed behind in the Woods waiting for the occaſion. Now it happened, that three of the City Watchmen, hearing a noiſe in the Wood, ventured farther out to ſee what the matter was, and ſo fell into their hands. Theſe they took, and threatning them with death, if they gave the leaſt ſign, carry them along with them; then they plant themſelves in a low ground, near the Lake, with great ſilence; but that was not ſo private, but that ſome of the Watch, who then were in the Suburbs on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, went and told their Captain, that there was ſome Ambuſh laid, wherewith he immediately acquainted the Burgomaſter; and this was about two of the Clock in the morning. The Burgomaſter preſently calls a Council, and orders all to Arm, though no body could tell, what the matter was. About break of day the *Spaniards* began by little and little to appear, but in ſmall numbers, that they might diſcover the number of the Watch. Then again the Captain of the Watch ſends word to the Burgomaſter, to put himſelf in a readineſs, for that there was danger at hand. Having therefore conſulted what was to be done, about four of the Clock they ſend out about two hundred Citizens into the Suburbs. Theſe, perceiving nothing after they were gone out, began to be a little negligent, but, ſo ſoon as it was day, the *Spaniards* with their great Guns let fly againſt the Pales which divided the Ditch into two, and beat them down; and ſo in great numbers breaking in through the Ditch, that was then almoſt dry, upon the Town Watch: Whereupon, they alſo, who, as we ſaid, remained in the Wood, came preſently on, and with great force break open one of the Gates; but the Citizens defended themſelves valiantly, and made uſe of their Ordnance, having, however, loſt their Captain *Alfonſus Vives* in the firſt Charge. But when they could hardly withſtand the force of ſo great a multitude, by little and little they retreat to the Bridge over the *Rhine*, where they maintained a hot and tedious Conflict, and with much ado getting into the Town again, from the Walls and Gates they briskly play their great Guns upon the Enemy, who with all their might were attempting to force the Gate, and kill many of them. Thoſe they preſently threw from the Bridge into the *Rhine*, and then perceiving that their labour was in vain, fly into the Suburbs, ſetting fire to the further end of the Bridge, leſt the Townſmen might ſally out upon them. Having afterwards ſatiated their filthy luſts, they gather into a heap all the Bodies of their dead Men, and burn them, with the Suburbs, that the number of the ſlain might not be known; but the Towns people loſt an hundred Men. When the Alarm was given at *Conſtance*, the Neighbouring *Switzers*, as the cuſtom was, preſently Armed, and were coming to their aſſiſtance; but the Governour of the Country, who, at that time was a Citizen of *Lucerne*, recalled them under ſevere penalties, for the hatred he bore to the Religion.

The Emperour gives ſentence in favour of *Naſſaw* againſt the *Landgrave*.

The *Spaniards* march privately to *Conſtance*.

Alfonſus Vives was killed, and the *Spaniards* draw off without ſucceſs.

A Cuſtom of the *Switzers*.

We told you before, what paſt betwixt the Deputies of *Strasburg* and *Granvell*; all which, upon their return home, after the diſſolution of the Dyet, they report to the Senate; who, after ſome Conſultation, wrote to the Emperour in *French*, becauſe

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becauſe he delighted moſt in that Language, to this effect: Our Deputies, ſay they, being lately returned from the Dyet, have told us what hath been done, and long before that ſent us the Book, compoſed about Religion. They were deſirous, indeed, moſt mighty Emperour, to have petitioned your Majeſty by Letter, before they left *Ausburg*; but *Granvel* would not receive it; and that's the reaſon, Sir, we now write to your Majeſty. Believe it, Sir, there is nothing in the World we more deſire, than to gratifie your Majeſty: But as to the Decree about Religion, the Caſe ſtands thus: Having convened the Divines of our City, we diligently examined the whole Book: And though there be ſome things in it, which do not altogether diſagree with the holy Scriptures, yet ſince they are ſo penned, that for the moſt part they ſtand in need of a fuller explication, it would be a very hard and uneaſie thing for us ſo to receive them. For we are moſt fully perſuaded, that our Doctrine and Ceremonies are conſonant to the Word of God, and that, without offending God, and wounding our own Conſciences, we can neither forſake nor change them, before they be fairly tried and examined, and our Divines heard. For it hath been the Cuſtom, from the very firſt Age of the Church, that all doubtful and controverted Points would be determined in lawful Aſſemblies, and this alſo was always looked upon to be the beſt way in the Dyets of the Empire, that the whole Matter ſhould be referred to an holy Council. Wherefore, we beſeech your Majeſty, by all that is Sacred, and for the ſake of the Blood of *Chriſt* that was ſhed for us, that the Decrees of the Empire may ſtand in force, as to that Matter, and that we may be allowed the free exerciſe of our Religion, until the Authority of a lawful Council intervene. For no better way than that can be deviſed, for ſettling a firm and laſting Peace. But if your Majeſty do reject this our humble demand, and require from us a compliance, we moſt earneſtly beg that our Divines may firſt be heard, to ſhew wherein it is, we think, that Decree to be repugnant to holy Scripture. And if this be granted, our hopes are, that your Majeſty will both underſtand the equity of our Plea, and alſo mitigate that Decree. We do nothing certainly out of malice or obſtinacy, but it is the conſideration of our own Salvation, and the fear of Divine Majeſty, that moves us to deprecate in this manner. For in all things elſe, we ſhall ſo demean our ſelves, that you may perceive how highly we value your Majeſties Glory and Reputation.

The Letter of the Strasburgers to the Emperour.

Their Judgment of the *Interim*.

With this Letter, and ſome other Inſtructions, *Lowis Grempen*, a Lawyer, was ſent to the Emperour. But the Emperour anſwered them in the ſame manner, as he did the reſt, telling them, That nothing could be now determined more; that it was not now time to ſtand upon debates, and that they might have a ſufficient hearing in the Council. And therefore he commands them to give him their poſitive anſwer within a Month. When the way, we have been ſpeaking of, would not do with the Men of *Conſtance*, the Emperour by Proclamation puts them to the Ban of the Empire. Then began Matters to be carried more tumultuouſly in the City: For both the remembrance of their late danger, and the expectation of future miſery extremely perplexed them: Eſpecially, ſeeing they ſaw not the leaſt appearance of any human help or relief. Some of the Citizens alſo did, with other expreſſions, exaggerate all theſe things; ſo that the Council forced by their importunity, wrote to ſome Princes, and the *Saitzers* alſo, praying them to intercede in their behalf with the Emperour: The *Suitzers* immediately called an Aſſembly of their States, and aſſented: But the Catholicks amongſt them, promiſed to do ſo, upon this Condition; if they would receive the Decree of the Empire lately made concerning Religon, and receive the Clergy into the City again: The Common Council being preſſed then by the Citizens, publiſh that Decree; and then put the Matter to a Vote, where by the major part, it was carried in the Affirmative, that it ſhould be received. For they all cried, they ſhould be utterly undone, if they continued longer in the condition they were in; ſince the Emperour had a vaſt and almoſt inexhauſtible power not to be reſiſted. When they had paſt this into a publick Act, the Council acquaint the *Suitzers* with what they had done: Theſe ſent Ambaſſadours to try, if the Emperour would admit of an Interceſſion; and withal, to intreat him to deal graciouſly with them. But the Emperour made them ſuch an anſwer, that they might eaſily perceive it would not be acceptable unto him. For he told them, That he much wondred they would do any thing in favour of Out-lawed People. Wherefore, many who diſapproved the change of Religion, removed to other places, and amongſt theſe was *Ambroſe Blaurer*, the

The Emperours anſwer to thoſe of *Strasburg*.

The people of *Conſtance* proſcribed.

They pray ſome Princes, and the *Suitzers*, to intercede with the Emperour for them.

The Emperours anſwer to the interceſſors.

1548. chief Minister they had. The *Lindavians*, who are opposite to *Constance*, on the other side of the Lake, had before answered the Emperour manfully enough, indeed; but being now terrified by a neighbouring Example, they also receive the Decree.

Those of *Lindaw* receive the *Interim*.

When the Deputy of *Strasburg* was returned with the Emperour's Answer and Commands; the great Council of the Commonwealth was called, which was never wont to be done, but about Matters of the greatest difficulty and moment. It consists of three hundred Persons, that are chosen fifteen out of every Company, which are twenty in number. The Matter being put to the Vote, it was carried by the plurality, not to receive the Decree, but to stand it out stoutly: But when the business was again stated some days after, they began to cool a little in their heat, and a Committee was chosen of the Senate, to whom it was referred to consult, what was most expedient for the Publick. Some Neapolitan Horse, as we told you, were quartered not far from the Town; and since the Emperour, at the very same time, left *Ausburg*, it was verily believed, that he intended to come to *Strasburg*, and many were terrified at what had lately happened to *Constance*. Wherefore, several of the Nobility, Merchants, and some others, fearing to lose their Estates, and being loth to offend the Emperour, having in the Senate renounced their freedom in the City, removed to other places, not without the murmuring and censure of many. The Emperour having removed from *Ausburg*, where he left a Garison to secure the change he had made, both in the Religion and Government, marched with the rest of the Forces to *Ulm*. When he came there, he dissolved the Town-Council, and appointed a new one, ordering the Ministers, amongst whom was *Martin Frecht*, to be clapt up in Prison, because they rejected the Decree about Religion. Thus the new Council being wholly at the Emperours devotion, received the Decree. During the sitting of the Dyet, at the request of *Granvel*, they had desired *Frecht* to go to *Ausburg*, and assist in the settling the Affair of Religion, and that he might lodge either with *Pflug*, *Sidonius* or *Islebius*, which he pleased: But he refused it, as a suspicious thing, and the rather, that none of his Profession were there from the other Cities. Being afterwards enjoyned to give his Opinion of this Decree that was made, and how far he approved it, he drew up his Mind concerning that in Writing. Now when the Emperour came to *Ulm*, the Council sent for him, and the rest of the Ministers, and ask'd them their Judgment. They answer as before, shewing what they approved, and what they condemned in the Decree. Being asked, Why, since those of *Ausburg* had sworn to submit to it, and yet preached the Gospel, they did not do the same? It was unknown to them, said they, what these men had done, nor was it their parts to be accountable for the actions of others: That when at first, they were called to the Ministery, they had promised, upon Oath, to preach to them the pure and sincere Doctrine of the Gospel, without the mixture of human Traditions, that if the Council did now dislike that way, they should release them from their Oath. At that time they were sent home, but sent for again in the afternoon, and then some commissionated by the Council told them, The Emperour, say they, has arrested you Prisoners to day, and now ye shall be sent to his Palace: God guide you by his holy Spirit. They make answer, That since it was God's good Will and Pleasure, they refused no danger, and prayed in like manner for them. So soon as they were come out of the Council, some Sergeants led them to Court, thinking that they would be brought before the Emperour. But when they had waited a long while, and a great croud of People was gathered together, they were carried to the House of one *George Besserer*, a Common-Council-man, where *Granvel*, and the Bishop of *Arras* lodged. Being at length called in, when, after a long debate, *Granvel* urged them to submit to the Emperours Decree, and they again gave their Reasons, why they could not: They were severely rebuked. But the rest being ordered to withdraw a little, they take a milder course with *Frecht*, and speak him very fair: However, he persisting in his Opinion, they try the rest also severally, and of them, four continued constant, but two fell off. *Hasen* and *Selden* were all this while present with *Granvel*, and the Bishop of *Arras*. Presently after they were put into Fetters, and sent to the Common Gaol, under a guard of Spaniards and Germans, commanded by *John*, *Count of Nassaw*. And as they passed by *Frecht*'s House, he espied his Brother *George* looking out at the Window, whom he called to, to have a care of his Wife and Family; but *George*, praying for him, and his Companions, and bidding them to

...y of them renounce their freedoms in the City and depart.

The Senate of *Ulm* changed.

The constancy of four Divines of *Ulm*.

to be of good courage, was for that word carried to Priſon himſelf; and this happened on the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*. After they had been kept four days Priſoners in the Town, on the fifth day, when the Emperour went away, they were, in their Chains, put into a Cart, and carried to *Kirchin*, under a guard of about two hundred Spaniards. Having continued there eight days in the cuſtody of Captain *Alteſteye's* Germans, they were delivered over to the keeping of *Madronio*, a Spaniſh Captain. The Emperour went from *Ulm* to *Spire*, about the later end of *Auguſt*. Whilſt he was there, one came from him to *Strasburg*, to carry away the 12 great Guns, which they promiſed to give the year before, on the laſt of *Auguſt*. The Pope, at the deſire of the Emperour, diſpatched three Biſhops into *Germany*, to wit, of *Favo*, *Verona*, and *Ferentino*, but what their Inſtructions were, it ſhall be related in its proper place. The Emperour making but a ſhort ſtay at *Spire*, came to *Mentz*, and from thence went down the *Rhine* into the *Netherlands*, taking with him in ſeveral Boats his Priſoners, the Duke of *Saxony*, and *Landgrave*, who had been lately brought from *Hall* in *Swabia*, after that his Wife had again made interceſſion for him. The *Landgrave* had a Town called *Sanguer*, and a Caſtle upon a ſteep Hill, lying upon the *Rhine*: And when the Emperour came hither in the night time, he lay at Anchor, and having only put a Shoar a Guard, commanded all to ſtay on board in their Veſſels. The Senate of *Strasburg*, as we ſaid a little before, was ordered to give their anſwer within a Month: Wherefore, upon the Emperours coming to *Spire*, on the ſecond of *September*, Deputies came thither unto him, to wit, *James Sturmey*, *Matthew Giger*, and *Lowis Grempen*: Not finding him at *Spire*, they follow after to *Mentz*, and when they had given the Emperour notice of their arrival, becauſe the German Counſellors, whom he commonly made uſe of, were abſent, they are commanded to follow him to *Cologne*. In the mean while, the Biſhop of *Strasburg*, writing to the *Clergy*, that lived in the City, required them by his Letter, dated the fourth of *September*, to obey the Decree of the Empire, and conform to the Rule preſcribed: At that time, he ſent alſo the Emperours Letters to the ſame purpoſe, which, as we ſaid, were written the tenth day of *July*: And wrote alſo to the Senate, that they would not hinder or moleſt them.

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The Miniſters of *Ulm* put into Chains.

The Emperour comes to *Spire*.

The Popes Legats ſent to *Germany*.

The Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* carried Priſoners into the *Low Countries*.

The Deputies of *Strasburg* with the Emperour.

The Biſhops of *Strasburg's* Letter to the Clergy, about the obſervation of the Decree.

When the Deputies of *Strasburg* were come to *Cologne*, on the eighth of *September* they deliver the Emperour another *French* Letter from the Senate, to this purpoſe. Although when we made our Peace with Your Majeſty, moſt victorious Emperour, we did not promiſe to obey what ſhould be decreed: And though we never did give our conſent, that matters of Religion ſhould be handled after that manner; yet we are ready, as far as may be, to comply with Your Majeſty in all things, not only Civil, but Eccleſiaſtical: We are very ſenſible, that Your Majeſty, and the reſt of the Princes, will have no regard to our Remonſtrances, and that it is but reaſonable that we ſhould follow your footſteps. Nevertheleſs we beſeech Your Majeſty, on the other hand, to conſider, that, ſince every one muſt render an account of his Actions to God, we have juſt cauſe to be concerned for our Salvation, and to take care, that we do nothing contrary to our Conſcience. Which was the reaſon alſo, we were in good hopes, that having given Audience to our Divines, Your Majeſty would have moderated the Decree. But ſince now you refer us to the Council, where, you ſay, matters ſhall be handled according to the holy Scriptures, we admit of the condition; and that we may not ſeem to be contentious or obſtinate, we are not againſt it, but that the Biſhop may, by men of his own Order, officiate in ſome of our Churches, according to the formulary you have preſcribed: We ſhall tranſact with him about the Churches, and ſhall neither offer any diſturbance, nor hinder the Citizens from repairing to them; but it ſhall be free to every one to follow what Religion they pleaſe, and that ſeemeth righteſt to them: Yet ſtill on this condition, that we, on the other hand, may be allowed ſome Churches, wherein the Word of God may be purely taught, and the Sacraments adminiſtred as is fitting, and in the vulgar Tongue. We ſhall alſo take care, that the People live orderly, and that nothing be done undecently. Beſides, we ſhall command Holy days and Faſt days to be obſerved, and that no Fleſh be eaten on days prohibited; nor ſhall we ſuffer, that in Sermons, or any other way, the leaſt cauſe of Offence be given. And becauſe this Doctrine hath now, for many years, taken ſuch deep rooting in men's Minds, that, without wounding their Conſciences, it cannot be ſo ſuddenly taken away: And then, Sir, ſince, in the manner we have declared, Your Majeſties Decree will be received amongſt us; we beſeech Your *Majeſty*, from the very bottom of our Hearts, that you would be

Their Letter to the Emperour.

pleaſed

pleaſed to condeſcend to our humble Supplications, and ſuffer us to enjoy our Religion, until the ſitting of the Council: This will be an Office moſt acceptable to God, and moſt conducible to the Peace of our City and whole Province. When the Emperour had heard this Letter, and alſo what *James Sturmey*, after his eloquent way, had more largely ſaid to the ſame purpoſe; and by the mouth of *Selden* made ample proteſtations of his affection and good intentions towards *Germany*, at length, after a long Parly, he thus diſmiſſes them, that they ſhould accord with their Biſhop, but on this condition, That if they did not agree, they ſhould ſtand to his Arbitration.

The Deputies of *Strasburg* are diſmiſſed, and ordered to agree with their Biſhop.

When the Emperour was come into the Low Countries, he kept the Duke of *Saxony* with him; but the *Landgrave* he ſent to *Oudenard*, a Town of *Flanders*: And upon the borders of *Brabant*, he diſmiſſed all the Forces that he had brought thither from *Ausburg*. We mentioned before, that the States of the Empire had referred it to the Emperour to conſtitute the Judicature of the Imperial Chamber. The firſt day of *October* then, according as it had been enacted, it began, and three Advocates were turned out upon ſuſpicion of Lutheraniſm, and all the reſt are cautioned, amongſt other things, that they continue in the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, or be turned out of place. There *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* commenced a ſuit againſt the confederate Proteſtants, for the paſt War wherein he was overthrown. He had conditioned, nay, and ſworn too, when he was let go out of Priſon, that he would not attempt any ſuch thing; but he fell off from that Agreement, and not only he, but alſo the Elector of *Mentz*, the Maſter of *Pruſſia*, the Counts of *Naſſaw* and *Solmes*, brought their Actions againſt the *Landgrave*.

The Emperour keeps the Duke of *Saxony* with him.

The *Landgrave* he ſends to *Oudenard*.

The Reformation of the Chamber.

The Duke of *Brunſwick* brings an Action againſt the Proteſtants, and ſo do ſome others.

The Men of *Conſtance*, lately outlawed, being reduced to great ſtreights, and ſeeing no way how to ſave themſelves, fly to the laſt refuge, and ſurrender themſelves for ever to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. King *Ferdinand* then takes them into his Protection, and preſently ſent a Noble Man to be their Governour; who on the fifteenth of *October* propoſed theſe Conditions unto them. That from henceforth, they acknowledge King *Ferdinand* and his Heirs for their lawful Lords, that they perform all Fealty and Obedience unto them, at no time fall-off from their Allegiance, and not enter into any League with others: That they abſolutely obey all Decrees to be made by King *Ferdinand* and his Governours, concerning Religion and all things elſe. That they faithfully and truly ſerve King *Ferdinand* and his Heirs, in the Wars, and obey his Commands as the reſt of his Subjects do, and then they ſwear to theſe Conditions. Two days after, the Governour calls a Council, and demands of them what Money they had in their Treaſury, and that an Inventory be made of all their Artillery and Ammunition. He alſo commands, that no Towns-man wear a long Sword; that none preſume to come near the Works of the Town, nor the Guard-houſe, that the Names of thoſe, who, during the War, gave the City intelligence of their danger be given in; that the Goods of thoſe who are abſent, and of thoſe who have removed to other places, be inventoried and detained: That all publick Writings be produced, and ſome, who are skilful in the Affair, give an account what every one of them concerns. Afterwards, all the Miniſters of the Churches are commanded to leave the Town within eight days.

The people of *Conſtance* give themſelves up to the houſe of *Auſtria*.

King *Ferdinand*, upon Conditions, takes them into his protection:

And, then lays his Commands upon them.

In this Month, *Auguſtus*, Brother to *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, married the Lady *Ann*, Daughter to *Chriſtian* King of *Denmark*. It was agreed upon in the Contract of Marriage, that Duke *Maurice* ſhould ſettle no Eſtate of Inheritance upon him out of the Lands of Duke *Frederick*, but out of his own Paternal Inheritance.

The Marriage of Duke *Auguſtus* of *Saxony*.

At that time, there was a great Inſurrection through *Guienne*, about the gabel of Salt, and the Cuſtoms. The chief City of the Country is *Bourdeaux*, a large and populous Sea-port Town, which ſometimes belonged to the *Engliſh*. They were the very chief in the Rebellion, and killed the King's Governour. This being then a thing of moſt dangerous conſequence, the *French* King ſent thither, under the Command of the Conſtable and Duke of *Aumale*, one and thirty Companies of Foot, of which, one and twenty were *Germans*, and a ſmall Body of Horſe. The *Bourdeaux*-men hearing of this, make their Application to the Conſtable, offering him free entry into their Town with his Soldiers; but pray him not to ſuffer the *Germans* to enter. His anſwer was, That they were not to give Rules to him; that the *Germans* were in the King's Service, as well as the reſt; that he would do what he thought fit; and if they did not open the Gates, he had Keys to unlock them. So then, he entred the Town *October* the nineteenth, and having drawn up his Men in ſeveral Poſts, he firſt commands the Citizens to bring out all their Arms, and carry

A Sedition at *Bourdeaux*.

The *Bourdeaux*-men receive the Conſtable and his Soldiers.

them

them to the Caſtle, which took up two days time. The third day they began to enquire from houſe to houſe, and many of the Seditious were taken, who were in ſeveral manners put to death. Fourteen Gentlemen were alſo brought forth with Halters about their Necks; of whom, one or two being beheaded, the *German* Officers interceded for the reſt, and begg'd their Lives of the Conſtable. Twelve days were ſpent in this ſad and bloody ſpectacle, and yet that was not all; for, beſides thoſe that ſuffered death, a great many were ſent to the Galleys. All their Bells alſo were taken from them, not only in the Town, but likewiſe in the Country about, that they might not ring any Alarm, as they had done before. Then all their Charters and publick Writings, containing their Liberties and Freedoms, were burnt, they themſelves making the Fire. And becauſe they had killed the King's Lieutenant, the Conſtable made them ſcrape up the Earth, where he was buried, with their Nails and Fingers, allowing them no Tool or Inſtrument to do it with; ſo that the dead Body being found, it was ſolemnly buried with a great Proceſſion of Monks and Prieſts, who went before the Corps: After came all the Citizens, about five thouſand in number, each with a Wax Taper in his hand, and when they paſt before the Conſtable's Lodgings, the Corps was ſet down at ſome paces diſtance; then the Towns-people falling upon their Knees, with a lamentable cry beg pardon, bewail and curſe their fact, and thank the King for not puniſhing them more rigorouſly. Having ſo ordered all Matters, he left a Gariſon in the Town, and marched away on the ninth of *November*.

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The Puniſhments inflicted by the Conſtable at *Bourdeaux*.

The Bells are taken from them, and their Charters burnt.

The dead Body of the King's Lieutenant, being by the Citizens ſcraped out of the ground with their Nails, is ſplendidly buried.

There happened a very ſtrange thing at that time in *Italy*. In *Citadella*, a Town not far from *Padoua*, belonging to the State of *Venice*, lived one *Francis Spira*, a Lawyer of great Practice at the Bar. This Man began with incredible Zeal to embrace the Reformed Religion, and making daily more and more proficiency in it, he told his Thoughts of the ſeveral Points of Doctrine, not only to his Friends at home, but abroad every where to all. This thing could not be long concealed, but was at length carried to *John Caſo*, Archbiſhop of *Benevento*, who was then the Pope's Legate at *Venice*. When *Spira* came to know this, he very well ſaw, what danger he was in; and therefore, having long caſt about, and conſidered with himſelf, what was beſt to be done, he reſolved, at length, to go to the Legate, who had ſent for him. Wherefore going to *Venice*, and having confeſſed his Error, as he thought, or, as fear made him call it, he begg'd Abſolution, and promiſed Obedience for the future. Though the Legate was glad of his voluntary Confeſſion, yet, for Example-ſake, he enjoyns him to go home, and make a publick Recantation of what he had ſaid before. He promiſed to do ſo; and although he then began to repent of what he had done, yet at the ſolicitation of his Friends, who told him, that the welfare, not only of himſelf, but of his Wife, Children, Eſtate and all, depended on it, he obeyed. But not long after, he fell ſick, both in Body and Mind, and began to deſpair of God's Mercy. By the advice thereof of his friends, he is removed from *Citadella* to *Padoua*, that he might both have the aſſiſtance of Phyſicians, and the ghoſtly comfort of learned and pious Men. When he had been viſited by the Phyſicians, *John Paul Craſſo*, *Bellacata* and *Friſimelega*, they preſently gave their opinion, that the Diſtemper was contracted by penſiveneſs, and over-eager thinking, and that the beſt Remedy for him, was, good Diſcourſe, and ghoſtly Conſolation. Many learned Men therefore come daily to him, and laboured to cure his Mind by ſuch Texts of Scripture, as declare the manifold Mercies of God towards us: He again told them, that he denyed not, but that all they ſaid was true; but that theſe Texts did not belong to him, for that he was damned to everlaſting Pains, becauſe, for fear of danger, he had abjured the known Truth; that theſe Pains he felt already in his Mind, and that he could not love God, but horribly hated him. In this condition he perſiſted, refuſing all Suſtenance, and when they forced Food into his mouth, ever ſpitting it out again. It would be tedious to relate all that paſt, either what he ſaid, or what others alledged from holy Scripture to cure his deſpair. Since, then, all Advice and Counſel were but caſt away upon him, and that both his bodily infirmity, and the anguiſh of his Mind, encreaſed more and more daily, he was carried home again, and there miſerably died, in that ſad ſtate of Deſpair. Whilſt he lay at *Padoua*, amongſt others, *Petro Paulo Vergerio* Biſhop of *Juſtinopolis*, a Town in *Iſtria*, under the Dominion of the *Venetians*, came often to viſit and comfort him.

The horrible Hiſtory of *Francis Spira*.

John Caſo, Archbiſhop of *Benevento*, the Pope's Legate at *Venice*.

Spira falls ſick, and alſo into deſpair, admitting of no comfort.

He dyes, deſpairing of Salvation.

Vergerio.

Mention is made, in the foregoing Books, of *Vergerio*'s being employed by the Popes, *Clement* and *Paul*, as their Nuncio in *Germany*. He was alſo in very great favour with King *Ferdinand*, whilſt he was in *Hungary*. Who having there

1548. there a Daughter baptized by the name of *Catharine*, *Vergerio*, with *George* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and the Archbiſhop of *Lunden*, who were the Godfathers. But afterwards he revolted from the Papacy, and that upon a very ſtrange occaſion. Upon his return to *Rome*, whither he had been recalled after the Conference of *Wormes*, which was in the beginning of the year 1541. The Pope deſigned to have made him a Cardinal, amongſt other new ones, whom then he was about to promote: But it was whiſpered about by ſome, that, through long converſation with the Germans, he was become a *Lutheran*. When *Vergerio* heard this from Cardinal *Ginucio*, whom the Pope had told it to, he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed, and to purge himſelf, retired into his own Country, and there began a Book, to which he gave this Title, *Againſt the Apoſtates of Germany*. Now whilſt for confuting the Opinions, he carefully peruſed the Books of his Adverſaries, and attentively conſidered their Arguments, he perceived himſelf worſted and overcome; and laying aſide all hopes of a Cardinals Hat, he went to ask advice of his own Brother, *John Baptiſta*, Biſhop of the City of *Pola*. His Brother terrified at firſt, bewailed the poor mans condition: But having, at his earneſt prayer and entreaty, applied himſelf to the ſearch of the holy Scriptures, and diligently weighed that Point of Doctrine concerning Juſtification, and having compared things together, he yielded, and concluded the Popiſh Doctrine to be falſe. Whereupon, rejoycing in one another, they began to teach the people of *Iſtria*, which is the proper Office of a Biſhop, and to preach up the benefit of Chriſt to mankind, and to tell the people, what works God requires of us, that ſo they might bring over Men to the true Worſhip of their Maker. But many Adverſaries aroſe againſt them, eſpecially the Monks called the *Obſervantines*, who informed the Inquiſitors, of whom the chief was *Hannibal Griſonio*, who had for Colleague *Jerome Mutio*, the ſame that afterwards wrote an Invective againſt *Vergerio*: And not content with that neither, he publiſhed alſo a Libel, wherein, through hatred to the reformed Religion, he moſt ſlanderouſly traduces *Germany*: When *Griſonio* came to *Pola*, and *Juſtinopolis*, he ruſhed into the Citizens Houſes, and ſearched for prohibited Books: Next he went to the Pulpit, and amongſt many other Terrours denounced, he excommunicated all, who did not inform, againſt thoſe, that were ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm*: Promiſing, however, eaſier Penance to thoſe that did repent, and of their own accord asked Pardon from him: But threatning ſuch as did not openly confeſs their Crime, and were afterwards accuſed by others, that they ſhould be burnt for the ſame; and thus, he went, from houſe to houſe, ſcaring the people out of their wits. So that ſome came in and accuſed themſelves, and for fear did, as they were bid. The richer ſort were forced to acknowledge their Errour privately, but the poor publickly: Such as confeſſed, that they had read the New Teſtament, in the Vulgar Tongue, were ſtrictly charged to do ſo no more for the future: This wrought ſo upon the common People, who were ſtruck with a panick fear, that they ſtrove, who ſhould inform moſt, without any regard to Relation, Friendſhip, or Obligation; the Son not ſparing the Father, the Wife the Husband, nor the Tenant his Lord and Maſter. Now the Informations were, moſt commonly, about frivolous Matters, ſuch as ſuperſtition made them take for ſcandalous ſins. Beſides, they had frequent Sermons againſt the Doctrine of *Vergerio*: And on a certain day, when there was a great confluence of People, in the Cathedral Church of *Juſtinopolis*, *Griſonio*, who then publickly ſaid Maſs, in very rich Veſtments, ſteps up into the Pulpit, and amongſt other things, that he might drive the Nail to the Head, Now, ſaid he, and for ſome years paſt, you have been viſited by many Judgments and Calamities, that fell ſometimes upon your Olives, and ſometimes on your Corn, ſometimes upon your Vines, and ſometimes again on your Cattle, or other Goods: And the cauſe of all theſe evils, has been your Biſhop, and the reſt of that heretical Rout; nor are ye to expect any relief, before they be reſtrained; and the beſt way to do that, is to fall upon them, and ſtone them. *Vergerio*, being thus baited by their violent courſes, was forced to ſtep aſide to *Mantua*, to Cardinal *Hercules Gonzaga*, who was his familiar acquaintance. But, ſince ſome at *Rome*, and *John Caſo*, the Popes Legat at *Venice*, urged *Gonzaga*, by Letters and Meſſengers, that he ſhould no longer harbour ſuch a man; He went to *Trent*, where the Council then ſate, that he might purge himſelf. When this came to the Popes Ears, though he could rather have wiſhed, to have had him Priſoner, yet to avoid all ſuſpition, eſpecially in *Germany*, as if it had not been a free Council, he wrote to his Legats, that they ſhould not allow him any place amongſt

The ſtrange Converſion of *Vergerio* to the reformed Religion.

Vergerio writes a Book againſt the Apoſtates of *Germany*.

John Baptiſta Vergerio, Biſhop of *Pola*.

The Inquiſitors againſt *Vergerio*.

An Invective againſt *Vergerio*.

The Inquiſition of *Pola* and *Juſtinopolis*.

Griſonio's exhortation againſt the *Lutherans*.

Vergerio goes to *Trent* to juſtifie himſelf in Council.

amongſt the Fathers, but command him to be gone ſome where elſe. Being in this manner turned out, he went to *Venice*: There *Caſo*, the Legat, perſuaded him, by all means, to go to *Rome*; But he knowing his own danger, refuſed it. Then ſome days after, another charges him in the Popes Name, not to return again to *Juſtinopolis*; and therefore he went to *Padua*, during his abode there, he was a Spectator of the ſad Example, we mentioned, and being moved thereat, and an eye-witneſs of Gods heavy wrath, which perſued that poor wretch for denying of the Truth, he began to be confirmed more and more, and then fully reſolved to leave his Native Country, and all that ever he had, and take upon himſelf a voluntary Baniſhment, that he might go live in ſome place, where he might freely profeſs the Doctrine of Chriſt. This he did ſome Months after, for leaving the Country of *Bergamo*, he went and ſetled amongſt the Griſons, who were the next Neighbours: And having, for ſome years, preached the Goſpel there, and in the *Valteline*, he was by *Chriſtopher*, Duke of *Wittemburg*, invited to *Tubingen*. His Brother, the Biſhop of *Pola*, died before he left *Italy*, and was ſuſpected to have been poyſoned. Many other Great Men, beſides *Vergerio*, had ſeen *Spira* in that State, and amongſt theſe, *Matthew Gribaldo*, a Lawyer of *Padua*, who publiſhed a relation of all that he himſelf had ſeen and heard; as alſo did *Vergerio* himſelf, *Sigiſmund Gelou*, *Polonus*, and *Henry Scot*. The Archbiſhop of *Benevento*, whom we mentioned, wrote a Book of Sodomy, than which nothing can be imagined more filthy and obſcene. Nor was he aſhamed to extol and praiſe the fouleſt of Crimes, which, nevertheleſs, is too well known over *Italy* and *Greece*.

1548.

But is deny'd a place in it.

Vergerio preached the Goſpel againſt the *Griſons*, & from thence was called to *Tubingen*.

Vergerio's Brother dies, not without ſuſpition of Poyſon.

The Book of an Archbiſhop on the praiſe of *Sodomy*.

In the mean time, the Archbiſhops of *Germany*, eſpecially thoſe of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Treves*, call Synods in their ſeveral Provinces, to reform the Church, according to the formulary preſcribed by the Emperour. *Bucer*, as we told you before, had preached in the Province of *Cologne*, and there were ſome Miniſters in it, that had married Wives. Now, though it was by the Emperours Decree allowed, that married Prieſts might retain their Wives, until the Council determined the Matter, yet the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* pretended, that that was only indulged to the *Lutherans*, but not to Roman Catholicks; wherefore, he made a Decree, annulling Marriages contracted, pronouncing them to be inceſtuous, and declaring the Children begot in them, to be illegitimate. The Archbiſhop of *Treves* hath but a ſmall Province, and only three Suffragan Biſhops, *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*. There was no need of ſuch a Law amongſt them: For the Church-men, in thoſe places, like Concubines better than Wives: But in this Archbiſhoprick, where he perceived the danger to be greater, he made the ſame Decree, as his Colleagues did. The Juriſdiction of *Mentz* is of a vaſt extent; for he hath twelve Suffragan Biſhops, and all *Heſſe* in a manner is ſubject to him in Spirituals. He therefore began to urge, and preſs, the Obſervation of the Emperours Decree, and of the Doctrine contained in the *Interim*. The ſame did the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, who alſo had ſome Juriſdiction there: But the *Landgrave*'s Sons, and the reſt of the Governours, and Counſellors, were deaf to theſe things. The Archbiſhop ſent alſo *Michael Sidonius*, his Vicar General to *Franckfurt*, where, having firſt conſecrated the Churches, he preacht and taught, after his own manner. And the Biſhop of *Ausburg* made ſome inconſtant Prieſts, that wavered in their Opinions, abjure their Doctrine.

Marriages contracted by the Miniſters of the Church of *Cologne*, are annulled and declared to be inceſtuous.

The Cuſtom of the Province of *Treves*.

The *Interim* is in vain preſſed upon the *Landgrave*'s ſubjects.

Sidonius conſecrates a new the Churches of *Franckfurt*.

We ſpoke before of the French, who in the Summer time went to the aſſiſtance of the Scots: Now theſe, at length, carry over into *France*, *Mary* the Kings only Daughter and Heir, a young Lady of ſix years of age, that ſo they might put the Engliſh out of all hopes of obtaining her. This year the Pope made *Charles* of *Vendoſme*, a French man, Cardinal.

The Queen of *Scots* carried over into *France*.

After that *Maximilian* of *Auſtria* arrived in *Spain*, and had married the Lady *Mary*, the Emperour's Daughter, *Philip* the Emperour's Son, a Prince of one and twenty years of Age, being ſent for by his Father, prepares to be gone, and leaving behind him his Couſin German, and Brother-in-Law, to govern the Kingdom in his abſence, he ſet ſail with a Fleet of fifty Gallies, and almoſt as many Merchants Ships, under the command of *Andrea Doria*, who had brought over *Maximilian*, and on the twenty fifth day of *November* arrived at *Genoua*, accompanied with a great train of Nobility, amongſt whom was the Duke of *Alva*, and the Cardinal of *Trent*. For ſome few days, after his arrival, he lodged without the Walls in the Palace of *Andrea Doria*, the Admiral, till the Ships ſhould be unloaded, and the preparations within the City finiſhed. But on the

Philip the Emperour's Son paſſes through *Italy* to the *Low Countries*.

Philip is magnificently received at *Genova*.

1549. ſecond of *December*, he made his entry, and was magnificently received. Being there furniſhed, not only with Money, but alſo other neceſſaries for a journy by Land, eight days after he departed, and paſſing by *Aleſſandria* and *Pavia* went to *Milan*. At *Pavia* were the great Guns, that the Emperour took from the Duke of *Saxony*, *John Frederick*, as we ſaid; and theſe alſo he viewed. At *Milan*, where he arrived, the nineteenth of *December*, triumphal Arches and Statues, with honourable Inſcriptions were erected for him in many places, at his entry, he was received by the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Ambaſſadours of *Venice*, *Florence*, *Ferrara* and *Siena*. About that time *Maximilian*, Count of *Buren*, died of a Quinſie at *Bruſſels*, where the Emperour then was, his Phyſician *Andrew Veſalius*, having at firſt ſight foretold him, as they ſay, the very hour of his death.

As alſo at *Milan*.

The Count of *Buren* dies.

Duke *Maurice*, as we told you, after the Decree about Religion was read, left *Ausburg*: So ſoon as he came home, he called a Convention of the Nobility, and other States at *Meiſſen*, where he propounds the whole Matter, and declares to them, what the Emperours will and pleaſure was. They urge him with his own, and the Emperours promiſes, and inſiſt upon having the Religion of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion allowed them. Afterwards it was thought fit, that the Divines of *Wittemburg* and *Leipſick* ſhould be conſulted: Who, accordingly, met firſt at *Begy*, then at *Zell*, and afterwards at *Juterbock*. Whither alſo came *John Iſlebius*, ſent from the Elector of *Brandenburg*. Here was a Decree made concerning things indifferent, and what are called *Adiaphorous*. The laſt Convention was at *Leipſick*, and there a form of Religion was drawn up, which all Men, within the Territories of Duke *Maurice*, were to obſerve; but this Book gave afterwards great offence, as ſhall he declared in its proper place. In the mean time, the Emperours Son proceeded in his journy, and paſſing by *Mantua* and *Trent*, he came firſt to *Auſburg*, then to *Spire*, and ſo continuing forward, through the Country of *Luxemburg*, he came to his Father; the Cardinal of *Trent*, amongſt others, waiting upon him. The Emperour, upon his approaching, ſent a party of goodly Horſe, under the command of the Duke of *Areſcot*, to meet him. Duke *Maurice* alſo, having gone to meet him, as far as *Trent*, took a ſhort progreſs, with a ſmall number of Attendants, to go ſee *Mantua* and *Venice*, and was moſt honourably entertained by the Senate. He earneſtly begg'd of Prince *Philip*, that he would intercede with the Emperour, for the *Landgrave*, his Father-in-Law, which he did, and ſent him word of it, bidding him be in good hopes, for that he had received a fair anſwer, but that, withal, he ſhould diſſemble, and ſeem not to know of any ſuch thing.

A Convention of States in *Saxony*.

A Form of Religion is drawn up for *Saxony*.

1549. The Emperous Son comes to *Germany*.

The Duke of *Areſcot* is ſent to meet him.

Duke *Maurice*'s interceſſion for the *Landgrave* his Father-in-Law.

About this time there happened troubles in *Africa*; for one *Zeriff*, riſing from a very ſmall beginning, was at laſt advanced to a Kingdom, and drove his next Neighbour, the King of *Fez*, out of his Country, who, afterwards, came to the Emperour at *Ausburg*, to bewail his own misfortune; and implore his aid. *Nicholas*, Biſhop of *Metz*, Son to *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain*, and Guardian to his Brothers Son, as we mentioned in the ſixteenth Book, renouncing his Eccleſiaſtical Orders, married a Lady, of the Houſe of *Egmont*, which has large Poſſeſſions in *Brabant*; ſo that the Biſhoprick fell to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*.

Troubles in *Africa*.

Upon what occaſion the Cardinal of *Lorrain* was made Biſhop of *Metz*.

We told you before, what paſt betwixt the Emperour, and the Deputies of *Strasburg* at *Cologne*: A little while after they returned home, they began to treat with the Biſhop, who, having aſſembled the Nobility, declares to them, what the Emperours pleaſure was, and charges all to obey, laying the ſame commands alſo upon the Clergy of *Strasburg*: But ſeeing he propounded harder conditions than were expected, on the twelfth of *February*, the Senate ſent *Henry Cope*, as their Deputy, with Letters to the Emperour, wherein they acquaint him, that they had taken great care to treat with their Biſhop, but that he propounded ſuch Conditions to them, that if they accepted them, they could not enjoy thoſe things which were allowed them, by the Decree lately made at *Ausburg*: For, after a long debate, they ſay, we told him, that we would enjoyn our Citizens to keep Holy-days, and on certain days, abſtain from eating of Fleſh: Beſides, we have dealt with the Miniſters of our Church, and we believe ſome of them will, of their own accord, lay down their Office of Preaching: We are willing and free, then, that he ſettle Religion, according to the Platform preſcribed at *Ausburg*: For no hinderance ſhall be made on our parts, nor by the Citizens neither, whom we ſhall ſtrictly charge, not to offer the leaſt oppoſition: Now this

The City of *Strasburg*'s Letter to the Emperour.

this being our Caſe, moſt victorious Emperour, we pray your Majeſty, that you would be pleaſed to ſuffer us to keep our own Miniſters, even ſuch of them as are married, and not reduce us to extremity, eſpecially, ſince we are ready to behave our ſelves, with all moderation, and ſhall not give the leaſt cauſe of offence. 1549.

The People of *Magdenburg* expoſed as a prey, becauſe of Religion.

Mention has been made before of the Emperours proſcribing the Republick of *Magdenburg*: But their rejecting of the Decree, lately made about Religion, did much inflame their former offence: So that now the Emperour proceeded againſt them, with new Edicts and Proclamations, expoſing them, as a prey, to all, inviting the neighbouring Princes, and States, to make War againſt them, and to do them all the hurt and damage, that by any means whatſoever, they could.

The Preachers of *Ulm* freed out of Priſon.

It hath been ſaid before, that the Miniſters of *Ulm*, were, by the Emperours Orders, made Priſoners; but at length, after ſeven Months confinement, they are now, in the third day of *March*, ſet at liberty, having firſt payed their charges.

Tumults in *England*.

About this time began the State of *England* to be troubleſome. *Edward*, Duke of *Somerſet*, the Kings Uncle, and Protector of the Kingdom, as we ſaid, before, had a Brother, who was Lord High Admiral: Of him the Protector conceived ſome ſuſpition, or ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, that he aſpired to the Crown, and intended to get the King into his power; whereupon he ordered him to be apprehended, and brought to his Tryal; where, being condemned to die, he was beheaded on the twentieth of *March*. He had married *Catharine Parr*, the Queen Dowager of King *Henry* the Eight, and that alſo, ſomewhat increaſed the ſuſpition. But the envy, and emulation of another great Lady, was thought to have contributed much to this diſaſter.

The Admiral of *England* beheaded.

The Biſhop of *Strasburg* enjoyns the Clergy to obey the Emperours Edict.

The Biſhop of *Strasburg*, again, enjoyns the Clergy to obey the Emperours Edict. Now there is in that City, a Church dedicated to St. *Thomas*, the yearly Revenues whereof were by the Senate allotted for ſtipends to the Miniſters of the Goſpel, and the other learned Men, who had the Education and Inſtruction of the Youth. Thoſe chiefly he urged to tell him, within what time they would ſatisfie the Emperours Decree, and Expectation; then, what fit Men they had for that purpoſe, and what Ornaments of the Church were yet in being: But they took time to adviſe with *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Primate of *England*, a Man of exccellent Learning, who made it his whole buſineſs, to revive, and promote Piety and Learning: Wherefore, when he ſaw in what ſtate *Germany* was, and the danger learned Men there were in; by frequent Letters he ſolicited *Bucer* chiefly, and *Paulus Fagius*, one moſt expert in the Hebrew Language, to come over into *England*, aſſuring them of all love and friendſhip; wherefore, by permiſſion from the Senate, on the firſt of *April*, they ſet out upon their Journy, that they might go thither, and ſow the Seed of pure Doctrine. Their coming was very acceptable, not only to the King, but to moſt of the Nobility alſo, and the People: And after they had been for ſome time with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, they were both ſent to teach in *Cambridge*.

The diligence of Archbiſhop *Cranmer* in promoting Piety.

Bucer and *Fagius* go over Sea to *England*.

The Emperours Son makes his entry into *Bruſſels*.

On the firſt of *April*, Prince *Philip* of *Auſtria*, with a moſt ſplendid Pomp, made his entrance into *Bruſſels*, where his Father was. The Ambaſſadours of Duke *Maurice*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg* were there, being ſent to ſolicite the interceſſion of Prince *Philip*, and the Cardinal of *Trent*, who was a great Friend to Duke *Maurice*. But though they put the *Landgrave*, who then was at *Oudenard*, in good hopes, yet nothing could be effected, and not long after, when the *Landgrave*, for his healths ſake, would have eaten Fleſh, the Captain of the Guard coming in, threw down the Diſh, Meat and all, that was brought him, upon the Ground. At the ſame time, the Biſhop of *Strasburg*, after eight years, takes, at length, Orders, and ſays Maſs, and holding a Convocation of his Clergy at *Saverne*, made ſuch Decrees, as ſuited their purpoſe. Then he requires of the Senate of *Strasburg*, by Meſſengers, that they rebuild the Altars, reſtore to him the liberty of appointing the Miniſters of the Church; abſolve the Clergy from their Oath, reſtore their Priviledges, and produce all the Ornaments of the Churches. But the Profeſſors, he ſtrictly charges, to give him a poſitive anſwer, whether they would obey the Emperours Edict, or not? They having ſpoken, at large, of their ſubmiſſion and deference to the Emperour, and then, of their ſeveral Charges and Employments, openly declare what it is they teach and do, that being Divines, Philoſophers, Logicians,

Interceſſion made for the *Landgrave*, but in vain.

The Biſhop of *Strasburg* ſays Maſs.

1549. and Rhetoricians, and Men of the like Profeſſion, they were not only uſeful, but alſo neceſſary in the Church and Schools, then they ſhew, by whom, they were admitted into the College, with the Approbation of the Senate, and after a long Declaration of their Caſe, they humbly, and lovingly, pray, that he would not diſturb an Order ſo well eſtabliſhed, nor put them upon minding of other Affairs, that were not near ſo neceſſary. The Agents, on the other hand, make anſwer, that that College was not Inſtituted for ſuch kind of Scholaſtick Employments, and that the Antient Order ought not to be changed: That if there were any among them, that thought themſelves grieved, and could not, with a good Conſcience, comply, the Biſhop was not the Man, that would perſuade them to any thing againſt their wills: But that they were free to give place, and as the common Proverb is, Either to drink, or be gone: For that if the Senate had a mind to have Profeſſors of Arts and Sciences in the Town, it was but reaſonable, that they ſhould be maintain'd out of the Publick Treaſury, and not by the Rents and Profits of the College, which was appointed for other uſes. That the Biſhop, and the Predeceſſors, had for many years paſt been hindred in the Exerciſe, and execution, of their Right, but that he would not ſuffer it any longer. After a long debate about the Matter, they depart without coming to any concluſion; and when the Senate came to know of it, they interceded with the Biſhop, by moſt kind and friendly Letters, praying and beſeeching him, that he would have ſome regard, at leaſt, to the Youth, who were much improved in Parts and Learning, by the Endeavours, and Education of that School. In this manner, was the Matter long toſſed to and again, by Meſſengers and Letters, till, at length, by the interpoſition of Mediators, it was taken up and compounded, as ſhall be mentioned hereafter.

The Plea of the Profeſſors of *Strasburg* to the Biſhop.

The Anſwer of the Biſhops Agents to the Profeſſors of *Strasburg*.

The interceſſion of the Senate of *Strasburg* for their Profeſſors.

It was thought, that the Biſhop, who had been always look'd upon, as a Man of a mild and peaceable Nature, that loved his eaſe, did not act thus, ſo much, out of his own inclination, as at the inſtigation of his Friends, who repreſented to him, that this occaſion of recovering his Juriſdiction, was not to be ſlighted, and that unleſs he proſecuted it, he might alſo incur the Emperour's diſpleaſure. In all theſe Tranſactions, he made uſe of one *Chriſtopher Welſinger*, a Civilian, who had ſometimes ſtudied at *Wittemberg*: But the Chapter of the Cathedral Church of *Strasburg* employed, as their Advocate, one *John Tiſchell*, a Doctor of the Laws.

Chriſtopher Welſinger, a Civilian.

The laſt Book mentioned, how that after the promulgation of the Decree about Religion, *Wolfgang* Duke of *Deux-ponts* was ſent for to come to *Ausburg*. The Emperour had preſſed him by ſeveral Letters, to obey the Decree; and becauſe he had referred the matter to the Biſhops, the Emperour put the Queſtion to him, whether or not he himſelf approved the Decree? And if he would turn out the Miniſters of the Church, who did not conform thereunto? He therefore wrote to the Emperour in *French*, reſuming in a few words what had been done the Summer before at *Ausburg*; and telling His Majeſty, That upon his return home, he had intimated to his people, and commanded them to obſerve that part of the Decree, which related to the keeping of Holy days, and the eating of Fleſh, that he had alſo ſeveral times carefully read over the whole Decree about Religion, wherein he confeſſed, there were many things that agreed with that Faith, whereby he expected Salvation; and many alſo that were inconſiſtent with it: But that nevertheleſs he had charged the Miniſters of the Church to weigh ſeriouſly all the Points of it, and afterwards make their Report to him, how they thought the matter might be ordered; that ſince all of them with one voice affirmed, that they could not with a ſafe Conſcience approve it in all points, he thought it not his part to compel them to do otherwiſe. That he had therefore deſired the Biſhops, that they themſelves would take ſome courſe about it; and that he had already acquainted His Majeſty with their Anſwer, being in good hopes, that no more would have been required of him: But now that you would have a plain and poſitive Anſwer, Moſt mighty Emperour, ſaid he, I'le freely tell Your Majeſty what my Judgment is. And firſt, as to the Religion, Rites, and Ceremonies, which now, for ſome Years paſt, have been obſerved within my Dominion, I have been born and bred up in them, Sir, as I told Your Majeſty before, to this very time, and never heard of any other kind of Doctrine; beſides, Sir, I have been at ſome pains to ſtudy and examine it, and, as far as I can conceive, it hath ſeemed to me in all things conſonant to the Word of God. For ſo much I muſt confeſs, now the Queſtion is put to me, leſt I ſhould wound my own Conſcience, and endanger

The Duke of *Deux-ponts* is again urged to approve the Decree.

His Letter to the Emperour.

The Ingenuous Confeſſion of the Duke of *Deux-ponts*.

danger my Salvation. This is alſo the reaſon, why I cannot approve the Decree, though in every thing elſe I be moſt ready, in imitation of my Anceſtors, to render you moſt humble obedience: Your Majeſty, Sir, as chief Magiſtrate, has power to Enact and Enjoyn what you think fit to be done; for I am no ſuch man, as can, will, or ought to, be againſt that; it wholly depends on your own will and pleaſure: This only I humbly beſeech, that neither I, nor the people of my Dominion, be conſtrained to do any thing contrary to our Judgment and Conſcience: As for the Miniſters of the Church, in my laſt Letter I begg'd of Your Majeſty, that you would be pleaſed to ſuffer them to ſtay, chiefly to baptiſe Children, and viſit the Sick, till others ſhould be put into their places: Nevertheleſs, if Your Majeſty command them inſtantly to be gone, and not ſtay the coming of others, you ſhall be obeyed, Sir, though it will be a great grief and detriment to the People; for many of them are already gone, and in all things that can be performed, I know that Obedience is due to Your Majeſty. 1549.

The refutation of the *Interim* by thoſe of *Lower Saxony*.

When in the Territories of Duke *Maurice*, things ſeemed to tend to a change in Religion, the Miniſters of *Lubeck*, *Lunenburg*, and *Hamburg*, publiſhed a Writing, wherein they fully confuted the Book and Decree of *Ausburg*; and the chief Author of that Writing, was one *John Epine*. Moreover, the Doctors of *Magdenburg*, *Nicholas Armſtorff*, and eſpecially *Matthias Flacius*, a *Sclavonian*, born in the Town of *Albona*, and *Nicholas Gallus*, take up ſharply the Divines of *Wittemberg* and *Leipſick*, in many publick Papers, accuſing them, that they acted diſingenuouſly, and by their adiaphorous and indifferent things opened a Door to Popery. This at length they lay down for a Rule, that all Rites and Ceremonies, though never ſo indifferent in their own Nature, yet are no longer indifferent, if force, an opinion of holineſs, and neceſſity intervene, and, if occaſion be thereby given to impiety. The *Sclavonian* had for ſome years been an Hearer and Diſciple of *Melanchton*; but when this Debate aroſe, he went to *Magdeburg*, and, in a little Book which he afterwards publiſhed, gave his Reaſons why he did do ſo. Furthermore, the Divines of *Hamburg* wrote to thoſe of *Wittemberg*, and particularly to *Melanchton*, telling them, what they called Adiaphorous or indifferent things, and how far they might be admitted; and deſiring of them, on the other hand, that they would write back, and plainly ſhew them, what it was they comprehended under that Name, to the end, Men might be ſure, what they were to follow, without wavering in their minds, and that that name, *Adiaphorous*, might not give occaſion to many other Errors, which might inſenſibly inſinuate themſelves into the Church again. *Melanchton* anſwered that Letter, wherein, amongſt other things, he ſaid, that ſome little Bondage was to be endured, provided it were not joyned with impiety.

The beginning of the diviſions in the Churches of *Saxony*.

The *Hamburghers* Letter to *Melanchton*, about indifferent matters.

Melanchton's Anſwer.

The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* having called a Provincial Synod in the beginning of *May*, afterwards publiſhed a Book of the Decrees thereof. The ſame did alſo *Treves* and *Cologne*, which laſt has a very large Province too. That Book, amongſt other things, determines about Confeſſion, that no man be admitted to the Lord's Supper, unleſs he have confeſſed his Sins; about the hallowing of Salt Water, and other things, which, by Exorciſms and Prayers, are prepared for the uſe of believers, as they ſay; about Relicts, the Invocation and Adoration of Saints; about Pilgrimages, Prayers for the Dead, Purgatory, Faſting, and the choice of Meats; about Canonical Hours, as they call them, and the tremendous Ceremonies of the Maſs. *Maurice*, Biſhop of *Aichſtadt*, came in perſon to the Synod, but the reſt ſent their Vicars. Now the conſtitution of the Synod, touching Conſecrations and Exorciſms, is of a very large extent. Every Lord's day, when there is a great Congregation of People in the Church, the Prieſt, with many Prayers, exorciſes, as they term it, firſt Water, and then Salt; then putting the Salt into the Water, he therewith ſprinkleth the People; and this Sprinkling is thought to give Health, both to Body and Mind, to defeat the Snares of the Devil, and to cleanſe, not only Men, but inanimate things alſo; for it is ſprinkled upon the Ground, Stones, and the Graves of dead Men, the Prieſts praying God, that he would endow it with that Virtue and efficacy. After the ſame manner alſo is Salt uſed in Baptiſm, for the Prieſt putteth Conſecrated Salt into the Child's Mouth, commanding the Devil to come out of it; then he dips the Infant three times into Water, and wetting his Thumb in Oyl, anoints its Breaſt and Shoulders. Women alſo, when after their Childbed they go to be Churched, at their entring the Church door, are ſprinkled with this Holy Water: In ſhort, it ſerves for many uſes, eſpecially when there is occaſion to engage Spirits that walk in the Night time, or are to be exor-

The Electoral Archbiſhops held Provincial Synods.

The Heads of their Decrees.

Of Conſecrations and Exorciſms.

The manifold uſe of Holy Water.

Salt in Baptiſm.

The Churching of Women.

1589. exorciſed. Whatever alſo belongs to the Accoutrement and Dreſs of the Prieſts, is conſecrated by certain Prayers: Beſides in hallowing the Baptiſmal Water of the Font, Tapers, Palms, the Paſcal Lamb, or *Agnus Dei*, as they call it, which is made of Wax, Eggs, Fleſh, Cheeſe, Bacon, Flowers, Herbs, the Fruit of Trees; in all theſe, the Holy Water, we have been ſpeaking of, is employed. When a Church is to be built, the Biſhop or his Vicar lays the firſt Foundation Stone, and ſprinkleth it with Holy Water; and when it is finiſhed, he goes thrice round it, and firſt, ſprinkles the upper Walls, then the middle, and laſt, the lowermoſt of all; with his Crozier making the ſign of the Croſs upon the leaves of the uppermoſt Door, to keep the Devil off, that he do not approach it: Entering afterwards into the Church, and ſome Prayers being ſung, an Officer makes the ſign of the Croſs with the ſprinkling of ſome Aſhes; that being done, the Biſhop with his Crozier draws ſome *Greek* Characters upon the Aſhes at the left ſide of the Croſs, and *Latin* Characters at the right; uſing afterward another ſort of Holy Water, made of Water, Salt, Wine and Aſhes, wherewith he again ſprinkles the Church, and exhorts the People to bountifulneſs and liberality. The like is done with Bells, and in the firſt place, they muſt hang ſo, as the Biſhop may go round them, who having muttered over ſome Pſalms, bleſſes Water and Salt, which he mingles together, and therewith carefully waſhes the Bell inſide and outſide; then he wipes it dry, making the ſign of the Croſs upon it with Holy Oyl; and prays to God, that when they ring or toll that Bell, Faith and Charity may be encreaſed in the Minds of Men, all the Snares of the Devil driven away; Hail, Thunder, Lightening, Winds, Storms, and all bad and unſeaſonable Weather may be aſſwaged. When with a Linen Cloth he hath wiped off that Oily Croſs, he makes ſeven other Croſſes upon it, and but one only in the inſide; and having afterwards ſaid over ſome Pſalms, he puts a Cenſer under the Bell, and ſo cenſes and bleſſes it. In moſt places, after this Ceremony is over, they feaſt and make merry, as if it were at a Wedding. Now Altars are Conſecrated in this manner: They take Oyl, Chriſme, a Pound of Frankincenſe, a Pan of Coals, Salt, Water, Wine, Aſhes, Hyſſop, one courſe Linen Cloth to wipe with, and another finer and ſofter to cover, five Croſſes made of Wax, a Chalice, Cement, a couple of Torches; and laſtly, all that belongs to the Ornament of the Altar. In the mean time, the Biſhop, with ſome Prieſts, ſay over ſome Pſalms and Prayers, and ſprinkles the Altar in five different places, making in every place the ſign of the Croſs with the Water: Then he goes round the Altar ſeven times, and throws upon it Water mingled with Wine, Hyſſop, and Aſhes; after that, he mixeth Cement with the Water, and poureth out what remains about the Altar: This being done, preſently the Relicks of Saints are brought in great pomp, and, being cenſed, are put in their proper place. Next to that, he cenſes the Altar three times all round, and then gives the Cenſer to a Prieſt, who continually keeps cenſing, during the remaining time of the Conſecration. Having afterwards made the ſign of the Croſs with Oyl on ſeveral parts of the Altar, he poureth the Oyl upon it, and rubs it in: Then he places here and there five pieces of Frankincenſe, and as many Croſſes made of Wax, and kindles them; ſo letting them burn there, that the Aſhes, being afterwards gathered up, may be kept as holy Relicks. Laſtly, he anointeth the four corners and fore front of the Altar, and then ſays Maſs. Now the Oyl and Chriſm, as they call it, is made every where on *Thurſday* before *Eaſter*-day. Theſe things heretofore were mightily reverenced and eſteemed by all people; but after that *Luther* and others taught, that all Creatures were conſecrated by the mouth of God himſelf, when he created the World. This whole ſhow and mummery became contemptible and ridiculous, as looking like Jugglery and Legerdemain. But now the *German* Biſhops, finding a fair opportunity, reſtore and bring them into play again. And for the uſe of Holy Water, as they call it, there is a Decree extant in the Canon Law, which they attribute to Pope *Alexander*, the fifth after S. *Peter*, that the opinion of Antiquity may give it more credit and authority.

The Ceremony of the Dedication of a Church.

The Conſecration of Bells.

The way of Conſecrating Altars.

The making of Oyl, and the Chriſm.

The Popiſh Ceremonies brought into contempt, through the preaching of *Luther*.

A Papal Decree, concerning the uſe of Holy Water.

The Pope's Legates to the Emperour.

The Pope's Indulgence.

It hath been ſaid before, that the Pope ſent three Biſhops into *Germany*: Theſe came to the Emperour in the *Low Countries*, and on the five and twentieth day of *May* firſt ſhew their Inſtructions. In the beginning, the Pope repreſents the great Care and Anxiety he was in, becauſe of thoſe who rent the ſeamleſs Coat of our Lord; but that two things chiefly eaſed and comforted his Mind: Firſt, becauſe Chriſt himſelf foretold, that the Devil would aſſault the Church, but in vain: And then, becauſe, that by a General Council, all thoſe bad Innovations that had crept in, might be eaſily caſt out again: And that ſeeing other Nations had already

ready reapt the benefit of the Council, but no fruit as yet appeared in *Germany*, [redacted]ſon of the many Sects and Differences in Religion there; therefore he had, [redacted] own free motion, and in diſcharge of his Paſtoral Office, and partly alſo at the deſire of the Emperour, with the Conſent of the College of Cardinals, ſent out and impoured ſome Biſhops to receive thoſe into the boſom of the Church; who were willing to enter into it again, and to aſſure them of all the kindneſs and favour, that they might hope for from his Clemency and Goodneſs, provided they would be content to receive Laws, and not preſcribe to others: That he granted ſo great a benefit to all men in general, not excepting any order or degree, nor any Crime of that nature, though continued in for never ſo many years, yet ſo, that ſuch Offenders confeſs their Errors and Sins to ſome Orthodox Prieſt, and perform the Penance that he ſhall therefore enjoyn them; but that he did freely remit and pardon them all open Confeſſion, Abjuration, and Satisfaction, preſcribed by the Canons: That he had alſo empower'd the Biſhops Delegate to abſolve thoſe who had bound themſelves to the *Lutherans*, by compact, Promiſe or Oath; as alſo all Monks who were fallen into Hereſie, and had forſaken their Monaſteries; and to permit them to change their Habits, and ſerve in any other Function of the Church: To allow the eating of Milk, Cheeſe, Butter, Fleſh, and Eggs, with reſpect to the place and perſon: To permit thoſe to receive the Sacrament in both kinds, who, renouncing all their other Errors, did approve the Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, and openly confeſs, that there was as much received under one kind, as under both, and that the Church did not err in making a Decree for Receiving under one kind alone: That that might be indulged to them for a certain time, as ſhould be thought fit, yet ſo ſtill, as that they received a part at another time and place, and not at that time, when others did receive the Sacrament under one kind only. That they were alſo empower'd to compound with the poſſeſſors of Church Lands, for the Fruits and Profits which they had received and ſpent, provided they left the poſſeſſion for the future: In like manner, to inflict Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures upon the Obſtinate, and crave the aſſiſtance of the Civil Magiſtrates: And laſtly, to delegate and ſubſtitute Biſhops in *Germany*, to ſee the Premiſſes put into execution. In perſuance of this Commiſſion, theſe *Roman* Delegates ſubſtitute Biſhops in thoſe places, where they underſtood there was moſt need; amongſt thoſe, was the Biſhop of *Strasburg* alſo, whom they enjoyned to put the Points abovementioned in execution, and not to reconcile Church-men, unleſs they would put away their Wives. Now it was ſaid, that they went to the Emperour, to adviſe and conſult with him, in what manner they might put in execution their Commiſſion; and that afterwards, when they underſtood, that it was not poſſible for them themſelves, to have acceſs into all places that ſtood in need of their help, they had been neceſſitated to employ others. This Indulgence or *Indult* of the Popes, as they call it, the Emperour preſently ſent to all the *German* Biſhops, admoniſhing them ſeverally, to uſe gentle and mild ways, and to try all Courſes by fair Language, Exhortation, and Entreaty, before they ſhould come to Threats and Excommunication. Wherefore the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, writing, amongſt others, to the *Landgraves* Governours and Counſellors, and having ſaid much of his own Paſtoral Care, and of the Emperour's earneſt Concern for the Publick, requires them to ſhew the Pope's Indulgence to the Miniſters of the Church, and command them to obey it. The thing being propoſed to the Preachers, their anſwer was, That their Doctrine agreed with the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and that though their Lives and Converſation did not ſuit with their Profeſſion, yet they acknowledged no Error in their Doctrine; and that therefore they ſtood not in need of an Indulgence from the Pope; that they had preferred Marriage before an unchaſt ſingle Life, according to the Word of God; and that they would not forſake their Wives and Children, whom Chriſt himſelf commanded us to love, cheriſh, and provide for: That in adminiſtring the Sacrament under both kinds in their Churches, they therein followed the command of Chriſt, and the cuſtom of the Primitive Church, and that there was no reaſon to admit of any Alteration therein.

1549.

The Power of the Biſhops delegated.

Of Monks fallen into Hereſie.

Of the Communion in both kinds.

Of the Profits of Church Lands.

The Subdelegation of the Biſhops Delegate.

The Emperour ſends the Pope's Indult to the Biſhops of *Germany*.

The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* ſends the Pope's Indult to the *Landgravians*.

A godly Anſwer of the Preachers.

In the Month of *May*, *Peter Martyr* and the Divines of *Oxford* diſputed publickly concerning the Lords Supper, and the Preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament. *Martyr* propoſed theſe Points to be defended; That the ſubſtance of the Bread and Wine was not changed; and, That the Body and Bloud of Chriſt was not Carnally or Corporally in the Bread and Wine, but ſacramentally united to them. Afterward there was a Book of this publiſhed, wherein the preſidents

A Diſpute at *Oxford* in *England*, about the Lord's Supper.

1549. of the Diſpute, who were appointed by the King, give no obſcure intimation, that *Martyr* had the better on't in that Debate.

The Coronation of the Queen of *France*.

On the Tenth day of *June*, the Queen of *France* was crowned at St. [redacted] the cuſtom is, the Ceremony being performed by the Cardinals of *Bulloigne*, *Guiſe*, *Chaſtillion*, *Vendoſme* and *Bourbon*; for all the reſt were at *Rome*. Six days after, the King made a moſt ſplendid and magnificent Entry into *Paris*, the chief Town of the Kingdom, where he had not been ſeen publickly ſince the death of his Father, and two days after, the Queen. During his abode there, ſome were put to death for *Lutheraniſme*, and, as it is ſaid, he himſelf was a Spectator of the Execution. Afterwards, *July* the Fourth, he made a ſolemn Proceſſion and Prayers in the Churches, and next day after publiſhed a Printed Proclamation, declaring the cauſes of it to have been; That he might give God thanks for the many Bleſſings he had beſtowed upon him, that he might pray to God for the ſafety and preſervation of himſelf, his Wife, and Children, and of the whole Kingdom and Commonwealth; as alſo for the Souls of good Men departed, eſpecially for the Kings of *France* his Progenitors, and the late King his Father, after whoſe Example he was reſolved to take upon himſelf the protection and defence of the Catholick Religion, the Authority and Liberty of the Apoſtolick See, and of the Miniſters of the Church; that amongſt others, this was alſo a chief cauſe, that it might publickly appear, how much he deteſted thoſe, who, contrary to the command of Chriſt, contrary to the Traditions of the Apoſtles, and the conſent of all Antiquity, deny the preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, who take away all force and efficacy from Baptiſm, Penance, good Works, and the Sacraments; who profeſſedly deſpiſe the Authority and Hierarchial Order of the Church; who reject the Worſhip and Adoration of Saints and Relicks; Moreover, that, by that ſolemn Proceſſion and Supplication, he might make known, what his Judgment and Inclinations were, to wit, that according to the Example of his Forefathers, and in a certain Hereditary Imitation, he ſo thought and believed, as the Catholick Church, the Apoſtles Creed, the firſt Council of *Nice*, and many other Councils of the Fathers enjoyned; as alſo, that he was fully reſolved to root out of all his Territories, thoſe Hereſies which were long ago condemned, but now again partly revived, and partly contrived by *Luther*, *Caroloſtadius*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Melanchton*, *Bucer*, *Calvin*, and ſuch other monſtrous and peſtilent Arch-Hereticks, and ſeverely to puniſh, ſuch as deſerved it. This Writing ſet forth in the Vulgar Tongue, he ſent all over *France*, commanding it to be publiſhed to the People, and accordingly publick Proceſſions and Prayers to be made in all places. A little while after he cauſed *Monſieur de Vervins* to be beheaded, for ſurrendring the Caſtle and Town of *Bulloigne*, as was mentioned in the Fifteenth Book, and confined to perpetual Priſon his Father in Law *d'Abigny*, a very ancient Man, who had been Governour of all the *Boloneſe*, and one of the four Mareſchals of *France*. For many Months now, he had ſolicited the *Switzers* to renew with him the League they had made with his Father; and though the Emperour, by Meſſengers and Letters, did what they could to diſſuade them from it; yet they, judging it more for their Intereſt, conſented; and firſt the Catholick Cantons, with the *Rhinwalders* and *Walliſſerlanders*, and afterwards alſo thoſe of *Baſil* and *Schafhawſen*; to the great aſtoniſhment of many, becauſe of thoſe Edicts and Puniſhments we ſpoke of. For it was the general opinion, that no League nor Society ought to be made with him, who ſo cruelly perſecuted the Reformed Religion, and by name condemned their Churches and Doctors. But the Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurick*, following the counſel of *Zuinglius*, as may be ſeen in the third and ſixth Book, refuſed to enter into that League.

The King and Queen of *France* make their entry into *Paris*.

A Perſecution in *France*.

Solemn Proceſſions and Prayers at *Paris*.

Luther and other Hereticks to be rooted out of *France*.

Monſieur *Vervins* beheaded.

A League betwixt the *Switzers* and *French*.

Duke *Maurice*'s Letters to his Subjects.

We took notice before of the Convocation at *Leipſick*: But now that ſome talked and complained, that Popery was again ſtealing in upon them: Duke *Maurice* in his Letters addreſſed to his Governours, *July* the Fourth, tells them, that he was informed, many, partly out of a too ſolicitous jealouſie, and partly through the ſuggeſtions of others, were apprehenſive, that the old Errours might be by degrees introduced again; that ſome of the Miniſters of the Church, and other buſie, and reſtleſs, ſpirits, that delighted in changes, were not altogether free from fomenting of that Calumny; that, by ſeveral Declarations, he had formerly made publick, what his Purpoſe and Reſolution was; which now, becauſe of the Slanderous Reports raiſed, he again repeated, thereby to convince all, that his Religion was dear unto him; that therefore he required thoſe, who, either out of a fond credulity, or through the ſuggeſtions of others, were apprehenſive of a change

change, to lay aſide all their fear, and give credit to his Letters and Teſtimony; And, that as for ſuch who went about to ſpread ſuch Reports, they were not to expect to go unpuniſhed, if they perſiſted to do ſo; Moreover, that by his Order, ſome Heads were abſtracted out of the Decree lately made at *Leipſick*, which he would have to be taught; that therefore, they ſhould enquire and learn, whether the Miniſters did follow that form in the Churches, or openly condemned it in their Sermons; However it were, that they ſhould give him notice of it; that if any doubts were ſtarted, the Divines of *Wittemberg* and *Leipſick* were to be conſulted; and that he commanded theſe things to be declared unto the People. At this time died the *Landgraves* Wife, and Duke *Maurice*'s Mother in Law, being heart-broken with ſorrow and care for her Husbands Impriſonment, and many other Calamities ſhe had ſuffered. 1549.

The *Landgraves* Wife dies.

There happened now a Popular Inſurrection in *England* upon a double account; the one was for encloſing of Lands; for it was a Vulgar Grievance, that the Nobility and Gentry had taken in and Emparked a great deal of Land, which had formerly been Common, and made Parks thereof for Deer; the other Pretext was Religion; for though the *Devonſhire*-men were alſo againſt new Encloſures, yet their chief Quarrel was for the alteration made in Religion, and therefore they demanded, that the ſix Articles made by King *Henry* the Eight, which we mentioned in the Twelfth Book, might be reſtored. Since then they were up in Arms, a thing of no ſmall danger, and would not liſten to any Admonition or Advice, the King and Council, much againſt their Wills, were obliged to ſend Forces againſt them, that routed and killed ſome thouſands of them. The *French* King, who exceedingly longed to recover *Boloigné* again, laid hold on this occaſion, and partly by Storm, and partly by Surrender, took ſome Caſtles and Forts along the Sea ſhoar betwixt *Boloigné* and *Calais*, whereby he reduced the Gariſon of *Boloigne* to great difficulties and ſtreights. The Nobility of *England*, highly reſented this Accident; and becauſe the whole Government was in the hands of the Protector, the Kings Uncle, all the blame was laid upon him, that he had not in time provided the Places with Neceſſaries. This Accuſation and Envy increaſing daily more and more, the Protector, by the joynt conſent of the Peers, was in the beginning of *October* apprehended at *Windſor*, where the King then was, and ſent to the Tower of *London*. The Nobles afterward, by a publick Printed Proclamation, ſigned with all their Hands, declare to the People the cauſes of it, and charge him with bad Adminiſtration of the Government; And the Ringleader of them in this attempt was *John* Earl of *Warwick*.

An Inſurrection in *England*.

The *French* King recovers ſome Places from *England*.

The Duke of *Somerſet* committed to Priſon.

Whil'ſt the *French* King is thus employed againſt the *Engliſh*, the Emperour goes with his Son through *Flanders*, *Haynault* and *Artois*, making the People of thoſe Provinces ſwear Allegiance to him; and then both return to *Antwerp*, about the Thirteenth of *September*. There the Emperours Son was received in a moſt magnificent manner, not only by the Towns people, but alſo by the Foreign Merchants, *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, *German* and *Engliſh*; and being afterwards accompanied by his Aunt the Regent, he viſited the other Provinces alſo, and received Homage from them.

The Emperour makes the *Low-Countries* do Homage to his Son Prince *Philip*.

We mentioned before, how the Senate of *Strasburg* had ſent a Deputy to the Emperour, for adjuſting the Controverſy, that they had with their Biſhop; wherefore, with the Emperours leave, Arbitrators were choſen on both ſides to take up the matter. Theſe met in the Month of *October*, and after a long debate, the Senate allowed the Biſhop three Churches, that, according to the Decree lately made, he might therein have the Exerciſe of his Religion; and took all the Clergy into their Care and Protection. The Biſhop, on the other hand, grants the Senate the College of St. *Thomas* for a publick School, and all the reſt of the Churches. The Clergy alſo was to pay a yearly Tribute and ſome Money to the Senate, and were exempted from all other Charges and Duties. The Emperour, as we ſaid before, proſecuted thoſe of *Magdeburg* with Edicts and Proclamations, and ſolicited the States of *Saxony* for Aid. Moſt part did not refuſe, provided, all the other States, not only of *Saxony*, but of the Empire alſo, did the ſame. But the *Lubeckers* and *Luneburghers* at that time, having obtained leave from the Emperours Deputies, went to *Magdeburg*, with a deſign to make their peace, but it was in vain; No Man, indeed, attempted any open Hoſtility againſt them; but, being outlawed, they were in continual dangers, and durſt not ſtir abroad out of the City, without risking their Lives and Fortunes; for it was lawful for all Men to fall foul on them. The Senate therefore, having in a publick Declaration complained before only of the Injury and Violence received from their Neighbours,

The Senate of *Strasburg* agree with their Biſhop.

The danger of the Reptiſh-lick of *Magdeburg*, by reaſon of the Emperours Proſcription.

1549. Their Apologetick Declaration.

do now emit a *Manifeſto*, directed to all in general, but chiefly to thoſe that lived next to them, complaining, that Calumnies and falſe Reports went abroad of them, as if they behaved themſelves ſtubbornly and arrogantly towards the Emperour and Empire, ſlighting Peace, and publiſhing reproachful Papers; but that therein they were wronged: That they owned *Charles* the Emperour for their chief Magiſtrate, and had, by publick Proclamation, charged all their People, not to preſume to utter any the leaſt undutiful Expreſſion of his Majeſty, or of any of the States; that they had given no other cauſe of offence, but that they profeſſed the Goſpel of Chriſt; and, that all the reſt were but Calumnies forged by their Enemies: That it was not unknown to them, who had been preſent but in ſome few Aſſemblies, how deſirous they had been of peace; for, that they not only underſtood, but had taſted the ſweetneſs and comfort of it, and on the contrary, the miſeries and calamities that attended War; that it would be alſo a great grief and trouble to them, if for their ſake their Neighbours ſhould be expoſed to danger, or receive any prejudice; that, moreover, they confeſſed, that it was neither lawful for them, nor in their power, obſtinately to ſtand it out againſt the Emperour and Empire; but, that being neceſſitated to defend themſelves from injury, they had demoliſhed ſome Houſes, and ſeized ſome Caſtles, ſmall Towns and Villages, in time of War, not indeed, with a deſign to appropriate them to themſelves, but that they might not fall into the hands of Strangers, nor would they refuſe to deliver them up, provided their Neighbours would live quietly: That there were two main Reaſons, why they could not obtain a Peace; firſt, becauſe they retained the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel, and rejected the Idol of Popery; and then, becauſe the other Conditions propoſed were not only heavy, but intolerable to them, and altogether ſuch, as could not be performed; for, that to betray their Liberty, which had been granted them by the Emperour *Otho* the Great, the firſt of that Name, and had been handed down to them from their Anceſtors, and ſucceſſively, even to the preſent time, was a thing that could noways be defended nor juſtified to Poſterity: That now it manifeſtly appeared, what end the Authors of the Book made at *Ausburg*, had propoſed to themſelves, and what they drove at; for that, they had endeavoured to deprive Mankind of the chief head of the Doctrine of Juſtification, the very groundwork of our Salvation; as alſo, to queſtion the uſe of the Lords Supper, and the Marriage of Prieſts; to teach, beſides, the Invocation of Dead Men, and all that depends thereon; in ſhort, to reſtore Popery again in its full extent, as many Men of Excellent Learning had made it appear; that, certainly, ſo great Impiety was not to be winked at, nor paſt in ſilence, but earneſt and fervent Prayers made to God, that he would not ſuffer the glory of his own Name to be thus polluted: That it was, indeed, a ſad and lamentable ſpectacle, to ſee Men violently driven to a falſe Religion and Idolatry, the Miniſters of the Church caſt into Gaols, or, with their Wives and Children, forced into Exile, and ſome alſo butchered and killed; but it was extreamly grievous, that though theſe things were openly ſeen, eſpecially in *Upper Germany*, yet there were ſome, who had the boldneſs to ſay, that Religion was not ſtruck at; that, nevertheleſs, it was no new thing, ſince, from the very Creation of the World, it had been the condition of Pious and Innocent Men, to ſuffer affliction; and, that there were many Examples both in the Old and New Teſtament, which declared the conſtancy of holy Men, when Kings and Princes ſet forth Edicts contrary to the Word of God; for that Rule of Scripture always prevailed with them, *That it is better to obey God than Men*: That this was not only the Doctrine of St. *Chryſoſtome*, St. *Auſtin*, St. *Ambroſe* and others, but their Practice alſo, when the Emperours commanded any thing repugnant to the Law of God; that their caſe was now the ſame; that they ſaw the danger they were in, and yet could do no otherwiſe than they did; for that they would ſuffer any thing, rather than applaud to, and embrace, manifeſt Errours: That it was reported of *Gordius* the Martyr, how, that being deſired by his Friends, as he was going to the place of Execution, that, to ſave his Life, he would forſake his Opinion; he made anſwer, That the Tongue ought not to ſpeak any thing in reproach of him who created it. A ſaying that concerned all Men in general; for, that it was the Opinion of the Ancient Church, and of ſome of the firſt Biſhops of *Rome* alſo, that they do not only betray the Truth, who teach falſe Doctrine, but thoſe alſo that dare not openly confeſs and defend the known Truth: That therefore the event of all was to be committed to God, and that Men ought not for love or favour, or the fear of any danger, to turn aſide from the profeſſion of the Truth, but

Two Reaſons why they cannot obtain Peace.

Gordius the Martyr.

but to have the Example of *Daniel* always before their Eyes, who, contrary to the Decree of King *Darius*, prayed to God with his Windows open: That he might, indeed, have done the ſame privately and cloſely, without any danger, but becauſe, the open confeſſion of his Faith, and the glory of the Divine Majeſty, required it ſhould be otherwiſe, he had, with a great and undaunted mind, openly called upon God, without any regard to that danger, which being laid for him by his Enemies, fell afterwards upon their own heads: That, therefore, they begg'd, they would not raiſe Arms, nor attempt any Hoſtility againſt them who were Members of the true Church, but therein follow the Example of the Chriſtian Soldiers of former Ages, who would not obey, when the Emperours would have employed their Arms againſt thoſe who profeſſed the Chriſtian Religion, as might be made out by the inſtance of St. *Mauritius* the Martyr: That it was to be found in the Book of *Judges*, how highly God was offended with the *Iſraelites*, becauſe, being terrified by the multitude of the Enemies, they aſſiſted not their weaker Brethren; which might be a leſſon to all, that not only Brethren and Aſſociates were not to be deſerted, but ought alſo to be relieved and ſuccoured: That they made no doubt, but that good Men were moved at theſe things; that God lived and was immortal, who had often ſhew'd ſtrength with his Arm in old time, and was ſtill able to do it: That after all, they moſt earneſtly beſought them, that they would carry theſe their Complaints, to the Emperour, King *Ferdinand*, and the other Princes and States, and at the ſame time intercede for them, that they might not be reduced to extremity; for that they refuſed nothing, that could be lawfully and honeſtly performed; that it was their hearty Requeſt alſo, that they would commend them in their Prayers to God, that, in imitation of the *Ninivites*, they might from the bottom of their hearts repent of their Sins, and ſend up their ſighs unto God; that they might undauntedly perſevere in the profeſſion of the Doctrine of the Goſpel, which had now for theſe thirty years been preached amongſt them; and ſet it forth with Pious Lives and Converſations; that they might do the Works of Charity to all Men, but eſpecially to the Miniſters of Gods Church, who were now turned out, and in exile, to their Wives and Children, and ſuch other poor People in diſtreſs; and that they might retain this pure and wholeſome Doctrine in ſpight of the tricks and artifices of thoſe, who, under the Pretext of reſtoring of Ceremonies, would again let in upon us the ſink of Popiſh Pollutions. 1549.

In the Month of *October*, *Francis* Duke of *Mantua*, the Son of *Frederick*, took to Marriage the Lady *Catharine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*; and the Tenth day of *November* after, Pope *Paul* III. departed this Life, in the Four-ſcore and ſecond year of his Age. The day before he died, he diſcharged the Impoſts which he had laid upon Salt, and moſt part of other Commodities, to the grievance of the People. Some Months before, he had ſolicited the Emperour about the reſtitution of *Piacenza*, but it was in vain; and it was generally thought, that if he had lived longer, he would have eſpouſed the Intereſts of the *French* King; for, it was believed, that he had been hatching Revenge in his mind, ever ſince the Murder of his Son *Petro Aloiſio*. His Body lay for three days in State in the Chapel of Pope *Sixtus*; whither the People flocked in great numbers, to kiſs his Feet, which were put out at an Iron Gate, as the cuſtom is. Before he died, a bitter and Satyrical Book came out againſt him, under the Name, indeed, of one *Bernardino Ochino*, but, as it was thought, written by other hands, with a Prefatory Dedication to *Aſcanio Colonna*, whom he had baniſhed. This little Book, amongſt a great many other things, which would be too long to relate, addreſſing to him, calls him Antichriſt; In the time of Pope *Innocent*, ſaith it, moſt wicked Prelate, thou waſt caſt into Priſon for two Murders and one Parricide, thou committedſt, in poyſoning thy own Mother, and a Nephew, that all the Inheritance might fall to thee. Being afterward ſet at liberty, thou didſt not ſcruple, to put in for the Purple Hat; but thou waſt thrice rejected by the College, and it was thy Siſter *Julia Farneſe*, that at length prevailed for thee; for ſhe threatning that his Holineſs ſhould have no more to do with her, Pope *Alexander* VI. fearing her anger and diſpleaſure, thruſt thee into the Congregation of the Cardinals. You alſo poyſoned another Siſter for her Incontinence, the common fault of your Family. When you were Legate of *Ancona*, in the time of *Julius* II. you baſely over-reached a Maid of that City; for diſſembling what you were, and making her believe, you were one of the Legates Gentlemen, you prevailed with her and defloured her; which Villany, the Cardinal of *Ancona*, the Maids Uncle, after the City

The Marriage of *Francis* of *Mantua*.

The death of *Paul* III.

A Book againſt *Paul* III.

The Murders of *Paul* III.

Paul's Siſter being a Whore makes him a Cardinal.

He murders another Siſter.

His Luſts.

1549. was taken, charged you home with, in moſt ſevere manner, before Pope *Clement*, who then was Priſoner. *Nicholas Quercy* ſurprized you lying with his Wife *Laura Farneſe*, your own Niece, and gave you a wound with a *Stiletto*, of which you ſtill bear the Scar. What need I ſpeak of your Daughter *Conſtantia*, with whom you have lain ſo often? For, that you might the more freely enjoy her, you poyſoned her Husband *Boſio Sforzia*; who, having perceived your naughtineſs with her, conceived ſuch inward grief at it, that he was never ſeen to look merry afterwards. You certainly exceed *Commodus* and *Heliogabalus* in filthy Luſt; and that plainly appears by the many Baſtards, you have. *Lot* lay with his Daughters indeed, but then he was drunk, and knew not what he did; but you, being ſober, have lain not only with your Niece, but with your own Siſter and Daughter alſo. How foul and horrid a Crime was it, that your ungracious Son, *Petro Aloiſio*, committed upon the Biſhop of *Fano*? When Pope *Clement* was detained Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and ſent you Legate to the Emperour, for obtaining his Liberty, you would not ſet out on your Journy, till firſt he had beſtowed the Biſhoprick of *Parma* upon your Nephew *Farneſe*, a Boy of Ten years of Age. When that was done, you nevertheleſs deceived him, and pretended to have been taken ſick at *Genoua*. How did you Traffick in Church Livings, when you were Cardinal? And ſince you became Pope, good God! how have you ſquandered away the Revenues of the Apoſtolick See? Are not you aſhamed, to have put your accurſed Son in the higheſt place of Government, with a Penſion of Fourty thouſand Crowns a year, and have given almoſt as much to your Nephew *Aſcanio*? Not to mention the vaſt profuſion of Wealth you have made, upon all the Women of your Family and your Nieces, the *Santa Floria's*. After all this, you dare to mention the *Turks*, who now are ready to invade poor *Italy*; and with the intent too, that you may have ſome plauſible occaſion and pretext to pillage the People, who groan under moſt heavy and intolerable Burdens through your Tyranny. You ſold *Modena* and *Rhegio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*; You have alienated *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which you never acquired to the Church of *Rome*, a thing Pope *Clement* was aſhamed to do. To enrich your own Houſe and Family, you have unjuſtly oppreſſed others, and made War againſt thoſe, who either would not or could not ſubmit to that Slavery. Thoſe of *Perugia* and *Aſcanio Colonna*, amongſt others, are inſtances of this. He that raiſes an extraordinary Subſidy of his People, of Three hundred thouſand Crowns a year; that often impoſes new Cuſtoms, now on Salt, and by and by again upon other Commodities; that exacteth, now the Tenths, and now the moiety of the Fruits and Encreaſe of the Ground, that Man, I ſay, ought juſtly to be reckoned the Enemy of Chriſtendom. Since you were Pope, the *Turkiſh* Fleet ſecurely ſailed along the Coaſts of the Territories of the Church, when *Barbaroſſa* cruiſed on our Seas. Wherefore that ſecret Correſpondence you entertain with the Infidels, ſtops your Mouth, from hereafter making a Pretext of the *Turkiſh* War. And in the mean time, you have had the boldneſs to tax the King of *France*, for entertaining Friendſhip with the Proteſtants; and the Emperour for joyning with the King of *England*. Is it not a moſt ſhameful thing, that you ſhould wholly depend on Aſtrologers and Necromancers? It's matter of fact, and cannot be deny'd; for you have raiſed to Honour and Riches many of them, as *Cecio*, *Marcello*, *Gaurico* the *Portugueſe*, and others; a Crime, that manifeſtly ſtains you with Impiety, and heinous enough, to make you be degraded from the Papacy.

Many other things of that nature are contained in that Printed Book, we mentioned; Let us now return to the dead Body. On the ninth day after his Death, the Funeral Rites began to be celebrated, and laſted nine whole days. In the mean time all the abſent Cardinals haſten to Town, *Trent*, *Salviato*, *Mantua*, *Cibo*, *de Monte*, *Ausburg*, *d'Oria*, *Urbin*, and theſe were preſent at the Obſequies. But he that came firſt was the Cardinal of *Trent*, for he was at *Mantua* at the Wedding we ſpake of, when the news was brought of the Popes death. The Funeral Charges was reckoned to amount to Fifty thouſand Crowns. *November* the Eight and twentieth, after Maſs, they went into the Conclave, as they call it, for the Election of a new Pope. On the Fourth of *December*, Cardinal *Pacieco*, a *Spaniard*, came from *Trent*. On the Twelfth, came the Cardinals *du Bellaye*, *Vendoſme*, *Chaſtillon*, *Guiſe* and *Tournon*, and about the end of the Month, *Boloigne*, *Ambois*, *Lorrain*, as afterwards the aged *Bourbon*, all *Frenchmen*; beſides, there were ſome others of that Nation there already, whom the King ſent thither two years before, as we ſaid in the Nineteenth Book. And now we are gone ſo far, it will not be amiſs to deſcribe

The Funeral Charges of *Paul* III.

1549.

A deſcription of the Conclave of *Rome.*

54 Cardinals in the time of *Paul* III.

deſcribe ſome things in this place. There is a Palace in *Rome* called the *Vatican*, adjoyning to St. *Peters* Church, where the Popes keep Court, and where, upon occaſion, the College of Cardinals meet. In this Palace, among other Apartments, there are five Halls, a Gallery ſeventy paces long, and two Chapels, all which together make that Apartment, which is called the Conclave. One of the Chapels is deſigned for ſaying of Maſs, and taking the Votes in, and the other, which is called *Sixtus* his Chapel, and thoſe Halls we mentioned, are for the Cardinals Lodgings. At this time, after the death of *Paul* III. the Cardinals being fifty four in number, there were as many Chambers made for them. In former times the Conclave had ſeveral Gates, but now they are all ſhut up, ſave one. Beſides, there are no Glaſs Windows, except in the Chapels, and theſe too ſo high, that they cannot be reached. So that neither Air nor Light can get in to it, and Day and Night they are forced to burn Wax Lights. Now the Chambers, we mentioned, are fourteen foot wide, ſixteen foot long, and twelve foot high, not of Brick, Stone or Timber, but of Green or Purple Cloth. And becauſe ſome of them are more commodious than others, they caſt Lots for them, to avoid Competition and Envy: In each Hall there are two rows of Chambers; and within that ſpace and bounds, the Cardinals muſt confine themſelves, with their Families and Furniture. Every Cardinal has four Servants allowed him, that lie within, and always wait on him, whil'ſt the reſt make the Beds, and do the other neceſſary Duties. There are, beſides, twelve Men appointed for the whole, commonly called the Sweepers, who make clean the Conclave, and carry out all the filth and ordure, to a place appointed for it. They who are within, muſt continue there, unleſs they be ſick, and if once they go out, they are not admitted again, except they be Cardinals. When they enter the Conclave in order to an Election, they preſently chuſe three or four Cardinals, to provide all things neceſſary, and to give Anſwer to the Ambaſſadours of Kings and Princes. Theſe have one Key of that Gate we ſpake of, the *Roman* Nobility have a ſecond, the Biſhops a third, and the Maſters of the Ceremonies a fourth. This Gate is never unlocked, after once the Conclave is ſhut up, but when new Cardinals come. In it there is a little Wicket, whereof the Maſters of the Ceremonies keep the Key, and it is never opened but at Dinner and Supper time. For then the Victuals, which are dreſſed in Kitchins abroad, are let in by that Wicket, and there are ſome Biſhops there, choſen for that purpoſe, to view the Diſhes carefully, and ſee that no Letters be hid in them. The Maſters of the Ceremonies, receiving the Diſhes from them, deliver them to the Cardinal's Servants through that Wicket, for no body elſe is ſuffered to approach it. The Meat is ſerved in Earthen Diſhes, and the Wine in Glaſs Bottles, and daily they have new ones: For it is an ancient Cuſtom, That the Veſſels which are once brought in, are the Fees of the Maſters of the Ceremonies, who are very careful in gathering them together; they being exquiſitely fine, both for Matter and Workmanſhip, and to ſell them at dear Rates. At that time five hundred *Italian* Foot, under the Command of the Count of *Petugliano*, lay without, and kept guard near the Palace Gate, next to them the *Suiſſe* Guards of *Paul* III. and the Horſe Guards, then the *Roman* Nobility, after them the Ambaſſadours of Kings and Princes, and laſt and next the Gate, the Biſhops, who, as we ſaid, were Superviſors of the Victuals. Four thouſand Foot were poſted for the Guard of the City, under the Command of *Horatio Farneſe*, there being Armed Men likewiſe in the Private Houſes and Palaces of the Cardinals and Nobles. Let us now ſpeak of the Election. Though it was the cuſtom of old, to go into the Conclave the tenth day after the death of the Pope, yet now, after the deceaſe of *Paul* III. it was the nineteenth, which happened to be the Nine and twentieth day of *November*, as was ſhewed you before. The Cardinals, going into the Conclave that day towards the evening, took an Oath of the *Roman* Nobility, and of the Officers and Captains that were appointed to guard the Town, to be true to them; and afterwards they went with their Families to their ſeveral Lodging Rooms, all others being commanded out of the Conclave. Some Cardinals are Biſhops, ſome Prieſts, and ſome Deacons. Before they came to Voting, ſome Rules are read over, which they make to themſelves for the time. Theſe concern the Priviledges and Immunities of the Cardinals. The firſt thing then they do, is, ſeverally to take an Oath, That if it be their turn to be choſen Pope, they ſhall obſerve all things exactly; and then, that they will chuſe him, whom they ſhall think moſt uſeful both for Church and State. After this they fall to Buſineſs; it was the ſecond day of *December*. Then the

Maſter

1549. Master of the Ceremonies, about Nine of the Clock in Morning, rings a Bell throughout the Conclave, to call them to Mass, that being over, there is a Desk brought to every Cardinal, and in it, a Paper containing a List of all the Cardinals Names; after that, there is a Table with a Scarlet Carpet, placed before the Altar of the Chapel, upon which stands a Chalice and Silver Bell, and about the Table six Foot-Stools. Now every Cardinal writes down his Voice in a Billet or bit of Paper, and so folds and makes it up, that nothing is to be seen but the Name of him that is chosen. Then they rise severally in their Order, and having upon their Knees prayed at the Altar, drop the Billet into the *Chalice*, and so return to their place again. That being done, two Bishops, as many Priests, and as many Deacons, take their places upon these six Stools. The first Bishop takes all the Billets in order out of the Chalice, and delivers them to the first Deacon, he unfolds them, and with an Audible Voice reads the Name of the Elected, but not of the Elector. With that, the Cardinals, who, as we told you, have every one Papers containing all their Names, note down the number of Voices, under every ones Names, as they are drawn out and read. The Votes being thus collected; the first Priest, who hath also a Paper with the Names of the Cardinals, tells how many Voices every one hath. If the number be not competent, the Billets are cast into the Chalice again; then one of the Deacons rings a little Bell, and presently enters the Master of the Ceremonies, who waits without, and in a Pan of Coals that he brings in with him, burns all these Billets. Every Cardinal may at the same time give his Voice for four different Persons, but that seldom happens. And this is the manner of Election; now let us return to our purpose. The Cardinals being thus shut up, set to work, as we told you, on the second of *December*; but they made but slow progress, because the *French* Cardinals were said to be coming. Most People thought they should see a new Pope in *Rome* before *Christmas-day*; but their expectation was frustrated. The College of Cardinals was divided into three Factions, the Imperial, the *French*, and the Faction of the *Farneses*. The *French* were for *Trani*, *Salviato*, *Rudolpho*, *Lorrain*, or *Theatine*; but the Imperialists for *Pool*, *Bourghese*, *Carpo*, *Sancta Croce*, *Morono*, or *Sfondrato*. There was a great talk about Town of *Pool* and *Salviato*; for though they laboured to keep all things very secret, as I said, yet because now and then several came out of the Conclave, for sickness real or counterfit, it could not be concealed; and, as it was said, the Emperour and *French* King had an account of all they did. That *Pool* was not chosen, it's said, was through the means of Cardinal *Theatine*, who had said, that he smelt of *Lutheranism*; for many, both in *Italy*, and others also, affirmed, that his Judgment was right as to the true Religion, as was said in the Tenth Book. There were at that time many Pilgrims in *Rome*, who were come thither from several Places and Countries, that in the beginning of the new year, which was then the year of *Jubily*, as they call it, they might obtain the Pardon and Remission of their Sins. A great number of People were got together on *Christmas*-Eve in the Porch of St. *Peters*, hoping that the Gate, which is called the *Golden-Gate*, would be opened by the new Pope. And though it troubled them much to wait longer, yet they did not think fit to depart, before the Election was past. The matter is thus. Pope *Boniface* VIII. was the first that instituted a Year of *Jubily*, in the year 1295. and commanded it to be kept once every hundred years, promising to those who then came to *Rome*, and performed their Devotions at the Shrines of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, full Pardon and Remission of all their Sins. After his death, when the term of an hundred years seemed to be too long, *Clement* VI. reduced them to fifty. There is also a Bull of his extant, wherein he commands the Angels, to convey the Souls of those that died in this Pilgrimage, into the Kingdom of Heaven. But *Sixtus* IV. decreed, That every Twenty five years Mankind should participate of this Benefit. When therefore the year 1550 approached, *Paul* III. some months before had published a Bull, earnestly exhorting Men, that they would not let slip so fair an occasion of disburdening them of their Sins, and of Meriting the Kingdom of Heaven. He was also mightily overjoyed, that he had lived to that time, saying, That it would be a most delightful day to him, wherein he should deserve so well of Mankind: But it was but a false Joy to him, for, as we have said, he died some weeks before that day came, which he so earnestly desired to see. *Paulus Fagius*, who went with *Bucer* into *England* about the end of *November*, died of a Quartan Ague at *Cambridge*.

The way of chusing the Pope.

How many Voices every Cardinal may give.

Three Factions of Cardinals.

The Conclave full of chinks.

Pool upon suspicion of *Lutheranism*, disappointed of the Popedom.

The year of *Jubily*.

The *Golden-Gate*.

The institution of the *Jubily* by *Boniface* VIII.

Reduced to 50 years.

And then to 25.

The *Jubily* in the year 1550, earnestly desired by *Paul* III.

But he was disappointed.

The Death of *Paulus Fagius*.

We

We told you before, how the Controverſie betwixt the Biſhop and Senate of *Strasburg* was taken up by Arbitrators: Now the Biſhop had reſolved to begin the Office in his Churches, on *Chriſtmaſs*-day, and had preſcribed a Method, to be followed, by the Clergy: But, becauſe they were not then in a ſufficient readineſs, he put it off till the firſt of *February*. And then the Prieſts ſaid Veſpers in thoſe three Churches, that the Senate had granted the Biſhop by compoſition, and next day Maſs, which had not been ſeen there for twenty years before. 1549

Maſs again ſaid at *Strasburg*.

Great was the concourſe of People, that flocked thither, eſpecially of the Youth: For to them it was a ſtrange kind of ſight, to ſee a great many Men with ſhaven Crowns, in a new ſort of Habit, ſinging all together; what no body underſtood; Tapers and Lights burning at Noon-day, Incenſe ſtreaming up, and ſmoaking out of Cenſers, the Prieſt, with his ſubſervient Miniſters, ſtanding before the Altar, ſpeaking all in a ſtrange Language; uſing various kneeling and geſtures, bowing down with Hands joyn'd; one while ſtretching forth his Arms, and by and by, again, contracting them: Now and then turning about to the People; raiſing his voice high at ſome times, and at other times, again, muttering to himſelf very ſoftly; now caſting up his Eyes, and by and by looking down on the ground; ſhuffling from place to place: Now on the right, and now on the left, ſide of the Altar, playing tricks with his Fingers, breathing into a Chalice, then lifting it up on high, and afterwards ſetting it down again; naming in certain places, now the Dead, now the Living; breaking the Wafer, and, putting it into the Chalice; knocking his Breaſt with his Fiſt, ſighing, ſhutting his Eyes, as if he were aſleep, and then awaking again; eating one part of the Wafer, and ſwallowing down the other whole with the Wine, waſhing his Hands, that the leaſt drop may not remain; turning his back to the People, and with an out-ſtretched Arm, ſhewing them a gilt Patten, clapping it to his Forehead and Breaſt; and kiſſing ſometimes the Altar, and ſometimes a little Image, incloſed in Wood or Metal. Theſe, I ſay, and the like, the young People could not behold, without wonder and amazement, nor, indeed, without laughter: And could hardly be reſtrained. After noon, a Prieſt, who came thither from another place, preached in the Cathedral Church, where he had no great Auditory, though ſome out of curioſity went to hear him. In time of Sermon, a Youth making I know not what noiſe, an Officer chid him, and made, as if he would lay hold on him, at that, all the young People came running about, and, as it is uſual, on the like occaſions, there aroſe a buſtling noiſe, and din, in the Church, whilſt every one moved to and again, enquiring what the matter was. But the Preacher, in the mean time, who thought all was in an uproar, being apprehenſive of danger, and in a panick fear, made all the haſte he could down out of the Pulpit, and fled to the Chancel, where, by his Companions, he was received within Iron Grates: For moſt of all the Prieſts, belonging to that Church, were there, and ſome dignitaries alſo of Noble Families, who being in a higher place to hear, withdrew with all ſpeed, not knowing what might come on't. This was preſently carried to the Conſul, and Mayor, who, with the reſt of the Senate, were at Sermon in other Churches. They preſently haſten thither, to keep all things quiet; but the Hubbub was already over; for beſides, ſome young Lads, no body had ſtirred. Wherefore, the Senate ſent *James Sturmey*, and others, to thoſe of the dignified Clergy we mentioned, to acquaint them, that the Senate was heartily ſorry for the Tumult, and to tell them the occaſion of it; That no Citizen was concerned therein, and that ſince it had fallen out contrary to their knowledge, to pray them not to take it ill, promiſing to make it their buſineſs, that no ſuch thing ſhould happen for the future. However, this did not ſatisfie them, nor would they, as they ſaid, expoſe their lives any more to ſo great danger. Wherefore, they departed, next day, in anger, leaving their Work unfiniſhed, and repairing to their Biſhop at *Saverne*, they made a heavy complaint of their ſad Fortune; ſo that for ſome Months after, they officiated no more. In the mean time, a complaint of this was made to the Emperour, as will appear hereafter. Many were of opinion, that inwardly they rejoyced, that ſo good a pretext of diſcontinuing had been offered them. For all the while that Maſs had been aboliſhed, by Decree of the Senate, they lived with all freedom, and received their full Rents yearly without any trouble: But that, now they were again aſtricted to Duty, though the labour, indeed, was not great, it was thought, that an occaſion of ſhaking off that Yoke was not unwelcome to them; eſpecially 1550

The ſight of Maſs ſtrange at firſt.

A tumult in the Cathedral of *Strasburg*.

The Preacher leaves the Pulpit, and ſhifts for himſelf.

Saying of Maſs interrupted.

The Prieſts glad of it.

1550. eſpecially, ſince they ſaw, that their actions were commonly contemned, and derided, and themſelves pointed at, as being extremely hateful to the people. The Senate having made ſtrict inquiry, could not find, that any Citizen was in the fault.

A treaty of Peace between the Engliſh and French.

About the beginning of *February*, the Engliſh and French Ambaſſadours meet to treat of a Peace: For the Engliſh having loſt ſome Forts, as we ſaid, were reduced to ſome ſtreights. At the ſame time, the Kings Uncle, the Protector, was ſet at liberty, out of the Tower, the Counſellors perceiving, that it would be very acceptable to the King: And becauſe he had been committed at the inſtigation, chiefly, of the Earl of *Warwick*, an expedient was hit upon, to renew their friendſhip by affinity. The Protectors Daughter was therefore married to the Earl of *Warwick*'s Son: And afterward the King made *Warwick*, Duke of *Northumberland*: But this proved no laſting friendſhip, as ſhall be ſhew'd hereafter.

The Protector of *England* delivered out of Priſon.

Factions at *Rome* about chuſing a Pope.

In the mean time, all things were carried on, at *Rome*, by intrigue and faction, as we hinted before: The *Farneſe*'s were wholly bent to have one of their Faction choſen, and at firſt, as it is ſaid, *Alexander*, Pope *Paul*'s Nephew, and ſome other Cardinals, who had been promoted and favoured by him, joyned with the Imperialiſts: But when the French Faction gave their voices for *Salviato*, a Florentine, *Alexander* fearing, leſt at the next Seſſion he might be declared Pope, fell over to their party, having firſt contracted with them, as it was reported for a certain truth, that they ſhould not give their voices for *Salviato*. By this manner, at length, *John Maria de Monte*, who, as we told you, had been Preſident of the Council at *Trent*, and *Bolonia*, was on the ſeventh of *February*, choſe Pope; and was always accounted a great Friend to the Intereſt of *France*, and the Houſe of *Farneſe*. The cauſe why *Farneſe* bore no good will to *Salviato*, is reported to be, that he feared, leſt, if he ſhould be promoted to the Papacy, he would clip the Wings of himſelf, his Brother, and Relations, who, by hook and by crok, had heaped up vaſt Riches, and revenge the Injuries, done to his Family, by the *Farneſe*'s, and *Paul* III. Nay, it is ſaid, that Cardinal *Farneſe* did not promiſe *de Monte*, whom *Paul* III. made Cardinal, that he and his Faction would ſtand for him, till firſt he gave his aſſurance, that he would leave *Parma* to his Brother *Octavio*. This Pope, according to Antient Cuſtom, changed his Name, and took to himſelf that of *Julius* III.

John Maria de Monte is made Pope.

De Monte changing his name, is called *Julius* III.

The French Kings Edict.

At the ſame time, the French King ſet forth an Edict againſt the *Lutherans*: Appointing a Penalty, alſo, for the Judges, who were ſlack and negligent in proſecuting them. Before the Pope was Elected, the Cardinals *Verulo* and *Rudulpho* departed this Life: So that there remained two and fifty in the Conclave, and of theſe fourteen were French, two Germans, four Spaniards, two Portugueſe, and one Engliſh; the reſt were all Italians, and of them, eleven Romans, on the twenty third day of *February*, *Julius* was inaugurated by Cardinal *Cibo*, and two days after, he opened the golden Gate, at which, there was an infinite number of people, waiting for the remiſſion of their Sins, as we ſaid before. The Pope ſtrikes the Gate with a little golden Hammer, for that is the Ceremony, which afterwards he uſes to beſtow on ſome perſon, as a mark of Honour and Eſteem, and there are ſome that think themſelves very happy, if they can get it; as at this time it coſt the Cardinal of *Ausburg* much intreaty, who carried it with him into *Germany*. Whilſt the Pope is ſtriking the Gate with the little Hammer, there are Work-men buſie in breaking it down with Iron Crows: And then the People, who croud and preſs to get in, carefully pick up bits of the Lime and Rubbiſh, that are beat down, and keep them as precious Jewels. Some joked upon the Cardinal of *Ausburg*, when they heard of what he had done, ſaying, *That he intended to knock the Lutherans in the head with that Hammer*. Some time after came to *Rome*, to complement, and make their ſubmiſſion to the Pope, the Duke of *Urbino*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, the Ambaſſadors of *Venice*, *Savoy*, *Florence*, *Genoua*, *Siena*, *Scotland*, *France*; and afterwards the Emperour's alſo. The Pope not only reſtored *Parma* to *Octavio Farneſe*, but made him alſo chief Governour, which they call *Gonfaloniero*: He alſo reſtored *Aſconio Colonna*, who had been baniſhed by *Paul* III. It is an Antient Cuſtom, for the new-made Pope to give his Cardinals Hat to whom he pleaſed: Now whilſt *Julius* was Legate at *Bolonia*, he was extremely enamoured of a Youth, named *Innocent*: And him, in ſpight of all the reſt, who diſliked and ſpoke againſt it, he brought into the College of Cardinals, and into his familiar and domeſtick converſation alſo, giving him his

The French Kings Edict.

The number of Cardinals.

Julius inaugurated.

The opening of the golden gate.

A Joke upon the Cardinal of *Ausburg*.

Ambaſſadours ſent to complement the Pope.

Parma reſtored to *Octavio*.

own

own Name, and Coat of Arms, to bear. It was the talk of *Rome*, and *Paſquil* ſaid, that *Jupiter* hugg'd *Ganimede*, though he was deformed: Nor could the Pope himſelf diſſemble it, for it is reported of him, that in a merry humour, he would tell ſome of the Cardinals, how wanton and laſcivious a Lad he was. Whilſt the grand Matter was in agitation in the Conclave, there was a Letter intercepted, which one *Camillo Oliva*, ſervant to the Cardinal of *Mantua*, had written to a certain Darling of his, *Hannibal Contino*, dated the twenty ſixth of *January*, and with it alſo, a Copy of Italian Verſes, wherein, ſpeaking of his Love, and the longing deſire he had to ſee him, he uſes ſuch filthy and ſhameful words, that it would be no leſs than a crime almoſt to repeat them. Hence ſome gave way to their wit, and drollingly ſaid, That he muſt needs be an obſcene Pope, that was to come out of a Conclave, where ſuch Letters were written. 1550.

The moſt obſcene Letter of *Camillo Oliva* out of the Conclave.

March the thirteenth, the Emperour writes to the States of the Empire, to this effect: That after the Dyet at *Ausburg*, he had gone into the *Low Countries*, to make the people, of thoſe Provinces, do homage to his Son, whom therefore he had ſent for out of *Spain*: That his intent was to have returned into *Germany*, ſo ſoon as that buſineſs was over; but becauſe all ſeaſons were not alike fit for ſailing, and that the diſtance of place was great, it was ſomewhat longer than he expected before his Son arrived from *Spain*: That after he was come, all the Summer, and a good part of Autumn had been ſpent, in ordering of neceſſary Affairs; and that though Winter was at hand, yet he had ſtill reſolved to make a Journy into *Germany*: But that at the ſame time, he had been taken ill of the Gout; and not long after, had had the news of the death of Pope *Paul*: That he had therefore changed his deſign, and waited for the Election of a new Pope. That ſince *Julius* III. had acquainted him with his promotion, and made very large and fair promiſes of his Zeal, and good inclinations towards Religion, and the welfare of the Publick: That ſo ſoon as this came to his knowledge, he had thought, that ſo fair an occaſion of acting ought not to be ſlighted, eſpecially ſince the ſafety, and preſervation of *Germany*, depended on it: That therefore a courſe was to be taken, that thoſe things, which had been decreed in the laſt Dyet, and begun, ſhould be perfected and accompliſh'd: And then, that care ſhould be taken, both that the cauſes of Diviſion be removed, and ſome obſtinate and rebellious perſons quelled: That for theſe cauſes he purpoſed to hold a Dyet of the Empire; and therefore charged and commanded all, whom it concerned, not to fail to meet at *Ausburg*, the twenty fifth day of *June*; and that nothing ſhould hinder them from coming, but ſickneſs, and of that, alſo, they ſhould make Faith upon Oath: And that they ſend their Deputies, and Repreſentatives, with full Power and Inſtructions, to treat of all things relating to the Publick, that no delay, nor hinderance, may obſtruct the Deliberations.

The Emperours Letter to the States of the Empire wherein he appoints a Dyet.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH.

BOOK XXII.

The CONTENTS.

A Peace is concluded between England *and* France. *The* Magdeburgers *refute the Crimes objected to them, and prove them to be the Calumnies of their Adversaries. The Emperours Edict against the* Lutherans *is published, which astonished many. Whilst the Dyet is held at* Ausburg, *for continuing the Council of* Trent, Granvell *dies. The Emperour takes* Tripoly, *a Town in* Africa. George *Duke of* Mecklenburg *puts all to Fire and Sword in the Country of* Magdeburg. *Duke* Maurice, *and some others also, takes up Arms against the* Magdeburgers. *Pope* Julius *Emits a Bull for calling of the Council. Duke* Maurice *commanding in chief against the* Magdeburgers, *offers them Conditions of Peace. The Clergy also publish an odious Paper against them, to which they make a large Answer, and refute the Crimes objected.* Osiander *broacheth a new Doctrine concerning Mans Justification. The Emperour makes a Decree at* Ausburg, *for safe Conduct to be given to those that would repair to the Council.* Bucer *dies. Three Suns, and as many Moons are seen in* Saxony. *The Pope, by a Bull, heavily accuses* Octavio Farnese, *and the Emperour publishes also an Edict against him. In the mean time the King of* France *justifies him to the Pope. The captive Duke of* Saxony *helps and comforts the Ministers proscribed by the Emperour. The Council of* Trent *revived; and an account given of the form and order of the publick Sessions. The manner of framing Articles of Faith is set down. The King of* France *publishes an Edict against the Pope. A Relation of the beginning of the War of* Parma.

ABOUT this time, the Ambassadours of *England* and *France*, after long and tedious Debating, concluded a Peace; and they were the more inclinable to it, because both of them perceived the Advantages that some were like, in time, to make of their Enmity and Dissension. Therefore the *English* restore to the *French*, *Boloigne*, that had been now whole six years almost in their possession; at which many wondered, though the *French* paid Money for it; and the *Scots* were also comprehended in this Peace. The two Kings, having afterward sent Ambassadours mutually to one another, confirmed this Peace by new marks of Friendship; for the *French* King was made Knight of the Garter, and the King of *England*, one of the Order of *France*; which, amongst great Princes, is, as it were, a Badge and Cognizance of Amity.

Peace betwixt the *English* and *French*.

Boloigne restored to the *French*.

1550. The *Magdenburghers*, being ſeverely laſhed by the Emperours many Edicts, publiſh again, *March* the Twenty fourth, another *Manifeſto*, addreſſed chiefly to their Neighbours. Firſt, they alleadge, that neither by the Law of God nor Man, could they be convicted of Rebellion; then they declare, that they, who take up Arms againſt them, make War againſt Chriſt himſelf. In the third place, they refute the Crimes objected to them, and affirm them to be Calumnies of their Adverſaries. And though, ſay they, the Emperour, at their inſtigation, hath Outlawed us, yet we may truely affirm, that we never, as yet, refuted any Reaſonable Conditions, provided the Doctrine of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, and the Liberty left us by our Anceſtors, were allowed us; we are ſtill of the ſame mind, nor do we decline the performance of any kind of Duty, that either the Emperour or Empire can juſtly challenge of us; and we call God to witneſs, that we have not given any cauſe of War or Commotions, but are, above all things, deſirous to entertain peace with all Men, and, by the help of the true Religion and Worſhip, to attain Life Everlaſting; which is, indeed, the cauſe of all this hatred that is raiſed againſt us. Now it is eſtabliſhed by Law, that as the Inferior Magiſtrate is not to impeach the right of the Superior; ſo alſo, that if the Magiſtrate tranſgreſs the bounds of Authority, and command any thing that is wicked, he is not only not to be obeyed, but, if he uſe force, to be reſiſted alſo. For that all Power is of God, we think no Man will deny; and if any Edict or Decree be made againſt him, it is not to be doubted, but that they may be rejected and diſobeyed: Now the Decree made at *Ausburg* concerning Religion, is of that nature; and therefore we cannot obey thoſe, who forcing it upon us, deprive us of the Light of the Goſpel, and offer us the Idol of Popery, that they may draw us into Eternal Damnation: Which being ſo, we cannot juſtly be accuſed of any Rebellion. Beſides, it is obvious to any Man, how unlawful it is, to uſe violence againſt us, ſince it is not we that are only ſtruck at, but that the great deſign is, utterly to deſtroy the Profeſſors of the true Doctrine, and, through our ſide, to wound Chriſt himſelf and all the Godly; for we are all the Members of Chriſt, and therefore what elſe can they expect, who defile themſelves by ſo impious a Crime, but the Vengeance of God Almighty? In a former Declaration, we took notice of ſome Caſtles and Villages ſeized by us, and it is needleſs here to repeat, what was there ſaid; for ſo ſoon as we have aſſurance of peace, we ſhall reſtore them to the Right Owners. It is alſo reported by our Adverſaries, that unlawful and Promiſcuous Luſt is tolerated amongſt us, but it is a moſt Impudent Lye. We therefore beg of you, by all that is ſacred, that you would not pollute your ſelves with Innocent Bloud; but pray to God, with us, that he would confound the Bloudy Counſels of the Wicked, and if any War happen to break forth, that you will not deny your aſſiſtance. Afterward, in the Month of *April*, the Miniſters of the Church publiſh a Paper, wherein they exhibit a Confeſſion of their Faith, and prove, that it is lawful for an Inferior Magiſtrate to reſiſt a Superior, that would conſtrain their Subjects to forſake the Truth: And here they addreſs themſelves to the Emperour, beſeeching him, that he would not give credit to thoſe, who inflame him to the commiſſion of wicked and unjuſt Cruelties; but, that he would firſt truly and duly examine the whole Matter. Laſtly, They humbly deprecate all War, but, at the ſame time, if occaſion ſo require, they crave the aſſiſtance of their Neighbours.

Another *Manifeſto* of the *Magdeburgers*.

The confeſſion of Faith of the Miniſters of *Magdeburg*.

Of the Tumult, which, we told you, happened in the Cathedral of *Straſburg*, the Biſhop made a complaint to the Emperour; but the Senate, by a Deputy whom they ſent, purged themſelves of having any hand in it. Wherefore the Emperour wrote to the Biſhop, enjoyning him to continue the Service that had been intermitted, and proceed. However the Biſhop took an Engagement firſt from the Senate, that there ſhould be no violence offered, nor any obſtruction made to their Actings. So, at length, on *Whitſunday*, which fell on the Four and twentieth day of *May*, the Clergy began again to officiate. For a few days, at firſt, the Conſuls and ſome Senators were preſent, in a different place of the Church, to prevent any diſturbance; and the Clergy of the Church had encloſed, with Iron Grates, that part of the Quire, by which they went into the Veſtry, that no body might approach too near.

The Biſhop of *Straſburg* complains to the Emperour of the City.

Maſs again begun there.

About the end of *May*, the Emperour, with his Son, departed from *Bruſſels*, and went to *Ausburg*, to the Dyet there, taking with him his Priſoner, the Duke of *Saxony*, but leaving the *Landgrave* at *Mechline*. Not long after his departure, a Proclamation, dated the Twenty ninth day of *April*, was publiſhed againſt the *Lutherans*,

The Emperour and his Son come to *Ausburg*.

1550.

The Emperours Edict againſt the *Lutherans* in the *Netherlands.*

Lutherans, both in *Flemiſh* and *French*, of which this was the purport. Although, ſaith the Emperour, it hath been always our endeavour, that the true and ancient Religion ſhould be obſerved within our Dominions; though it hath been always our chief ſtudy, that the Errours, Hereſies, and Sects, which for many years now have ſpread over *Chriſtendom*, ſhould be utterly aboliſhed; and though we have for that end emitted many Proclamations, enjoyning moſt ſevere Penalties; Nevertheleſs, to our great grief, we have learned, that not only many of our Subjects, but Strangers alſo, who live and Trade in our Provinces, ſpread the contagion of this Evil far and near amongſt the People; ſo that it is abſolutely neceſſary, that ſome ſharp Medicine be applied to the Diſeaſe, and the Guilty ſtrictly enquired after, that this Plague may be totally rooted out, as, in the late Aſſemblies of the Provinces, we gave it in charge to the Governours and States, that they ſhould, in their ſeveral ſtations, diligently apply themſelves thereunto, and perſevere in the true and Catholick Religion. Eſpecially, ſince it plainly appeared to all Men, what Troubles and Commotions this Infection had raiſed amongſt the Neighbouring People, not to mention the danger of Souls, and loſs of Salvation thereby occaſioned. Therefore, with the Advice and Conſent of our deareſt Siſter, and of the reſt of our Nobles, we make this new Law, and ſtrictly charge and command, in the firſt place, that no Man, of what Rank or Quality he be, preſume to keep, buy, or diſtribute, any of the Books of *Luther*, *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, *Bucer*, *Calvin*, or generally, any Books that have been publiſhed within theſe Thirty years, without the Authors Names, as in the Catalogue of the Divines of *Louvain*, is more at large contained: Moreover, That no Perſon or Perſons have a Picture or Image, made in contempt and deriſion of the Bleſſed Virgin and Saints, neither throw down or break any Image or Picture made to the honour of any Saint: That no Man receive ſecret Conventicles into his Houſe, wherein Errors are commonly preached up, Children rebaptized, and Conſpiracies framed againſt Church and State: That no Man privately or publickly diſpute about holy Scripture, eſpecially about difficult and obſcure paſſages, nor take upon him to interpret the ſame, unleſs he be a Divine authorized by ſome approved Univerſity; that ſuch as do otherwiſe, be puniſhed as ſeditious perſons, and Diſturbers of the publick peace; the Men by the Sword, and the Women by being buried alive in the Earth, if they forſake their Errour; but if they continue ſtubborn, that they be burnt, and what puniſhment ſoever they undergo, that all their Goods be confiſcated: Moreover, that they have no power to make a Will: And, if, after they have violated this our Edict, they offer to do any ſuch thing, by theſe *Preſents we declare it to be void and null*. Furthermore, We charge and command, *that no Man receive into his Houſe, or any ways help and relieve thoſe whom he knows to be ſuſpected of Hereſie, but preſently inform the Inquiſitor* or Governour of the place of them, at his utmoſt peril. That ſuch, as, not out of malice and obſtinacy, but through infirmity, have fallen into Hereſie and Errour, and have not tranſgreſſed this our Edict, nor been guilty of any Seditious Practices, but of their own accord, have returned, and, upon abjuration of their Errour, been reconciled to the Church; preſume not for the time to come, to entertain any Talk or Diſcourſe about Matters concerning Faith and Religion; otherwiſe, that they be puniſhed as Apoſtates. That if any Man not convicted, but vehemently ſuſpected of Hereſie, be ſentenced to abjure it, or to do publick Penance for the ſame, and ſhall afterward be accuſed of Hereſie, he ſhall be puniſhed, as if he were relapſed into the Crime: That they who have been ſtained with Hereſie, and ſuch like Crimes, even after Reconciliation, ſhall not be admitted to any Honour, publick Place, or Dignity in the State. That he, who has not a Certificate from the Curate of the Pariſh where he laſt lived, be not allowed any Houſe or Habitation; for ſuch are to be reckoned ſuſpected Perſons. That the Governours of Places, and all in Authority under us, do in their ſeveral Provinces and Juriſdictions, make diligent inquiry after thoſe, who ſhall tranſgreſs this Law, as alſo, that they aid and aſſiſt the Inquiſitors and Eccleſiaſtical Judges, in bringing the guilty to condign puniſhment, according to the form preſcribed by us to the Inquiſitors; or otherwiſe, they ſhall ſuffer for it at our pleaſure. That the Attorney General alſo inquire into the Adminiſtration of their Offices, and, if he find them negligent, bring them to a tryal for it, wherein, if they be caſt, that they be turned out of place, or otherwiſe puniſhed, according as ſhall be thought convenient. That Biſhops, Archdeacons, Abbats, and other Rulers of the Church, diligently examine, if any Churchmen be infected with this plague, and ſeverely puniſh

1550.

The Reward of Informers.

puniſh them. That they, who know of any that is infected with Hereſie, or of the places where Hereticks lurk and hide themſelves, do inſtantly preſent them, upon pain of incurring the puniſhment due to Hereticks. That the Informer, if the Information prove true, have the one half of the Goods of the Party convicted; provided, they exceed not the value of ſix hundred Ducats; but if they be worth more than that ſum, that he have then only a tenth part. He that diſcovers private meetings to the Inquiſitor, though he hath been of their counſel, ſhall not be puniſhed, provided he be right in his Religion, and abſtain for the future; but he, who, not being of their Society, does inform againſt them, ſhall have the Reward abovementioned. That Penalties be inflicted in the ſame manner as we have commanded, and that no Man take to himſelf any power to alter or mitigate the ſame, which, we underſtand, is often done; for the Judges that herein offend, ſhall not go unpuniſhed. And foraſmuch as many, who have been accuſed of Hereſie, and cited to appear, have fled, and been outlawed for it, but afterwards, upon the death of their Complices, have uſed to come in, and pray'd, that they might be admitted to juſtifie themſelves, as thinking that the Crime could not be made out againſt them, and by that means being returned, have again ſpread their falſe Doctrine and Errours, to the great prejudice of the publick: It is therefore our will and pleaſure, that no regard be had to their demands, but that all who have not appeared upon Citation, but ſaved themſelves by flight, be held as Perſons convicted and condemned. That they, who intercede for ſuſpected Perſons, Fugitives, Outlaws and Anabaptiſts, be reputed favourers and ſupporters of Hereticks; and that Judges and Governours receive none ſuch into favour, without leave from us or our deareſt Siſter, firſt had and obtained, upon pain of loſing their Places and Commands. That Printers and Bookſellers do not print, publiſh, ſell, or diſperſe any Religious Book or Pamphlet, without a Licenſe from thoſe who ſhall be impowr'd to grant it; and who ſhall anſwer for their own works alſo, if therein they offend. And becauſe there is extant a Catalogue of the Books which the Univerſity of *Louvain* have rejected, that all Booklellers have it hanging up in their Shops, ſo that neither they nor the Buyers who have it before their Eyes, may pretend ignorance; and again, that they have another Catalogue of all their own Books, wherein he that fails ſhall be fined in an hundred Ducats. That no Man either keep School or teach Children, without a Licenſe from the Magiſtrate, and eſpecially the Curates of Pariſhes, and that he teach nothing to Youth, but according to the form preſcribed by the Divines of the Univerſity of *Louvain*.

Many aſtoniſhed at the Emperours Edict, eſpecially thoſe of *Antwerp*.

When the Edict was proclaimed, all Men generally were extreamly ſtartled at it, eſpecially the *German* and *Engliſh* Merchants, who in great numbers traded in the Emperours Towns and Provinces, but chiefly at *Antwerp*. So that they were of the opinion, that either the Edict muſt be moderated, or, that they muſt remove to ſome other place; nay, many ſhut up their Shops, and thought of nothing but flying from the danger. The Common Counſel and private Citizens alſo of *Antwerp*, who ſaw what an incredible loſs that would prove to them, were in great ſtreights, ſo that when the Inquiſitors came thither, they vigorouſly oppoſe them, and making their application to Queen *Mary*, their Governeſs, repreſented to her, how much it concerned not only them, but the whole Country alſo, that the Edict ſhould not be put in execution. Wherefore, by reaſon of the many people of various Nations that then reſided in *Antwerp*, the execution of the Proclamation was for that time ſuperſeded in the very ſame City, for which it was chiefly made. The *Slavonian*, we mentioned before, publiſhed afterward this Edict, Tranſlated into *High Dutch*, and ſeverely taxed *Iſlebius* and the *Adiaphoriſts*, as he calls them, who laboured to perſuade the People, that Religion was not the thing aimed at. As for the commiſſion of Inquiſition, which they called, Inſtructions, it contained a moſt ample power; for they had authority to call before them not only ordinary People, but alſo the Magiſtrates themſelves, and make them ſwear to anſwer what Interrogatories were put to them, and to diſcover all they knew. Now the Queſtions concerning Religion, that were put to thoſe who were accuſed or ſuſpected, were thirty eight in number, of which theſe were ſome; Whether or no they believed the Sacrifice of the Maſs to be Propitiatory for the Dead, ſo as to deliver them out of the pains of Purgatory; If they believed *Peter* to have been the Prince of the Apoſtles, the Vicar of Chriſt, and Pope of the Church of *Rome*, and thoſe who lawfully ſucceed him in his Chair, to be ſo eſteemed alſo; Whether they believe it lawful, to withdraw from under the

The *Slavonian* againſt the *Adiaphoriſts*.

The power of the Inquiſitors.

The Queſtions in the Emperours Edict againſt the *Lutherans*.

the obedience of the Pope, provided, he be not a Heretick or Schiſmatick; If they believe Private Marriage to be lawful; and if they believe the *Lutherans*, *Bucerans*, and the like, to be the Church. 1550.

The *French* Cardinals, who had ſtayed at *Rome* ſome time after the Election of the Pope, now returned home: but *John* Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who had been the darling Companion of King *Francis* all his life time, died upon the Road, after he came back into *France*, but before he had ſeen the King. Upon that occaſion *Robert Cardinal de Lenoncour*, obtained the Biſhoprick of *Metz*, who afterward was thought to have much contributed in bringing the City of *Metz*, which belonged to the Empire, under the Dominion of *France*, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. There was a Decree made in the laſt Seſſion of the Council of *Trent*, That they who had a plurality of Biſhopricks, might reſerve to themſelves which of them they pleaſed, and reſign the reſt, as has been ſaid in the Nineteenth Book; Nevertheleſs, ſo long as *Paul* III. lived, it was never put in execution; but in the Pontificate of this Pope, in *France* the Cardinals made a ſhew of obeying it, but not at all to their prejudice: For, ſince moſt of them had two or three Biſhopricks, and many others aſpired to that Dignity, they made exchanges, and for one Biſhoprick they parted from, got from him they ſurrendered it to, many Abbeys, or other Eccleſiaſtical Promotions in lieu of it.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Companion of King *Francis*, dies. By whom *Metz* betrayed.

In the Month of *July*, *Adolph* Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, having ſtruck up an Accommodation with the Senate, made his entry into that City with extraordinary pomp and ſplendour, all his Vaſſals, Tenants, Kindred and Relations being from all places ſummoned in to give him an honourable Attendance that day; And, as it is ſaid, he had above two thouſand Horſe in his Retinue, the Duke of *Cleve* having brought in a great many. This Duke had a little before a Daughter by his Ducheſs *Mary*, Daughter to King *Ferdinand*. The Godmothers were the Emperours two Siſters, Queen *Eleanor* and Queen *Mary*, and the Elector of *Cologne* Godfather; but not long after, the Duke and Archbiſhop had a grievous falling out, about Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

Adolph Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, makes his entry into that City. The Duke of *Cleve* has a Daughter born.

On the Six and twentieth of *July*, the Emperour opened the Dyet at *Ausburg*; wherein he propounded the proſecution of the Council; the obſervation of the Decree about Religion lately made at *Ausburg*; the puniſhment of the Rebels, and the reſtitution of Church Lands and Juriſdiction, as the maters to be treated of. This alſo was an Armed Dyet, though the State of Affairs was ſomewhat more peaceable now. The Princes there preſent were the Electors of *Mentz* and *Treves*, for the other Electors had ſent their Ambaſſadours: *Wolfgang* Maſter of *Pruſſia*, the Biſhop of *Wirtzburg*, *Aichſtadt*, *Conſtance*, *Trent*, *Cambray*, and *Merſburgh*; None of the reſt of the Princes appeared, except the Duke of *Bavaria*, and at length *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*. Upon debating of the matter, the greater part were for continuing the Council. But Duke *Maurice*'s Repreſentatives declare in their Maſters Name, that he no otherwiſe approved it, than, that all Matters ſhould be reviewed, and handled again of new from the very beginning; That the Divines of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion ſhould not only be heard, but alſo have Deliberative and Deciſive Voices; That the Pope ſhould ſubmit to the Council, and not preſide therein, and releaſe the Biſhops from their Oaths, that they might ſpeak with greater freedom. When this Proteſtation was publickly read, the Ambaſſadour deſired it might be entered upon Record, as the cuſtom was, but it was deny'd, by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who, as Chancellor of the Empire, had the ſole power of doing it; and ſo the Emperour afterward moved the Pope for a Council. On the Seventh of *Auguſt* the Cardinal of *Ausburg* made an invective and bitter Sermon againſt the *Lutherans*; and a few days after, ſome *Spaniards*, in contempt and deriſion of the Citizens, who were then at a Proteſtant Sermon, played ſome tricks in the Church, ſo that it was like to have occaſioned ſome great diſturbance, had not the Burgomaſter or chief Magiſtrate of the City come in in time, and with much dexterity appeaſed and quieted the Tumult. About the later end of *Auguſt*, *Granvell*, who came lately from *Beſanſon* in the *French Conte* to *Ausburg*, died, to the Emperours great grief, as it was reported. He had ſucceeded to Cardinal *Mercurino Catinario*, as we mentioned in the Seventh Book, and now, for the ſpace of twenty years, had been chief Miniſter of State, and the only Perſon, in a manner, whom the Emperour truſted with his ſecret Counſels and Deſigns. His Son, *Anthony* Biſhop of *Arras*, ſucceeded to his Place and Office; a Man of great Learning, who had been already accuſtomed, in his Fathers abſence, to manage Affairs of State, and was very familiar with

Duke *Maurice* his Proteſtation againſt the Council.

The Elector of *Mentz* Chancellor of the Empire.

The Cardinal of *Ausburgs* Sermon againſt the *Lutherans*.

Some *Spaniards* interrupt Divine Service.

The death of *Granvell*.

The Biſhop of *Arras* in great power with the Emperour.

1550. with the Emperour. In the mean time, *Henry*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, beſieged the Town of *Brunſwick*, a place that, upon account of Religion, and ſome other Reaſons, for many Years he had born a grudge to: But after he had haraſſed and ſpoiled their Lands by burning and plundering, and yet was not able to take the Town, at the mediation of ſome perſons, the Emperour commanded both to lay down their Arms, and plead their Cauſe before him. This happened in the Month of *September*.

Brunſwick beſieged.

The Emperour's Army at that time beſieged *Tripoly* in *Barbary*: It was then in the poſſeſſion of *Dragut*, a famous Pirate, who had lately joyned with the *Turk*, and the Emperour's Army was commanded by the Viceroy of *Sicily*; who, after he had for ſome time battered the Town with great Guns, being informed, that *Dragut* was coming with freſh Forces to the Relief of the place, perceived, that there was need of Expedition: Therefore, *September* the tenth, he made a general Aſſault, both by Sea and Land, and ſo took it by Storm. The Knights of *Rhodes*, who fought by Sea, did the Emperour good Service that day; but the *Spaniards*, who were more numerous, and made the Aſſault by Land, got moſt of the Booty and Plunder. Many Priſoners were taken, to the number of about eight Thouſand; who, being put on board of Ships, were carried to *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and other places. The Situation of the Town is ſaid to be very pleaſant, becauſe of the neighbouring Fields and Hills covered with Olive and Palm Trees, and the fair Springs of Water that are about it. They talk of a Country not far from thence, that is exceeding fruitful in Corn, and yieldeth the Husband-man a plentiful encreaſe for his labour. In this War, *Coſmo*, Duke of *Florence*, aſſiſted the Emperour with Forces, commanded by *Jordano Urſini*, and *Aſtori Balio*. But ſeeing Winter was now approaching, and Proviſions could not be had, the Viceroy, leaving there a Gariſon of *Spaniards*, brings the Army back to *Sicily*: After this, *Dragut* fled to the Turk to *Conſtantinople*, and there fomented a new War, which the *Turk* undertook, not only againſt the Emperour, but King *Ferdinand* alſo.

Dragut, a notable Pirate.

Tripoly taken by the Imperialiſts.

The occaſion of a *Turkiſh* War.

Upon the Emperour's Command to the Duke and Senate of *Brunſwick*, to lay down their Arms, both Parties disbanded their Forces: But afterwards, *George*, Duke of *Meckleburg*, the Son of *Albert*, a Youth, who had ſerved under Duke *Henry*, wheadled them all into his Service. The Report was, that the Clergy of *Magdeburg*, and Dignitaries of the Cathedral Church, moſt of them of Noble Extraction, who were enraged againſt the City, had, by great Promiſes and Rewards, engaged him to take upon him the conduct of them and their Forces, and aſſiſt them in taking their Revenge: But that they deny'd, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. Their Archbiſhop, *John Albert*, died lately before, wherefore they were ſaid to have made over the Dominion and Property of the whole Province, if he did ſubdue it, and to have morgaged to him three Caſtles for his Security. So that he began his march through the Country of *Halberſtadt*, and came afterwards into the Province of *Magdeburg*, plundering, burning, and ſpoiling, wherever he paſt; there he ſurpriſed the Town of *Wanſleben*, which he burnt and razed; and having attacked the Caſtle that ſtood hard by, but in vain, and loſt ſome of his men, he marched forward, doing a great deal of miſchief in all places. Wherefore, when the Country people perceived, that their Goods, Cattle, and all they had, were taken from them, they beg help from the Senate of *Magdeburg*, offering to expoſe themſelves to any Danger or Coſt in their own juſt Defence. The Senate therefore ordered them to Muſter, and be in Town by a certain day, which was the one and twentieth of *September*; at which time, a mixed Body of Gariſon Soldiers, Citizens, and Boors, marched out of *Magdeburg*, with three Troops of Horſe, Field-pieces, and Ammunition, and reſted that night two miles from the City. Next morning, before break of day, they decamped, and marching ſtreight towards the Enemy, ſo ſoon as they came in view, drew up their Men, and offered him battel. In the Front were the Citizens and Soldiers, where the danger was thought to be greateſt; and after them, the reſt of the Country rout were poſted. But the Duke of *Meckleburg* obſerving their order, ſuddenly faced about, and beſetting the Boors in the Reer, who were a ſort of ill-armed and unexperienced Soldiers, he charged them, before the reſt could face about and come in to their aſſiſtance. So that they immediately threw down their Arms, and ran for it as faſt as they could, diſordering their Companions Ranks, and ſo making way for the Enemy's Victory. Moſt of them were killed at the firſt Charge, and in the flight; not many of the Citizens and Soldiers were ſlain, but many taken, who, with their Artillery, Waggons, Ammunition, and Baggage, fell into the Enemy's Hands.

At the Emperour's Command, Duke *Henry*, and the Senate of *Brunſwick*, lay down their Arms.

Their Forces were, by the Duke of *Meckleburg*, turn'd againſt the *Magdeburgers*.

The death of *John Albert*, Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*.

George, Duke of *Meckleburg*, waſts the Country of *Magdeburg*.

The *Magdeburgers* engage the Duke of *Meckleburg*.

And are overthrown.

Hands. The Emperour, in the mean time, preſſes home the obſervation of both the Decrees of *Ausburg*, and makes an heavy complaint of the *Magdeburgers* and *Bremers*; for they only, of all the Cities, ſtood it out, although the *Bremers* were not outlawed. But the Princes intercede, and deſire leave to interpoſe for an accommodation; to which the Emperour condeſcending, they write to both Cities on the two and twentieth of *September*, and cite them to appear by the ſecond of *November* at *Ausburg*, giving them ſafe Conduct to come and anſwer for themſelves, and enjoyning them to ſend their Deputies with full power to treat and conclude the matter: A certain Woman of *Ausburg* ſeeing a Prieſt accidentally paſs along the Streets, carrying the Sacrament to a ſick Man with lighted Tapers, as the cuſtom is, out of curioſity asked the Queſtion, What he meant by carrying Lights at Noon day? For this Saying, ſhe was apprehended, and in great danger of her Life; but many Women begging, and the Emperour's Siſter at length interceding for her, ſhe had her Life, but was baniſhed. Now Queen *Mary*, with others, were come thither, that, amongſt other things, ſhe might procure a moderation of the Edict lately publiſhed in the *Low Countries*; for unleſs that were done, ſhe repreſented the great danger that *Antwerp*, the moſt flouriſhing Mart in the World, was in, of loſing all its Traffick and Splendour: And that, beſides, there was great cauſe to fear an Inſurrection all over the Country, if the Proclamation ſhould be executed to the Rigour. With much ado, the Emperour, at length, condeſcended, and having made ſome Alterations in thoſe Heads that concerned Foreign Merchants, he ſtruck out the name of *Inquiſition*, which was generally hated by all, and commanded the other Clauſes to remain in force, and be obſerved. Whilſt the Letters are carrying to *Magdeburg* and *Bremen*, the Princes and States deſire to know of the Emperour, upon what Conditions he was willing to treat with them: He therefore propoſes to the *Bremers*, that they wholly ſubmit themſelves to him, humbly beg Pardon for their Offence, renounce all Leagues and Aſſociations, and make no League for the future, wherein he and all his Family ſhould not be comprehended; that they obey the Imperial Chamber, and contribute their *Quota* to the charges of it; that they agree with their Archbiſhop, and if they cannot, that they ſtand the Verdict of the Arbitrator, that he ſhall appoint; that they compound alſo with all the Clergy, reſtore the great Guns they took from Duke *Erick*, and ſatisfy him for the wrong they had done him; that none within their Juriſdiction ſerve againſt him in the Wars; that they pay an hundred and fifty Thouſand *Florins*, deliver up twenty four Pieces of *Ordnance*, with their Carriages and Appurtenances; and obey the Decree of the former Diet, and Thoſe which now ſhould be decreed. The ſame Conditions, in a manner, were propoſed to the *Magdeburgers*; to which, it was added over and above, that they ſhould anſwer to all Suits of Law, and obey the Sentences pronounced againſt them; that from the time of their firſt Rebellion, they have no action againſt any Man; that their Fortifications and Strengths be demoliſhed; that they receive him, and thoſe who have his Commiſſion, into their City, at any time, and with what number of Forces they pleaſe, without any previous capitulation; that they pay two hundred Thouſand *Florins*, and that they ratify all confiſcations, and not diſturb thoſe, who are in poſſeſſion of confiſcated Goods.

1550.

The Emperour complains of the *Magdeburgers* and *Bremers*.

The Princes write to the *Magdeburgers* and *Bremers*.

A Woman of *Ausburg* in great danger for a raſh word.

The Edict about Religion in the *Netherlands*, moderated at the interceſſion of the Emperour's Siſter.

The Conditions propoſed to the *Bremers*.

And to the *Magdeburgers*.

The news of the Battel of *Magdeburg* preſently flew about far and near, for within ſix days it was brought to the Emperour; and when all Men were of opinion, that now they were almoſt quite ruined, out comes another Declaration of theirs, dated the firſt of *October*. Therein they give a relation of the whole matter, ſaying, That of Citizens and Soldiers they had not loſt above two hundred, and comforting others, when they themſelves were thought to ſtand in need of Conſolation. For by this means, ſay they, God thought fit to try our conſtancy; and of his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy towards us, we make not the leaſt doubt; for though it were his good will and pleaſure that we ſhould be undone, and utterly periſh, yet could there be no harm in that: For how much better is it to run the utmoſt danger, than to ſwerve, from the profeſſion of the Truth, to the Antichriſt of *Rome*? For ſuch, as through Fear, Covetouſneſs, Ambition, or other by-end, relent, ſubmit to the Council of *Trent*, and receive and allow of that wicked Decree of *Ausburg*, ſhall, without all doubt, unleſs they repent, ſuffer moſt heavy Torments, both in this Life, and the everlaſting Life to come: And we know alſo, that God hath ſet Limits and Bounds to our Adverſaries, which they cannot paſs: Wherefore we beſeech all Men, that they would joyn their Prayers with ours, and not take up Arms againſt us; for if we be once cruſhed, all *Germany*, without

The third Declaration and undaunted Courage of the *Magdeburgers*.

1550. diſtinction, muſt expect the ſame Calamity. Which being ſo, the very natural inclination, that all Men have to the ſafety and welfare of their Country, craves at your hands, that you would lend your aſſiſtance to us, who ſuffer for the Doctrine of the Goſpel. This proſperous ſucceſs againſt the *Magdeburgers*, encouraged many others immediately to take up Arms; amongſt theſe, were Duke *Maurice*, the Elector of *Brandeburgh*, his Couſin Marqueſs *Albert*, and Duke *Henry* of *Brunſwick*; the Nobility and Gentry alſo being invited to bring into the Field what Horſe they could. Moſt people were of opinion, that theſe Forces were raiſed, to beat *George*, Duke of *Meckleburg*, out of the Country, and many thought, at firſt, that it was to put a ſtop to his Excurſions: But being all muſtered together, on the fourth of *October* they march, and encamp not far from the Town. The ſixth Night after, they came running on with great ſhouting, as far as the Gates and Town-ditches, to try what the Towns-people could, or durſt, do; but the great Guns firing upon them from the Walls, they loſt many Men, and retreated in great anger to the Camp, ſetting on fire the *Leper's houſe* on the way, contrary to all Military Diſcipline, and the Law of Arms. Next day, the beſieged made a ſally out, and came to a ſlight Skirmiſh; for they were briſk, and, amongſt others, many Perſons of Quality, that were good and experienced Soldiers, flocked thither, out of the hatred they bore to *Henry*, Duke of *Brunſwick*. *October* the twelfth, a Ceſſation of Arms was made, and ſome Commiſſioners came into the City to treat of a Peace; but that proved in vain. In the mean time, the States of the Archbiſhoprick of *Magdeburg*, amongſt whom, the Clergy was the Chief, met at *Hall*, and, *October* the fifteenth, ſent Deputies to the Emperour and Princes of the Empire: So ſoon as theſe came to *Ausburg*, which was ten days after, they bring a heavy accuſation againſt the Senate and People of *Magdeburg*, and in conſideration that Duke *Maurice* had taken into his Service the Forces of the Duke of *Meckleburg*, that they had alſo ſent him Supplies, and that they were not able long to ſupport ſuch Charges; they deſire the Princes to take ſome ſpeedy courſe to quench the common Flame, that both the Soldiers may be paid, and theſe outlaw'd Criminals brought to condign Puniſhment, before they recovered Strength and Courage after their late overthrow, for that otherwiſe the Soldiers would run away to the Enemy; which would put, not only them who were the next Neighbours into preſent danger, but alſo all the States of the Empire: That it was their whole deſign to overturn the Government, and to raiſe a popular Inſurrection all over the Empire; and therefore they propoſed a Supply of eight thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe. The ſame day, the Anſwers of the *Bremers* and *Magdeburgers* to the Princes Letters, we mentioned before, were publickly read; and the *Bremers*, in the firſt place, plead the earneſt deſire they have always had of Peace, and the Emperour's Friendſhip, that for obtaining it, they had not only employed Deputies of their own, but uſed the mediation alſo of the King of *Denmark*, and the Maritime Cities, and that the Conditions propoſed were very hard: But however, that it might appear how great the Emperour's Authority was with them, they would not refuſe to ſend Deputies, and promiſed to do any thing, provided they might be allowed their Religion and Liberty.

Forces againſt the *Magdeburgers*.

A fight at *Magdeburg*.

The beſieged make a ſally out.

A Ceſſation of Arms.

A Deputation ſent to the Emperour againſt *Magdeburg*.

The *Bremers* Letter to the Princes at *Auſtburg*.

The Anſwer of the *Magdeburgers*.

The *Magdeburgers* again alledge, that, in the former Dyet, they had made moſt humble and earneſt ſuit to the Emperour for a Peace; but that the Conditions were intolerable, and the Wrongs, ſince that time they ſuſtained, ſo grievous, that finding no end nor meaſure of ſuffering Injuries, they had been neceſſitated to reſiſt force by force, but ſtill moderately: That the cauſe why they were ſo much hated, was only, that they deſired to retain the true Doctrine, and eſchew Idolatry: That, as affairs ſtood, they could find none that would undertake to go in their Name with full power to the Diet againſt the Day appointed, as they were commanded: That beſides, *George*, Duke of *Meckleburg*, had unexpectedly made War upon them, and declared openly, that he did it by command from the Emperour and Empire: That now alſo the City was blockt up by the Enemy; but that if theſe did withdraw, and ſafe Conduct were given to their Deputies, with liberty to return and make a report of their Demands, they would not refuſe to ſend ſome. About the beginning of *November*, *Ulrick*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*, died, whilſt the ſuit which he had with King *Ferdinand*, as we ſaid before, was ſtill depending, and his Son *Chriſtopher* ſucceeded him. When the Emperour had received the Anſwers of the two Cities, he ſaid, the *Bremers* were to be expected, becauſe they had promiſed to come; but as to the *Magdeburgers*, ſince the matter was quite otherwiſe than what they ſaid, and becauſe they anſwered with a kind of

The death of *Ulrick*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*.

con-

contempt, he bids them proceed, in conſulting what was to be done with them, and chiefly, that they ſhould take the Demands of the States of the Biſhoprick into their ſerious conſideration, and do therein what they ſhould think fit, both for the welfare and dignity of the Empire. The Princes and States eaſily perceived, that no Peace could ever be made upon theſe Conditions, and therefore they deſired eaſier Terms might be propoſed; but the Emperour perſiſted in his purpoſe. So they, at laſt, though much againſt the minds of many, eſpecially of the free Towns, aſſent and promiſe Aſſiſtance, but, on the other hand, they pray the Emperour, that he would alſo contribute: And then, that if he could not command in perſon, he would appoint a General to carry on this War; and for that end, propoſe to him Duke *Maurice*, if he thought fit; but as for the Charges of it, it was their judgment, that they ſhould be paid out of the Money already raiſed for the future occaſions of the Publick. The Emperour, on his part, made anſwer, That he had been at vaſt Charges in the former War, to reſtore Peace to *Germany*, and therefore deſires them to take it into their Conſideration: That as to Duke *Maurice*, he was very well pleaſed, nor did he know any man, at that time, more fit for the Charge than he was, and that for ſeveral Reaſons: But that Money ſhould be taken out of the publick Treaſury, he ſo far approved and allowed it, as, that what was taken out, ſhould within a certain time be refunded again, for that that Money was not raiſed for this uſe; and he exhorted them to proſecute the matter with all their Force, that they might be puniſhed according to their Deſervings; which was eaſy enough to be done, he told them, if Caſtles and Redoubts were raiſed about the Town, and the Siege vigorouſly carried on without intermiſſion, till they were forced to yield; but that there was need of expedition, becauſe of the ſeaſon of the Year, and the opportunity of Action: For that if that headſtrong and obſtinate Rebellion were not ſuppreſſed, it was obvious to them, how much it would redound to the prejudice and diſgrace of the Empire. So then, Duke *Maurice*, who, as we ſaid, had already thruſt himſelf into Action, having muſtered the Forces under him, is now publickly entruſted with the management of the War: For defraying the Charges whereof, a Subſidy is granted of threeſcore Thouſand *Florin's* a Month, and an hundred Thouſand allotted for the Charges already made. The Emperour, in the next place, aſſured the Princes, That the Council ſhould be again continued at *Trent* before *Eaſter*, for that he had the Pope's Promiſe for it. In the mean time, he urges the Decree of *Auſburg*, and bids them tell him the Reaſons, why the Regulations that were made two Years before, for the Reformation of Religion, and the Clergy, were not obſerved? The Electoral Archbiſhops anſwer, That they had not omitted any thing, and were at preſent wholly taken up about it; but that the cauſe why it did not take effect, was the Exemptions and Privileges that ſome pretended to. The Repreſentatives of the abſent Electors, ſaid, That all Endeavours had been uſed, but that an inveterate continuance had withſtood the effect; for that this Religion was not ſo ſoon to be pluckt out of Men's minds, but that there was need of Inſtruction, and bringing them over by degrees, who were fully perſuaded, that that Decree was, in many things, repugnant to the Holy Scriptures; that no violent Change could be made, without Troubles and Stirs; and that, if any Man ſhould conſtrain the Preachers to it, there would be no Service in the Churches; for that hardly any one could be found that would ſtoop to it, becauſe of that Article of Celibacy, and of the Lord's Supper. The other Princes and States of the Catholick Religion, give for Reaſons, the Schools and Colleges, wherein the Youth is not rightly Educated; the Proteſtant Miniſters, who frighten the People from that Decree; the Poverty of Prieſts, and the Negligence of the Magiſtrates; that the diſſolute and impure Lives of ſome Church-men alſo, was a great hinderance; and laſtly, that many, in ſcandalous Books and Pamphlets, did ſcurrilouſly rail and inveigh againſt the Decree, without any Puniſhment. Pope *Julius* having been often importuned by the Emperour, about the thirteenth of *November* iſſued forth his Bull of Indiction for calling of the Council, affirming it to be in his power to call and direct Councils. That he was deſirous alſo to procure the Peace of *Germany*, which had been always moſt dutiful to the Catholick Church, and Popes of *Rome*, who are Chriſt's Vicars upon Earth: That therefore all ſhould come by the firſt of *May* to *Trent*, who by any right, cuſtom, or privilege, ought to have place there, and whom *Paul* the Third formerly called, when he ſummoned the Council to meet at the ſame place; for that from that day forward the Council ſhould be continued: And that if by reaſon of Age, Sickneſs, or publick Affairs, he could not come and preſide therein

1550.

A cruel Decree againſt the *Magdeburgers.*

Duke *Maurice* General of the War againſt *Magdeburg:*

Which the Emperour is earneſt ſhould be proſecuted.

The Emperour deſires to know the Reaſons why the *Interim* was not obſerved.

The Cauſes why the Decree was not obſerved.

The Anſwer of the Deputies and Catholick Princes to theſe things.

Pope *Julius* his Bull for calling the Council.

1550. in perſon, yet he would do ſo by his Legates. This Bull he afterwards ſent to the Emperour.

Duke *Maurice* attacks the *Magdeburgers.*

Duke *Maurice*, being now *Generaliſſimo* of the Imperial Forces againſt *Magdeburg*, vigorouſly perſued the Enterpriſe, and having built ſome Caſtles and Redoubts, for lodging the Soldiers in the Winter time, about the end of *November* he attack'd the Town. The City is divided into three parts; one of which, that is called the *New Town*, he ſurprized, by ſcaling the Walls and Gates, with great ſilence, in the Night time, and gave no Alarm before he had brought in his Soldiers. The Towns-people rouzed by the Noiſe, were, ſuch of them as were in Arms, put to the Sword, and the reſt being taken and plundered, were turned out. But the *Magdeburgers*, that they might force the Enemy from that advantageous Poſt, ſent Soldiers to ſet fire to it, on that ſide which belonged to them; and afterwards burnt the other part of the Town alſo which is called *Sudeburg*, and received the Inhabitants into the City. Much about this time, *Lazarus Schuendi* came to the Camp, that, in the Emperour's Name, he might aſſiſt Duke *Maurice* with his Counſel. At that time, Count *Heideck*, whom, as has been ſaid, the Emperour proſcribed two Years before, was in *Saxony*; where he, and *Albert* Count *Mansfield*, were raiſing Forces in the Neighbouring Cities, which are called the *Maritime Towns* for the Relief of the *Magdeburgers.* Duke *Maurice* therefore, in the Month of *December*, marches againſt them with part of the Army, and diſperſes them, taking four Companies of their Men into his Service; the ſame he did afterward to Count *Heideck*, as ſhall be related hereafter. On the fourteenth of *December*, the Emperour publiſhed a very long and ſevere Edict againſt the *Magdeburgers*, charging all Men not to aid nor aſſiſt them, and commanding the Officers and Soldiers that were in the Town, within fourteen days after ſight of his Proclamation to depart out of the City, and to certify the ſame to Duke *Maurice*, or, in his abſence, to *Lazarus Schuendi*; upon promiſe of Pardon, if they obeyed; but if otherwiſe, upon pain of his heavieſt diſpleaſure. *Albert* Count *Mansfield* was in the Town, who had not, indeed, been Outlaw'd by the Emperour, but was turned out of all, for his having continued, to the laſt, true and faithful to *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*.

Mansfield and *Heideck* defeated by Duke *Maurice.*

The Emperour's Edict againſt the *Magdeburgers.*

We told you, that the Emperour, upon his going to *Ausburg* from the *Netherlands*, had left the *Landgrave* Priſoner at *Mechline*. The Elector of *Brandenburg*, and Duke *Maurice*, had indeed earneſtly ſolicited his Enlargement; but they were told, that both he himſelf, and his Sons and Counſellors, did ſo behave themſelves, that he could not as yet be ſet at liberty; nay, his Keepers alſo told him, that he was to be carried to *Spain*. He therefore craved the aſſiſtance of his Sons, whom he minded of the Duty they owed to him, and charged them to enter their Action againſt the Elector of *Brandeburg*, and Duke *Maurice*, and force them to make their appearance, according to the tenor of their Obligation, and to fulfil their promiſe. His Sons obey, and, by frequent Meſſages, admoniſh and cite them. They again, ſometimes joyntly, and ſometimes ſeverally, now by Meſſengers, and then in Perſon, excuſe themſelves, ſhewing them, that it was neither for their own, nor Father's, Intereſt, to do ſo, and after alledge new Reaſons, which gave them confidence, that he might be ſet at liberty without any danger: They therefore begg'd Pardon, and that they would have a little longer patience. But the Emperour, who, as has been ſaid, had by *De Lire* ſolicited the *Landgrave* before to deliver up the Letters Obligatory, being again put to it, ſent *Lazarus Schuendi* to his Sons and Counſellors, commanding them, not only to deſiſt for the future from ſuing Duke *Maurice*, and the Elector of *Brandeburg*, but alſo to ſend him all Papers and Obligation of that nature, and to let fall their Action, under the ſevereſt Penalties; but this was all in vain. By publick Letters alſo he diſcharges the Princes engaged, and declares them free from all obligation. When therefore the *Landgrave* ſaw no hopes remaining, he reſolved at all ventures to make his eſcape if he could, and caſt about, and deviſed how he might effect it with his Servants, whom he had ſent for out of *Heſs*, and were ſome of them Gentlemen of good Families; but they, fearing the danger, went but ſlackly about the buſineſs. At length, he prevails with two of them, *Conrad Bredenſtein*, and *John Rommelun*, theſe laid freſh Horſes all the way from *Heſs* to *Mechline*, for him to fly upon, and make his eſcape: But the deſign took vent through the fault of a Servant of his own, who in familiarity blabb'd it out to a friend of his at *Mechline*, that within a few hours his Maſter would be at liberty. This being carried from hand to hand, came at length to the Captain of the Guard's ears, and ſo the deſign was baulked, in the very nick when it was to have been put in execution. Two of his Ser-

The *Landgrave*'s Sons ſue in behalf of their Father.

Lazarus Schuendi ſent by the Emperour to the *Landgrave*'s Sons, &c.

The *Landgrave* thinks of making his eſcape.

But the deſign is diſcovered.

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Servants were therefore run through upon the ſpot, ſome others taken and beheaded, and he himſelf made a cloſe Priſoner. The Emperour was highly diſpleaſed at this attempt, and wrote to Duke *Maurice*, and the Elector of *Brandeburg*, telling them, That ſo bold an enterpriſe was injurious, both to him and his Government, and that he would, ſeverely, revenge himſelf upon thoſe that therein had aſſiſted him, either with aid or counſel. They ſent Copies of theſe Letters, to Prince *William*, the *Landgrave*'s Son, and, amongſt other things, acquaint him, that if any ſuch thing were attempted for the future, they would be abſolved from all obligation unto them. Nevertheleſs, Duke *Maurice* comforting them under hand, told them, That he would venture, not only all his Fortunes, but Life and Blood alſo, for their Fathers freedom, and that then it would be a fit time to ſurrender body for body, when the ſtate of Affairs ſhould be ſuch, that the diſpleaſure of ſome men needed not ſo much to be feared. *December* the nineteenth, all the Horſe and Foot within *Magdeburg*, but what were upon the Guard, ſally out of the Town, after midnight, that they might fall upon a party of the Enemies Horſe, that lay in a Village not far off. It was, indeed, a dangerous attempt, becauſe they were to march betwixt the Enemies Camps; however, it ſucceeded: For before the Enemy could Arm, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the Village, and ſet Fire to it in ſeveral places, all of them having white Shirts over their Armour. Of the Enemy, who ever made any reſiſtence were killed, moſt of them being Perſons of Quality: Many fought from the Houſes, but theſe being ſet on fire, were burnt: Many Gentlemen, of Quality, were taken, and preſently carried to the Town, with about two hundred and ſixty Horſes. Next Morning, when by break of Day, they were upon their reteat homewards, they met a party of Horſe, commanded by *George* Duke of *Mecklenburg*, who preſently charged them, but being beſet, by the Horſe, on the Front, and the Foot on the Rear, he himſelf, who firſt began the War, was made Priſoner, and carried into the Town.

The Emperours Letters to Duke *Maurice* and *Brandeburg*, concerning the *Landgrave*'s flight.

Duke *Maurice* comforts the *Landgrave*'s Sons, promiſing his utmoſt endeavours.

The *Magdeburgers* ſally out, and get the Victory.

The Duke of *Meckleburg* taken.

Now about this time, *Maximilian*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, the Emperours Son-in-Law, created King of *Bohemia* in his abſence, returned from *Spain*, and came to *Ausburg*, being recalled by King *Ferdinand* his Father, who then began to have ſome claſhing with the Emperour, about the Succeſſion to the Empire, for which cauſe alſo, it is ſaid, that the Emperour had ſent for his Siſter, *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, who returned thither in *January*, having parted from thence the *September* before, that ſhe might interpoſe her Intereſt. For the Emperour, who knew of what moment it would be, to unite *Germany* to the other vaſt Territories and Dominions, which his Son was to Inherit, had a deſign to lay the Foundation of a ſpreading Monarchy, and entail it upon his Heir, by the acceſſion of the Empire. But King *Ferdinand*, who aimed at the ſame thing, thought it no ways reaſonable to ſuffer his own and Childrens expectation and advantage, to be fruſtrated or empaired. Beſides, *Maximilian*, who was a Prince of excellent temper, and every way accompliſh'd, ſpoke many Languages well, but eſpecially, High Dutch, was very much favoured and beloved of the People.

Maximilian's return into *Germany*.

The Emperour and King *Ferdinand*'s emulation for the Empire.

Maximilian beloved of all.

The Bull of Indiction of the Council, we mentioned before, was, by the Popes command, publiſhed at *Rome*, about the end of *December*. There were many things in it, that might give offence, as, that it belonged to him to rule Councils, that he called himſelf the Vicar of Chriſt, that he would have the proceedings continued, and not to be begun again of new: That he took to himſelf the Place and Authority of Preſident; and that he ſeemed only to invite Men of his own Profeſſion. The Emperour, as it was ſaid, obſerved theſe things, when the Bull was brought unto him, and deſired him to mollifie ſome things in it, that were too rough: For, it was thought, he was afraid, leſt the Germans, ſplitting upon that Rock, would either reject the Indiction, or ſtart delays and impediments to the Work, which he had brought about, with ſo much labour and pains. I will not affirm this to be true, and ſuch counſels are commonly concealed: But if it be true, it is certain, he obtained nothing; For the Pope publiſhed it in the ſame Form I mentioned, without changing a word: And there were not wanting ſome, who thought that he did it purpoſely, that he might terrifie the Germans from coming to the Council, or, if they came, hold them entangled and foreclоſed. This was the Artifice, as it's ſaid, of *Paul* III, as we mentioned in the ninth Book, that when he had learned from his Emiſſaries, what the Proteſtants would admit of, and what refuſe, upon his calling of the Council

Pope *Julius* his Bull offended many.

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The *Magdeburgers* are ſolicited to ſurrender.

At that time Duke *Maurice*, and the Elector of *Brandeburg*, propoſe Conditions of Peace to the *Magdeburgers*, requiring them to ſurrender, and ſubmit themſelves to them, and their Archbiſhop: That if they would do ſo, they ſhould ſtill retain their Religion, and the Doctrine heretofore profeſſed at *Ausburg*, that they ſhould loſe nothing of their Privileges, Rights nor Liberties, that the Fortifications of the Town, and every Man's private Eſtate ſhould be ſafe, and that no force ſhould be uſed againſt any Man: Moreover, they promiſe to intercede with the Emperour, that he would recal the Out-lawry, but upon theſe Conditions; that as other Princes, and free Towns had done, ſo they alſo ſhould humbly beg pardon of his Imperial Majeſty, that they ſhould deliver him up ſixteen pieces of Ordnance, and pay an hundred thouſand Florins, to redeem their confiſcated Goods; which ſum of Money they alſo promiſed to advance for them: That they ſhould reſtore to the Church-men their Poſſeſſions; that they themſelves would judge of the hurt done on either ſide, of the Habitations of the Clergy, and Ceremonies of the Cathedral Church. That to incline the Emperour to condeſcenſion, they muſt receive a Gariſon into the Town; until he ratified the Treaty, and the other Conditions ſhould be performed: That it ſhould be their care, that the Gariſon Soldiers did not commit abuſes: But that if the Emperour rejected theſe Conditions, they would preſently draw out the Gariſon, and leave them the Town, in as ſafe and good a condition, as they had received it. However, the Senate refuſed to ſurrender, and would not admit of a Gariſon. In the Month of *December*, the States of the Archbiſhoprick of *Magdeburg*, but chiefly the Clergy, publiſhed a Declaration in the Vulgar Tongue, againſt the Senate, and People of *Magdeburg*; alleaging, that antiently, and by right, they belonged to the Juriſdiction of them, and the Archbiſhop, which might be made out by the Letters and Charters of the Emperour, *Otho* the Firſt: That the truth was, they had done many things ſawcily and inſolently, eſpecially againſt the Archbiſhops, *Burcart* and *Gunther*; but that they had been reduced to their Duty, and made to ſuffer for it, as was evident from Hiſtory. When, ſay they, *Erneſt* of *Saxony*, firſt, and then *Albert*, of *Brandeburg*, were Archbiſhops, all Controverſies were made up and ended, but they kept not Covenants: And as often, as the Biſhops, with common conſent of the reſt of the States, enacted any thing for the Publick good, they always ſhifted it off, and drove at this, that they might skrew themſelves into Authority, and give Law to the reſt. And when Cardinal *Albert* had his Couſin *John Albert* given him for a Co-adjutor, they not only not-approved it, but alſo refuſed to give him his Name and Title, though they had been often called upon to do ſo. And when after the death of *Albert* he ſucceeded, they would neither acknowledge him for their Biſhop, nor do homage to him, perſiſting in that obſtinacy, ſo long as he lived, though many, Great Men, often interceded. Now their deſign in ſo doing, was, that they themſelves might invade the chief Government; as may eaſily appear to any, that will conſider their actions. And though, in the Declaration, they publiſhed, with a deſign to raiſe Commotions, they endeavour to perſuade the People, that they are faultleſs, and innocent, and that they ſuffer only for Truth's ſake, and Religion; yet it is quite otherwiſe. For neither have they been any ways letted in their Religion, though they ſeized our Churches: Who bore with them patiently, becauſe they promiſed to anſwer for what they had done, in a lawful Council: But they, not ſatisfied therewith, combined into a Confederation and League, which was not lawful for them to do, without the conſent of us, and the Archbiſhop, according to Compacts made; and would force us to be of their Religion. From whence it is apparent enough, that it was not Religion, but Church-Lands they wanted, and that they acted ſo, that they might cloak their Rebellion and Perfidie with ſome honeſt pretext. Many things have they ſeditiouſly done againſt the Emperour, and States of the Empire, nor can all be reckoned up; only we'll touch at thoſe things which properly concern us. And in the firſt place, about four years ſince, in prejudice of their Faith, and Engagements, whereby they ſtood bound to us, they gave us open defiance, and, having invaded our Houſes and Poſſeſſions, baniſhed us, and committed ſome of our number to priſon, where ſome are ſtill detained, and others died: More than that, they razed our Houſes to the very ground, reduced, under their own Power,

The Declaration of the Clergy of *Magdebug* againſt the Senate.

The actions of the Inhabitants of *Magdeburg* againſt the Clergy.

Power, Towns, Lands, and Governments, which belonged to our Juriſdiction, and having fortified their Town, that they might the more ſafely rebel, they impoſed a Monthly Aſſeſſment and other burdens upon the People; Churches and Religious Houſes, they partly demoliſhed, and partly defaced, converted the Bells, taken out of the Steeples, into great Guns, dug up the dead Bodies, not only of Prieſts and Monks, but alſo of the Nobility and Gentry, and with them filled up their Works and Ramparts: Statues, Altars, and the Monuments of the Dead, they took and built into their Walls: Out of the Churches that remained entire, they drove all Religious Worſhip: They plundered the Churches of all their Ornaments and Jewels, and of all the Writings, and Records, they found therein, driving the Prieſts, and other Officers of the Church, with Fiſts and Clubs out of God's houſe, and from his very Altars. In ſeveral places they have impoſed new Cuſtoms and Duties, quite contrary to the uſage of the Country: Nay more, in a tumultuary manner, they broke down the Monument and Sepulcher of our Founder, the Emperour *Otho* the Great. And theſe are all Domeſtick Villanies: But not herewith contented, they broke into the Biſhoprick of *Halberſtadt*, and there ranſacking the Monaſtery of *Hamerſleber*, drove the Prieſts from the Altars, where they were officiating, of whom they wounded ſome, and killed others, and profaning all things Sacred, they trampled under foot the Conſecrated Hoſte: Afterwards having put themſelves into the Habit of Monks, and ſo acted many ſcornful and outragious parts, they returned home loaded with ſpoils and booty: But without any cauſe they broke down a Banck, or Dike, which coſt a vaſt charge in making, and was very uſeful in thoſe places, burning and breaking down the Bridges, that no body might paſs that way: They lay in wait, alſo, for our lives, and do ſo ſtill, ſo that, without danger, we can neither live at home, nor be abroad with our Friends: And if they ſuſpected any to have entertained us in their Houſes, they ſet upon them in the night time, robbed them of their Goods, and carried away many Gentlemen Priſoners, ſome of whom they rackt and tortured: Many Ladies, alſo, and young Virgins, they ſtript of all their Apparel and Ornaments, and put them in fear of their Lives, nor did they refrain their hands from young Children neither: In ſhort, hardly do we think, that any ſuch Example of cruelty can be ſhewn amongſt the Turks; and if an eſtimate were taken of what they have made of our Goods, and of the damage they have done, it would be found to amount to the value of, at leaſt, eight hundred thouſand Florins: Not to mention, in the mean time, the reproachful railings they have uſed, and the ſcandalous, and defamatory *Libels and Pictures*, they have ſet forth, in contempt and ſcorn of the Emperour, and *States of the Empire*; nor the injuries, that for almoſt twenty ſeven whole years paſt, we have ſuffered from them. For they have thrown Stones and kennel-Dirt at us, ſet upon us in the Streets with horrid clamour and noiſe, chaſed and hunted us from place to place, many times ſet fire to our Houſes, and Doors, in the night time, with Stones broke our Glaſs Windows; and in ſhort, uſed all the inſolencies againſt us, that they could deviſe. It is but four years ſince, that we having met in our College, at the deſire of the Conſuls, they required of us firſt, that we would profeſs the ſame Religion that they did: And then that for the preparations of War, we ſhould, in a Weeks time, pay them down twenty thouſand Florins: Afterwards they entred the Church, whither the Citizens came flocking in great numbers, and there in a tumultuary manner caſt out the Prieſts, ſhut the Church Doors, and demanded of the inferiour ſort of Prieſts, a great ſum of Money, which they not being able to pay, they chaſed them out of the Town, and baniſhed them. After the ſelf-ſame manner alſo, they treated the other Church-men, ſeizing into their hands all their Lands, Goods and Poſſeſſions: Wherein they have tranſgreſſed, not only the Laws of God and Man, but alſo their own Promiſes and Compacts. For we are their Magiſtrates, and it is to us chiefly, they owe their Wealth and Fortunes. But when *George* Duke of *Meckleburg* took lately into his ſervice the Forces, that had ſerved, both in the beſieging, and defending of *Brunſwick*, to the number of above three thouſand Men, and without our knowledge made an inrode into the Country, about *Magdeburg* and *Halberſtadt*: They, truly, with a great deal of arrogance, came out of the Town, with intent, firſt, to drive out the Enemy, and then to turn all the force of their Arms againſt us, that they might utterly deſtroy us. For they had two Tuns full of Halters, and had hired Executioners, with their Swords, that they might hang up ſome, and behead all the reſt. But through God's Bleſ-

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The value of the damage received.

ſing,

1550. ſing, it fell out quite otherwiſe. For though they were about eight thouſand ſtrong, yet they were overthrown, and above two thouſand killed, and amongſt thoſe, many innocent Men, whom they had partly feared, and partly wheadled, into their ſervice, eight Colours, with all their Artillery, Ammunition and Baggage taken. Now they endeavour to make us the cauſe of this War, and ſay, That at our inſtigation, the Duke of *Meckleburg* took up Arms: But it is falſe, for many times before, and ſince the Battel, we ſent Deputies to treat of Peace, and deſire nothing elſe at preſent, than that they might make their Peace with the Emperour, and ſuffer us to live peaceably and quietly at home, as in former times we did. But ſeeing they reject all offers of Peace, and by unjuſt violence detain from us our Caſtles, Towns and Villages, we are conſtrained to take ſome courſe, to recover them again. Now all that they alleage, and publiſh, in their own juſtification, is utterly falſe, as is commonly known. For we did not diſturb, nor moleſt them, in the Exerciſe of their Religion, and when lately, the moſt Illuſtrious Princes, Duke *Maurice*, and *Joachim*, Elector of *Brandeburg*, propoſed reaſonable Conditions of Peace unto them, they proudly rejected them, and ſallying out, in the night time, fell upon an Aged Gentleman a Bed, in his own Houſe, without any offence given, and when, with very much ado, he had eſcaped half naked, they plundered his Houſe, robbed his Wife and Children of all their Cloaths, and having threatned many times to kill them, left them naked, ſo that a Gentleman happening at that time to come, was fain to cover the Lady with his own Garment. The truth is, it cannot be expreſſed in few words, what outrages they committed that night. They have made their brags alſo, and that not obſcurely too, that it is in vain for us to expect reſtitution, for having raiſed their Fortunes with our Lands and Goods, they are accuſtomed now to an higher rate of living, and cannot be eaſily brought to reſtore the Poſſeſſions of other Men. Which being ſo, and ſeeing, to paſt injuries they add preſent contempt, and are wholly bent upon our deſtruction, we could not but give this ſhort account of their noble Actions. Wherefore, it ought not to ſeem ſtrange to any man, if courſes now be taken to reduce them to their Duty. For, whoever love the Civil State, and common Society of Mankind, cannot but have an averſion to them, and ſo be far from ſuccouring or aſſiſting them. In the ſame manner, they had, a little before, accuſed them by their Deputies at *Torgaw*, where Duke *Maurice* held then a Convention of States, upon account of this War.

The *Magdeburgers* anſwer to the Accuſations of the Clergy.

But not many days after, the ſame Month, the Senate made anſwer by a publick Declaration; that they did not ſuppoſe all the States, of the Archbiſhoprick, made this complaint of them, but that it proceeded wholly from the Clergy. For it is a great grief to them, ſay they, that the Purity of the Goſpel is preach'd up amongſt us, that their our naughtineſs is detected, and dignity abaſed: And this is the ſource of all their hatred. This hath egged them on to accuſe us falſly to the Emperour, that, being outlawed by him, we might lie the more expoſen to injuries. We have not, truly, offended the Emperour in any thing, and, ſaving our Religion and Liberty, there is nothing, but what he might expect from us. We are, indeed, bound to the Archbiſhops of this City, but upon certain Conditions, to wit, that they impeach not our Rights and Liberties; and theſe Conditions we have not violated: But our Adverſaries adviſed *John Albert*, the Archbiſhop, to demand ſome things that were new and unſual: Wherefore, we refuſed to do homage unto him: However, they have no great cauſe to inſtance him; for neither were they themſelves faithful unto him, and it much grieved them, when in former years they ſaw a way made for him, to enter into the Archbiſhoprick; for they would rather have had him excluded: Now we are not ſubject, nor any ways bound to them: And ſo long as the Compacts of the laſt Age were obſerved, we refuſed no kind of Duty; but after that, theſe began to be laid aſide, we withſtood it, and many Quarrels have ariſen from thence. When of late years alſo, new ways were now and then found out, to raiſe Money in this Province, we openly oppoſed it in the publick Conventions, ſhewing, that it was a thing never attempted by former Archbiſhops, though all we could do was in vain. For a great part of that, went, as a prey, amongſt ſome of the States, but eſpecially the Clergy. This is that refractarineſs, which they object to us. They went out of the City, but of their own accord, and prompted to it by a certain kind of pride, when they ſaw that the Duke of *Saxony*, and *Landgrave* were overcome: For then they thought, the time was come, when they ſhould have their hearts deſire, invade the Government, and live, again, at their

wonted

wonted rate of impurity. We did not, indeed, drive them out, and though ſome of our Miniſters, would now and then inveigh againſt the filthy, and diſſolute, couſe of life they led, yet, for many years, they lived with all ſafety amongſt us, and now, but very lately, ſome of them dwelt in the City. Now, if we had had a mind to have uſed any force upon them, it had been no hard matter to have been done: But we attempted no ſuch thing, and when the ſtate of our Affairs was ſuch, that we had reaſon, and were conſtrained to fear hoſtilities, we called a Convocation of the Chapter of the Cathedral Church, and that ſince the Light of the Goſpel was made manifeſt, and that God alſo requires the Profeſſion of it; we earneſtly entreated them, as we had done many time before, that they themſelves would chuſe ſome learned Divine, to preach the Word of God in the Cathedral Church: That that, in it ſelf, was a very pious Work, and would much conduce to the ſettling of mutual good will, and friendſhip, betwixt them and the Towns-people: But upon their refuſal to do it, we procured it to be done. And becauſe the Enemy was at hand, and had already entred our Frontiers, we deſired of them, that they would advance a certain ſum of Money, ſend no Letters out of the Town, remain with us, and uſe and enjoy their own Poſſeſſions: But not long after, they removed, and being afterwards importuned, by us, to ſend Deputies at a day prefixed to *Salfield*, with whom we might treat, they ſcornfully rejected the Conference. Wherefore, ſince they thus expreſſed their hatred and enmity to us, we were forced to requite them in the ſame manner: Though, if they had tarried with us, all this trouble might have been avoided: But they were inflamed with malice againſt us, and were ſtill hatching ways to ruine and deſtroy us: So that we were neceſſitated to take up Arms for our own defence. For if we had not ſeized their Villages and Towns, there had been a place of refuge left for the Enemy. And ſeeing theſe Lands belong to the Church of *Magdeburg*, not to thoſe who perſecute the Church, they may very well be imployed, in the defence of Religion, againſt falſe Doctrine and Idolatry: Nor is that a thing without Precedents in former Ages. We are, indeed, outlawed by the Emperour, but for no fault of ours, as we have, many times, heretofore declared: But this Fortune and Caſe is common to us, with the Prophets, with the Apoſtles, and with Chriſt himſelf, who were perſecuted and afflicted for Truths ſake, as Seditious, Rebels, and the worſt of Men. We have ſupplicated the Emperour, that he would ſpare us our Religion and Liberty, but all has been in vain hitherto; and what all their Counſels and Intrigues drive at, we have ſufficiently made appear in our former Declarations: And, indeed, the thing ſpeaks it ſelf, that the grand and ſole deſign on foot, is, to eſtabiſh wicked Popery again. The Controverſie hath, oftner than once, been brought to a Conference, and ſome meetings there have been for that end, but we had no ſatisfaction given us, as to the very chief Points, the Deputies telling us, That they had no power to act in that Affair. We are really grieved, and that heartily too, that any Man ſhould, for our ſake, ſuſtain prejudice, but we make no doubt, but that ſuch as are good and godly Men, will think the ſame as we do, and that all things are to be ſuffered, rather than to forſake the Truth. For ſince Chriſt, ſo long ago, foretold the Croſſes and Inconveniences that attend this Profeſſion, and at the ſame time promiſed eternal Rewards to thoſe who forſake Wives, Children and Poſſeſſions for his ſake, why do we not truſt to thoſe ſure and ample promiſes? The truth is, they who ſlacken, and give back, and avoid diſpleaſures, for fear of their own danger, draw upon themſelves eternal damnation, unleſs they do repent. What our Adverſaries object to us, may be very well, and truly, retorted upon themſelves. For they lead a filthy, ſcandalous, and beaſtly Life, and in thoſe places, where they bear rule, hardly can the Men defend the Chaſtity of their Wives and Daughters. We impoſed a little Money, indeed, upon the People, but not with that ſeverity they pretend. As to what they ſay of Cuſtoms, they might have had a clearer Anſwer, if they had ſpoken more clearly; we cut through the Dyke, they mention, though it belongs not to them, for a publick convenience: For it was a kind of a ſhort cut, to come and do miſchief within our Territories, and it was an uſual thing for Robbers to retreat with their booty that way, and ſo get out of danger. They cry out, that we have treated the Neighbouring Gentry in an hoſtile manner: But what ever we have done that way, has been forced from us, after that, for a year and more, we had born with injuries from many. What they ſay of Women, and young Maids, we utterly deny: And ſuch of the Gentry, as were made Priſoners

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1550. by us, we diſmiſſed, with their Servants, without any Ranſom, and the Matter has been agreed and compounded betwixt us. They ſwell the value of Loſſes received to a very high pitch, and ſet down the ſum of eight hundred thouſand Florins: What if we, on the other hand, ſhould ſhew them to what miſery they have reduced us? Pictures, and the like, came out privately, and by ſtealth, not all from one place, and yet all the blame is laid upon us: But it is certainly true, that we gave ſtrict charge, by Orders and Proclamations, affixed on publick places, that no man ſhould offer to do any thing ſaucily againſt the Emperour, or any other Prince; And ſome were alſo puniſhed for ſo doing. We do not deny, but that other Books have been printed and publiſhed amongſt us, whereby Idolatry has been battered, and the Conſciences of many comforted and diverted. That we have received an overthrow, we acknowledge, it being the good Will and Pleaſure of God, not to deſtroy us, but to bring us to an amendment of Life. Thoſe, who were killed, died in a good cauſe, fighting for the Glory of God, and the ſafety of their Country: Nor do we queſtion, but that God, in his own due time, will look mercifully upon us, and puniſh alſo our Adverſaries. But neither was this a chance of Fortune, as they pretend. For by preſents and promiſes, they allured in *George* Duke of *Meckleburg*; and, in the mean time, by a ſingular fetch of cunning, called a Convention of the other States of the Archbiſhoprick to meet at *Stasfurt*, to conſult, what courſe was to be taken for driving out of the Country thoſe Robbers, as then they called them. For it can be made out by their own Letters, that they raiſed Soldiers, nay, they have been heard to glory and boaſt, that they were not much concerned at publick Calamities: For grant, ſay they, ſome hurt and damage may be done, yet the Ground and Land remains ſtill our own. When news was therefore brought us, that they had unexpectedly ſurpriſed, plundered and burnt *Manſleben*, beſides a great many Villages, that they had laid waſte, and that at the ſame time, crouds of Country Men, Women, and young Maids came all in tears, begging help of us; we could not, indeed, deny them. And though we had no good ſucceſs, yet we make no doubt, but what we did was acceptable to God. Now, what they ſay to curry favour, that it was our deſign to oppreſs the Nobility and Gentry, and other States of this Biſhoprick; it is a moſt idle Fiction, and can never be made out. For we have always honoured the Nobility: But if we have done any hurt to thoſe, who fell upon our People, as they paſſed to and fro, what man is ſo unjuſt as to blame us for it? What they ſay of Executioners Swords, found after the Battel, is all Fiction: We deny not, but that they might find Ropes and Halters; for it is plain enough, that they were neceſſary for the Waggons, and other Carriages. For very weighty Reaſons, we did not embrace the Conditions of Peace, propoſed by Duke *Maurice*, and the Elector of *Brandeburg*; for had we but yielded, and received a Garriſon, it is eaſie to underſtand, what would have been the condition of our Religion and Commonwealth. God, in his infinite Mercy, hath diſcovered to us the knowledge of his Goſpel; and we pray him, that we may never be without this ſo great a bleſſing. But how it is credible, that they, who promiſe to protect us in it, either can or will perform that, ſince their minds do waver, as to their Religion, and that they ſtudy to pleaſe Men? We are willing, that our Adverſaries ſhould recover their own, and that the damages done on both ſides ſhould be equally born: But that they ſhould return into the City, and there ſet up their Idolatry again, is a thing we can by no means endure. They ſay, that they did not at all moleſt us in our Religion; no thanks to them for that: But we ought to render our hearty thanks to the immortal God, that they were not able to do, what they were very willing to have done. The Bodies of the Dead were not ſo uſed, as they affirm: But when, for our defence, we demoliſhed ſome Churches near the Town, what Bodies were found, not as yet conſumed, were removed to another place, and buried deeper in the ground: Again, all had leave to carry the dead Bodies, of their Relations, that were found there, whitherſoever they pleaſed. What they ſay of the Emperour *Otho*, is a moſt falſe and impudent lie, of their own deviſing: For we are not ignorant, what Honour is due to the chief Magiſtrate of all, but eſpecially to him, of whom they ſpeak, the Emperour *Otho*, who did many great Actions, and was a moſt valiant Aſſerter, and Defender of the Liberty of *Germany*. That Worſhip, which they call Holy and Divine Service, which, they complain, we diſturbed in their Churches, is nothing leſs than Holy, but rather a reproach to God in the higheſt degree. The Veſtments, Chalices, and other Ornaments were long

before carried out of the Town by them: But the Writings, and publick Records, are in our keeping, and are not cancelled, as they falſly accuſe us. Nor were the Prieſts beaten, but they themſelves robbed the Churches, and carried the prey elſewhere. We aſſaulted the Monaſtery of *Hamerſlebe*, which, nevertheleſs, belongs not to them, becauſe it was a refuge to our Enemies, where they divided the ſpoil, that they took from us, and our Aſſociates. What they add of the many inſolencies, and ſaucy tricks, that our Men did there, it is a mere Fiction of the Monks, as to the injuries, which they ſay, were done them in the City, the ſtory is this: About five and twenty years ſince, when on *Palm-Sunday* they were performing their apiſh and ridiculous Ceremonies, the Rabble flocking thither laughed at them for it: But they, whoſe raſhneſs, and boldneſs, proceeded ſo far, as to break the Windows, were by us ſeverely puniſhed and baniſhed: For other injuries, we know none, nor did they themſelves ever complain to us of any. Wherefore, we have done nothing againſt our Engagements or Tranſactions, and ſo have given our Adverſaries no cauſe of War. Theſe things then conſidered, we beſeech all men, not to give credit to their Calumnies, but that they would pity our caſe, who are conſtrained to a defenſive War, that we may be permitted to preſerve the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel, and the Liberty, which we received from our Forefathers, for which the godly Kings and Magiſtrates, of former times, and thoſe Valiant *Macchabees*, thought no danger too great to be undergone. Peace is the thing we moſt wiſh for: But it is deny'd us: So that being long, and much infeſted by the Incurſions of our Neighbours, we cannot but reſiſt unjuſt violence: And this makes us the more confident, that ſuch as have never been provoked by any injury from us, will not concern themſelves in this War, but ſtand in awe of the great God, the Avenger of all unrighteouſneſs. For the ſame cauſe, that hath raiſed this trouble againſt us, will, within a ſhort time, involve themſelves alſo in ſtreights and difficulties, if they are deſirous to preſerve and maintain the true Religion. 1551

January the fifth, the Emperour commanded the Popes Bull of Indiction of the Council, to be read in the Dyet of the Princes and States, and warned them to prepare againſt its ſitting. The ſame day King *Ferdinand* informed the States, that, in time of Truce, the Turks began to ſtir in *Hungary*, and to build a Caſtle within his Dominions, as they had endeavoured to ſurprize his Caſtle of *Zolnock*, and put a Gariſon into it. That they had alſo made an inrode into *Tranſylvania*: That for his part, he had given no cauſe of any Quarrel, and was wholly inclined to obſerve the Truce: But that, if the Turk refuſed to do ſo, he moved, that ſupplies might be given him. We told you in the twentieth Book, that *Stephen*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was made Priſoner in *England*: Now ſeeing he perſiſted in his opinion, and would not allow the Laws made, or to be made, concerning Religion, during the Kings minority, he was this year, in the Month of *January*, turned out of his Biſhoprick, and ſent again to Priſon. *Andrew Oſiander*, who went, as we ſaid, into *Pruſſia*, broached, at this time, a new Opinion, affirming, That man is not juſtified by Faith, but by the righteouſneſs of Chriſt dwelling in us, and he maintained, that *Luther* was of his Judgment alſo. But the reſt of the Divines, his Collegues vigorouſly oppoſed him, declaring what he ſaid of *Luther* to be falſe, who, not many Months before his death, had given an ample and fair teſtimony of *Philip Melanchtons* Book, concerning common places of Scripture, in the Preface to the firſt Tome of it: That in falling foul then upon *Melanchton*, he made *Luther* alſo his Enemy, becauſe both were of one mind. Then having compared places, they plainly demonſtrated, that *Luther* taught quite contrary to him in this Matter, and affirmed his Doctrine to be peſtiferous, ſince he aſſerted, that the Righteouſneſs of Faith did not conſiſt in the Blood and Death of Chriſt: And this Matter was declared to and fro, with great heat. He pretended, as I ſaid, that *Luther*, and he, were of the ſame Judgment: But, in the mean time, he boaſted amongſt his Friends, as it is written, that *Luther*, and *Melanchton*, had framed a certain Ariſtotelian Divinity, that ſavoured more of the Fleſh than Spirit. At firſt, Duke *Albert* deſired that the Matter might have been taken up by Mediators: But after much tampering, being perſuaded by *Oſiander*, he came over to his Opinion, and commanded the Adverſaries of it to depart his Country. Amongſt theſe was *Joachim Merlin*, and he muſt pack off too, though not only the Citizens, but Women and Children alſo, petitioned the Prince, that he would not deprive them of ſuch a Paſtor. Now, *Oſiander* had taught many years at *Norimberg*, and with applauſe too,

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King *Ferdinand* complains of the Turks breach of Truce.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* turned out of his Biſhoprick, and committed to priſon again.

Oſiander's new Opinion about Juſtification,

Condemned by the other Divines.

Albert, Duke of *Pruſſia*, ſides with *Oſiander*.

Joachim Merlin, and ſome others, are baniſhed for *Oſiander's* Doctrine.

1551. too, ſtarted no Innovations then, and ſeemed in all things to follow the Doctrine of *Luther*, ſo long as he lived; but when, after the Emperours Edict about Religion came out, he left *Norimberg*, and went into *Pruſſia*, he broached this Opinion, which, as moſt think, he would hardly have done had *Luther* been ſtill alive. He challenged chiefly the Divines of *Wittemberg*, to refute theſe things, if they could, and he declared, he would defend them, whoever ſhould offer to impugne the ſame, not ſparing *Melanchton*, whom he ſharply pinched. All Learned Men generally, eſpecially in *Saxony*, condemned his Opinion in Books they publiſhed for that effect, and cenſured him for diſturbing the Church, at a moſt unſeaſonable time; but every body grumbled, that he ſhould ſo unworthily treat *Melanchton*, a Man of ſo much Mildneſs and Learning. In another Book he maintained, that though Mankind had not been loſt by the Sin of *Adam*, yet Chriſt was to have been born in the World.

Oſiander falls foul upon the Divines of *Wittemberg* and *Melanchton*.

Another of his Opinions.

The Decree of the Dyet of *Ausburg*.

February the Thirteenth, the Dyet of the Empire was diſſolved. Therein the Emperour made a Decree; And becauſe, ſays he, this ſad difference about Religion can no way better be remedied, than by a free and holy General Council. Again, becauſe in the former Dyet the States ſubmitted to the Council, and ſtill perſiſt in the ſame purpoſe, that ſhall be firm and ſtable. What I alſo then promiſed, ſhall be performed, and I'le make it my chief care, that all things be rightly done and in order. Now ſeeing this Bull of his Holineſs extends to all the Provinces of Chriſtendom, I do ſuppoſe, that all Kings and Higher Powers, being mindful of their Duty, will obey it, and promote ſo Pious a Work to the utmoſt of their power. Whatſoever is proper for me alſo to do, as Protector of the Church and Defender of Councils, I ſhall be ready to perform; and will give ſafe Conduct to all that ſhall repair to the Council, and to their Repreſentatives, whether they have changed their Religion or not, that they may ſafely be there, propound whatſoever they may think expedient for the quiet of their Conſciences, and return home again, when they pleaſe: Moreover, I will endeavour, that all matters be debated and determined in a holy and Chriſtian manner, without paſſion or intereſt, according to the holy Scriptures and the Doctrine of the Fathers, that, all Errours and falſe Doctrines being removed, both Church and State may be reformed. It is my deſign alſo to remain within, or, at leaſt, near the confines of the Empire, and to protect the Council, that it may have the wiſhed for iſſue, that the fruit of it may extend to all People, and that it may chiefly be an healing Council to *Germany*. Wherefore, I require and exhort all the Princes and States, but eſpecially the Churchmen, and thoſe who have changed their Religion, and have embraced the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, that, according to the Popes Bull, they come thither ready prepared, that they may have no pretext afterward to complain, that they have been ſupplanted by too much haſte, or not admitted fully to plead their own Cauſe: For, as I ſaid, they ſhall have ſafe Conduct, and I will procure, that they have a competent hearing. Furthermore, becauſe the States have given ſeveral Reaſons, why the Decrees about Religion, made in the former Dyet of *Ausburg*, are not obſerved, I take to my ſelf the care of that, and will know of them ſeverally, what the Impediment is. Let every one then make it their buſineſs, to have their Caſe fairly ſtated. It was alſo Decreed, that Commiſſioners from the Electors and the ſix other Princes ſhould meet at *Norimberg*, by the firſt of *April*, to conſult how the Money, that was taken out of the publick Treaſury for the *Magdeburg*-War, ſhould be refunded; that what they determined, as to that particular, ſhould be as valid, as if it were Enacted in a full Dyet: And ſince that War concerned the common Welfare of all *Germany*, power was granted to the ſeveral Magiſtrates, to impoſe Taxes upon their People for that end; Again, if any Subject of the Empire or Foreigner ſhould aſſiſt the *Magdeburgers*, the Emperour, in that caſe, promiſed alſo to be at the Charges. As to Juriſdiction and Eccleſiaſtical Poſſeſſions, the Emperour ſaid, he would take care, that they, who applied themſelves to him, ſhould have right done them, ſo that every one might recover their own. The ſupplies againſt the *Turk*, which had been promiſed King *Ferdinand* in the former Dyet, were now decreed to him, though ſomewhat unwillingly. Laſtly, becauſe the Winter before, *Mansfield* and *Heideck* had levied Soldiers for the aſſiſtance of the *Magdeburgers*, as hath been ſaid, it was enacted by the Emperour, That if for the future Soldiers did muſter together in any part of *Germany*, the next adjoyning Princes and States ſhould forthwith unite their Forces and quell them, and ſo quench the flame before it ſhould grow to an head.

A meeting of the Princes at *Norimberg*.

Supplies decreed to King *Ferdinand* againſt the *Turk*.

The Emperours Edict againſt thoſe that ſhould aſſiſt the *Magdeburgers*.

About

About the ſame time, *Henry* King of *France* received into his protection *Octavio Farneſe*, who being both privately a mortal Enemy to *Ferrante Gonzaga*, Governour of *Milan* for the Emperour, becauſe of his Fathers Murder, and doubting alſo, becauſe of the Neighbourhood of *Piacenza*, which was in the Emperours hands, that he was not able with his own Forces to ſecure *Parma*, ſought for Aid elſewhere, and put a *French* Gariſon into the Town. This exceedingly vexed the Emperour, and much more Pope *Julius*, as will appear hereafter. 1551. *Octavio Farneſe* in protection of the King of *France*, puts a *French* Gariſon into *Parma*.

The Emperour pronounced Sentence now againſt the *Landgrave*, for the County or Lordſhip of *Dietz*; and he was condemned for Contumacy, that he did not Anſwer: But he again alledged, that it was not in his power to Anſwer, ſince he had not the liberty to Diſcourſe with his Counſellors, being obſerved and overheard by his Keepers; for ſince the diſcovery of his late deſign to make his eſcape, no Man was permitted to go to him, nor talk with him, but in preſence of a Witneſs. Sentence pronounced againſt the *Landgrave*.

On the penult of *February*, *Bucer* died at *Cambridge*, and was honourably buried, being celebrated by the Epitaphs of the Learned, among whom were two Brothers, young Noblemen of the Houſe of *Suffolk*, whoſe Mother had all along before, and in time of his Sickneſs, been extreamly kind to *Bucer*, a Lady very zealous for the Reformed Religion. *Bucer* dies.

About this time, the Biſhop of *Strasburg* wrote to the Senate, complaining heavily of their Preachers, that they did inflame the People, and expoſe the Clergy to great dangers; and therefore, he deſires, that theſe things may be reformed, or, that otherwiſe he would conſider what was to be done. *March* the Tenth, King *Ferdinand* and his Son *Maximilian* parted from *Ausburg*; for, till then they had been Treating with the Emperour and his Siſter Queen *Mary*. The Deputies of *Bremen* alſo depart at length, without any ſucceſs in their Negotiation. There were no great matters acted at this time at *Magdeburg*, only frequent ſallyings out and light Skirmiſhes. And when the *Elbe* was out, the Beſieged made Boats, and up and down the River brought in Proviſions to the Town. Many Prodigies were at that time ſeen in *Saxony*, and amongſt the reſt three Suns, and as many Moons, ſometimes of a pale, and ſometimes of a bloudy, colour. The *Magdeburgers* ſent *Volrate* and *John* of *Mansfield*, the Sons of Count *Albert*, to ſolicite Aid from the Maritime Cities, but all in vain. The Enemy then built Caſtles upon the *Elbe*, above and below the Town, and, having poſted Veſſels on both ſides well manned, hindered the Towns Men from venturing out by Water. There happened many Conflicts alſo, when the Beſiegers attempted to carry off the Cattle, which the Beſieged turned out daily to graze about the Town. The complaint of the Biſhop of *Strasburg* againſt the Preachers. Prodigies in *Saxony*.

On the Eighth of *April*, the Pope publiſhed a Bull, wherein he grievouſly accuſes *Octavio Farneſe*, and when, ſaid he, I conferred upon him *Parma*, and the chief Miniſtery, he promiſed faithfully, neither to eſpouſe the party of any Prince, nor, without my conſent, to put a Foreign Gariſon into *Parma*: And when he ſeemed to be inclining to new courſes, I many times admoniſhed him friendly of his Duty, both by Meſſengers, and by the intervention of his Brother the Cardinal *Alexander*; and becauſe he anſwered ſomewhat ſuſpiciouſly then, I directed a Brief to him with ſevere Threatnings, if he offered to do otherwiſe: Being afterwards fully aſſured, that he kept not his Promiſes, I was, indeed, as I ought to be, extreamly troubled, to receive ſuch an injury from him, on whom I had heaped ſo many Honours and Favours: Wherefore now, though in a thing ſo manifeſt and notorious, I might preſently proceed to ſentence, yet to make him ſenſible of our goodneſs; I charge and command him, that within thirty days he make his Perſonal Appearance at *Rome*, to anſwer to the Accuſations that are brought againſt him, and give ſufficient ſecurity for his good behaviour in time to come; wherein, if he fail, I declare him now as then, and then as now, guilty of High Treaſon, Perjury, and other moſt heinous Crimes and Offences; and all his Lands, Goods and Chattels to be confiſcated to the Publick, and in puniſhing him, I crave the Emperours Aſſiſtance; as I ſtrictly command and charge, that no Man do aid or help him. When *May*-Day was come, the Council commenced again; but, becauſe there were but very few as yet preſent, and that the War of *Parma* had intervened, the Seſſion was put off to the firſt of *September*. The Deputies of the Princes, who Aſſembled at *Norimberg*, in the Month of *April*, reſolved, that more Money ſhould be contributed for carrying on the Siege of *Magdeburg*. And though, by a Poſterior Edict, the Emperour commanded the ſame thing, yet there was much difficulty in the accompliſhment of it, and all were unwilling The Popes Brief againſt *Octavio Farneſe*. *Octavio* cited to *Rome*. The Council meets again at *Trent*.

1551. willing to pay their Money, for that the Siege was long, and not like to be brought ſoon to an end. Wherefore alſo, Duke *Maurice* Treated often with the Towns People about a Peace, and when, on the Fifth of *May*, they came out to the Camp, upon a ſafe Conduct given, the Matter was long and much debated in his preſence. Some Months before, Duke *Maurice* had taken into his Service Count *Heideck*, who was Outlaw'd by the Emperour, and made him Governour of *Leipſick*. He, for the love he had to the Reformed Religion, and the hatred he bore the Emperour, wiſhed well to the *Magdeburgers*, and was a Counſellor to Peace, that, when that War was over, Duke *Maurice* might attempt greater matters. For even then the War was projected, which Duke *Maurice* had afterward with the Emperour, as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place: Nevertheleſs, they could not then agree upon a Peace, becauſe too hard Conditions were propoſed, and that purpoſely too, as many thought, that Duke *Maurice* might protract the time, and wait an opportunity of acting; which offered not, till the *French* King made War againſt the Emperour, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. But in the mean time, there happened a great Mutiny in the Camp before *Magdeburg*, for the want of ſome Months pay.

Heideck a Friend to the *Magdeburgers*.

Farneſe, being contumacious, undertakes the defence of *Parma*.

Farneſe, though cited, did not appear at *Rome*; but, being ſtrengthened by *French* Supplies, undertook the defence of *Parma*. Wherefore, *May* the Thirteenth, the Emperour emitted a Proclamation, to this effect. For as much, ſaith he, as in compliance with the Duty and good will we bear to the Pope and Church of *Rome*, we are deſirous to perform thoſe things we ought, and to take care, leſt upon this occaſion greater ſtirs ariſe in *Italy*, and afterwards in other places alſo: Again, when we conſider, upon how juſt grounds the Pope is offended, and how he hath omitted nothing, that was fit to keep *Octavio* in his Duty. We have commiſſioned and appointed *Ferrande Gonzaga* in our Name, to aid and aſſiſt his Holineſs, becauſe we cannot do it in Perſon. Wherefore we command all our Subjects within the Dutchy of *Milan*, that, during this War, they pay him the ſame obedience, as they would our ſelf in Perſon, and endeavour to do the Enemy all the hurt and damage that poſſibly they can. So then *Gonzaga* began the War, and having waſted the Country, laid Siege to *Parma*, as the Pope did to *Mirandula*. For the Prince of *Mirandula* was on the *French* ſide, and, unleſs he had been diverted, might have been very uſeful to *Octavio* and thoſe of *Parma*.

The Emperours Declaration againſt *Octavio*.

The War of *Parma* betwixt the Emperour and *French*.

May the Two and twentieth, the Pope wrote a very kind Letter to the *Switzers*, telling them, that, as he had taken the Name of *Julius* the Second, who entertained great kindneſs for them, ſo alſo had he propoſed to follow his Example and footſteps in loving of them: That hitherto, indeed, he had been ſo taken up about various and weighty Affairs relating to the Publick, that he had no time to give them a Declaration of his good Intentions towards them, but that yet he had had them conſtantly in his thoughts; as might be ſeen by two Inſtances chiefly: Firſt, in that for the ſecurity of his Perſon, he had choſen in the City a Guard of their Country-men, and then, that he had done the ſame at *Bolonia*, as truſting to their fidelity and diligence: That now an occaſion of Writing to them offered, by the calling of the Council, which on the Firſt of *May* was begun at *Trent*: That therefore, ſince their conjunction with the reſt would be of great moment for carrying on ſo pious and neceſſary a Work, he earneſtly entreated them, that the Prelates within their Territories would not fail to be preſent at the next Seſſion to be held the Firſt of *September*: That, what elſe he had to ſay to them, they might know from Sir *Jerome Franco*, his Nuncio, of whoſe integrity and diligence they themſelves had now many years experience; and, that, beſides, ſince he concerned himſelf much in that Affair, he would within a ſhort time ſend one of his Confidents, a Biſhop, to treat with them more at large concerning the Council.

The Popes Brief to the *Switzers*, wherein he deſires them to ſend their Biſhops to the Council.

About the end of *May*, Prince *Philip*, the Emperours Son, leaving *Ausburg*, took his Journy through *Italy* into *Spain*. With him went *Maximilian* his Couſin and Brother in Law, that he might bring home his Wife, now the Mother of two Children. In the mean time, the *French* King, to appeaſe the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals, by his Ambaſſadour *Monſieur de Termes*, makes his Apology at *Rome*, for taking *Octavio* into his protection, alledging, that he ought not to be blamed for that, ſince it belonged properly to Kings, to ſuccour the afflicted: Again, that he propoſed to himſelf no private advantage by the matter, but, that what he had done, was for the ſake of the Church of *Rome*, in imitation of his Anceſtors, who had more than any others enriched her with Lands, and many times protected

Prince *Philip* returns to *Spain*.

The *French* Kings Apology to the Pope.

protected her by their Arms: For, ſince that *Parma* belonged to the Patrimony of the Church, it was his chief care that it ſhould not fall into the hands of Strangers, and that it was for that end only, that he was at ſuch vaſt charges daily. That, therefore, he earneſtly deſired, that he would ſo interpret what he did, and put away the opinion he conceived of him; for that, that would much redound to the benefit of the Publick. But, that if he was not ſatisfied with this Excuſe, and would prefer War before Peace, he himſelf muſt ſee, how prejudicial and dangerous that would prove to all *Italy* and *Europe* alſo, and be the cauſe, in like manner, that no firm nor laſting Treaty could be ſet on foot about matters of Religion. That therefore, if ſad Commotions ſhould thereupon enſue, if the Council now called could not meet, or, if it did aſſemble, ſhould be diſperſed, if in that ſtate of affairs he could not ſend any of his Biſhops to *Trent*; the fault was not to be imputed to him, who was willing not only to offer, but to receive, Conditions of Peace, as he did publickly proteſt. But the Pope, relying upon the Aid and Promiſes of the Emperour, was nothing ſoftened by that Embaſſy. 1551. *Parma* of the Patrimony of the Church.

On the Seventeenth of *June*, Duke *Maurice* again granted a ſafe Conduct to the *Magdeburgers*, for Deputies to be ſent to Treat with him about a Peace; who, being diſpatched and conducted by Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandeburg*, found Duke *Maurice* at *Pirn*, a Town of *Miſnia*, for he was gone home, and ſeemed to act remiſſly. So ſoon as they came, he propounded theſe Conditions to them in the Emperours Name: That they ſhall make no League againſt the Emperour, King *Ferdinand*, *Auſtria*, nor the *Netherlands*; That they ſhall obſerve all the Decrees of the Empire: That they ſhall ſtand Tryals at Law, and ſatisfie the Clergy for the damage they have received of them; That they ſhall demoliſh their Works and Fortifications; That they ſhall admit of a Gariſon of Twelve hundred Soldiers; That they ſhall receive the Emperour, King *Ferdinand*, and their Generals, at all times, and with as many Men as they pleaſe; That they deliver up twelve great Guns, pay down an hundred thouſand Florins; and ratifie and confirm all theſe Conditions upon Oath. Though they were not in a condition to perform theſe Articles, yet did they not wholly reject them, and, at Count *Heidecks* interceſſion, they were by little and little qualified. The Emperour had before ſent Letters of ſafe Conduct to *Germany*, eſpecially to the States of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, requiring them to repair to *Trent* by the Firſt of *May*. But, becauſe by reaſon of the War of *Parma*, the Council was put off till the beginning of *December*, as has been ſaid before, he again warns them by any means to come, and promiſes them all imaginable Juſtice and fair dealing. Though there were a great many of that perſuaſion, nevertheleſs, (what ought chiefly to have been done) they did not confer Counſels together, either, that they deſpaired of any ſucceſs in the matter, or, that they were afraid to offend the Emperour; or, again, that they grew faint-hearted when they ſaw the danger at hand. Of all the Free Towns, none but *Strasburg* ſent Meſſengers to enquire both what their Neighbours, and thoſe, more remote, were reſolved to do. And Duke *Maurice* had ordered *Philip Melanchton*, to draw up the heads of their Doctrine, which might afterwards be publickly produced. That being finiſhed, and peruſed by all the Divines and Miniſters, who, by the Princes command, met at *Leipſick* on the Eighth of *July*, it was by them all unanimouſly approved. *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Wirtemberg* took the like courſe alſo, and cauſed *Brentius* to compoſe a Book of the ſame nature. And though both Writings agreed in the very ſame points, yet Duke *Maurice* would exhibit his own a part, leſt, if many together ſhould propound the ſame thing in common, the Emperour might take Umbrage at it, and ſuſpect ſome Aſſociation. However, having mutually communicated the Books to one another, the Divines of *Wirtemberg* approved the *Saxons* Book, and the *Saxons* that of *Wirtemberg*, as the Divines of *Strasburg* did both. And ſo it was agreed upon, that, when time ſerved, ſome ſhould be ſent to the Council to propoſe and defend that Doctrine. The Duke of *Wirtemberg*, after his Fathers example, made much of *John Brentzen*, for his Excellent Learning, uſing his aſſiſtance in the reſtauration of the Reformed Religion; he alſo reſtored him again to the Miniſtery, and gave him the Living of *Sutgart*. *July* the Five and twentieth, Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandeburg*, in the abſence of Duke *Maurice*, by a Trumpeter, rejects the anſwer that the *Magdeburgers* made to the Conditions of Peace propoſed by Duke *Maurice* at *Pirn*. He had got a ſmall Ruffle the day before; for they had engaged with greater Forces, than ever they had done hitherto. On the Thirteenth of *Auguſt*, there had like to have been a great Mutiny within the Town: For a Letter

Conditions of Peace propoſed to the *Magdeburgers*.

The Emperour calls the States to *Trent*.

Duke *Maurice* his Confeſſion drawn up by *Melanchton*.

The Confeſſion of *Wirtemberg*.

Brentius is by the Duke of *Wirtemberg* reſtored to the Miniſtery in the Church.

A Mutiny in *Magdeburg*.

1551. Letter was brought to the Soldiers, which mentioned, that there were ſome of the Senate who would betray the Town, and named *Henry Alman* for one. Whereupon the Soldiers flocking together, demand him. He appeared and proteſted, that it was an injury done unto him, that it was a trick of the Enemy, that, by cunning and treachery, they might bring about, what they could not accompliſh by force and fair fighting; and, that if the thing could be proved againſt him, he did not refuſe to ſubmit to any puniſhment; ſo that the whole Senate having engaged for his fidelity, the matter was quieted, and ſome Citizens and Soldiers were choſen, to view the Letters that ſhould be ſent to and again for the future.

Duke *Maurice* his Letter to the Emperour.

Eight days after, Duke *Maurice* wrote to the Emperour, acquainting him, that, for his own part, he was ſatisfied with the ſafe Conduct he gave, and could not find any great fault in it; but, that he was informed, there was a Decree made in the Council of *Conſtance*, that Hereticks, or ſuch as were ſuſpected of Hereſie, ſhould be brought into Inquiſition if they came to the Council, and ſentence pronounced againſt them for their Crime, although the Emperour had given them ſafe Conduct: That that Decree was extant amongſt the Acts of the Council, and actually put in execution upon *John Huſs*, who had been put to death, notwithſtanding the ſafe Conduct of the Emperour *Sigiſmund*, upon the ſecurity whereof he came: That ſince it was ſo, he could not ſend any of his Divines to *Trent*, unleſs the Prelates aſſembled there, ſhould, in the Name of the whole Council, grant alſo their ſafe Conduct, as it had been done in the Council of *Baſil*, which immediately ſucceeded that of *Conſtance*: That the *Bohemians*, being moved by the forementioned inſtance, would not then go thither, till firſt they had a ſafe Conduct from the whole Council; that therefore he intreated his Majeſty, that either by his Authority or Intereſt, he would obtain that from them; for, that unleſs a ſafe Conduct were granted in the ſame form, as heretofore at *Baſil*, it ought not to be prejudicial to him, or any elſe of the ſame profeſſion, if they ſuffered none of theirs to repair to the Council. Now, of the *Bohemians*, and *John Huſs* who was burnt at *Conſtance*, and of the War that followed thereupon, mention has been made in the third Book. And becauſe a Decree paſt at *Conſtance*, that the next ſubſequent Council ſhould be held five years after; another, ſeven years after that, and ſo for the future, one every tenth year, the Fathers met again at *Baſil*. But, becauſe the *Bohemians* were not as yet reconciled, the Affair was managed betwixt them by Letters and Meſſengers, and at the Town of *Egra* a Draught of a ſafe Conduct was made, which, if the Fathers did admit of, the *Bohemians* did not refuſe, ſaid they, to come. And ſo ſoon as the Deputies, whom they had ſent, had declared their Commiſſion, the Fathers did approve, and ſet their Seals to that form of ſafe Conduct, which they ſent to them with a moſt friendly Letter, exhorting them to prepare themſelves, that when the ſafe Conduct alſo of the Emperour *Sigiſmund* ſhould be brought to them, they might be in readineſs to undertake the Journey. This was done in the fourth Seſſion, in the year 1432. Now what kind of ſafe Conduct that of the Fathers, was, it ſhall be at length declared in the following Book. Duke *Maurice* then, being, by his Divines informed of this, makes application to the Emperour, and urges the precedent of *Baſil*, as the lateſt, and moſt ſuitable to the Age. For the Proteſtants were much in the ſame caſe, as the *Bohemians* had been in formerly, and for the ſame cauſes, in a manner, was the Council of *Trent* called, that that of *Baſil* had heretofore been, to wit, that Hereſies might be rooted out; that peace and tranquillity might be reſtored to the State, and, that the Church might be purged from Vices, and reformed. On the Twenty ſixth day of *Auguſt*, in the Morning after Sermon, the Doctors and Preachers of the Church of *Ausburg*, ten in number, with the School-Maſters, were ſent for to the Lodgings of the Biſhop of *Arras*, every one by himſelf. When they were come thither, ſome ſooner, ſome later, not knowing what the matter was, they were commanded to keep a part, and not to talk to one another; afterwards, they were called in order one after another into a Hall, where the Biſhop of *Arras* ſate with *Haſen*, *Selden*, *Malvenda* and ſome others. *Selden* was Spokeſman, and, as he was bid, propoſed the Queſtions. Whether or not in the Lords Supper, there was as much contained under one Kind, as under both? Next, How many Sacraments they believed there were? And, laſtly, Why they did not teach according to the form preſcribed by the Emperour three years ago, whereas they had promiſed to do ſo; no leſs than the Senate it ſelf, and all the States had done? They anſwered every one for himſelf ſeverally, That Chriſt inſtituted the whole Supper, and that his Inſtitu-

The Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*.

The ſafe Conduct that the *Bohemians* had when they came to the Council of *Baſil*.

The Miniſters of *Ausburg* queſtioned about their Doctrine.

The Anſwer and Conſtancy of the Miniſters.

tion

tion ought to be followed; That there is mention made but of two Sacraments in the holy Scriptures, Baptiſm and the Lords Supper; That they received not that Form of Doctrine, becauſe it diſagreed with the holy Scripture. Here the Biſhop of *Arras* took them up in a great heat, Do ye think then, ſaid he, that the Emperour cannot make Laws and preſcribe Rules in Spiritual Affairs, as well as in Temporal? What the Emperour may do, we do not now diſpute, ſaid they; but, as we ſaid, we neither received that Form, nor can we, indeed, approve it. With that he fell into a greater paſſion, and in a rage beſtowed ſome bitter and reproachful words upon them. When alſo they ſpake as they did of the Sacraments, *Selden* the Lawyer, as being Interpreter, rebuked them ſharply. So they were ordered to withdraw, and ſtay without, being attended by a Guard, who placed them ſeverally, that they might not come together. Preſently ſome of the chief Senators were called, and when theſe came, the Miniſters were all brought in together, and ſtrict charge given them, That within three days they ſhould depart out of the City, before Sun ſetting the third day; That they ſhould never preach any more within the Empire, nor as far as the Emperours Juriſdiction extended; That they ſhould not ſpeak with any of their Friends or Relations, nor tell any Man the cauſe of their departure; That they ſhould not write back to any in the City, nor give an account of what courſe had been taken with them; and all theſe things, with hands lifted up, as the cuſtom was, they were made to Swear againſt their wills. Then the Town Council was enjoyned to put a ſtop to all preaching in the *Lutheran* Churches, until the Emperours farther pleaſure ſhould be known in the matter. The ſame courſe was afterwards alſo taken with the Schoolmaſters, and with thoſe of *Memmingen*, and others in *Schwabia*, who had been alſo ſent for, and came thither; for the one was prohibited to teach, and the other to return home, any more. And when one of them urged, that his Wife was near her time; and therefore earneſtly begg'd, that he might be ſuffered only to go and ſee her: The Biſhop of *Arras* turning to his Company, He calls her a Wife, ſaid he, who is a Harlot. Thus then, were they forced to be gone, which occaſioned much ſorrow in the City; but the Citizens ſhewed them all the kindneſs they could in Preſents and other Inſtances of Liberality. When it came to the Ears alſo of the captive Duke of *Saxony*, he ſent Meſſengers to comfort them, and to help them with Money at their departure. The reaſon, why the Emperour did do ſo, was thought to be, firſt, becauſe he was egg'd on to it by ſome; then, that upon enquiry he had found, the Miniſters to have obſtructed the execution of his Decree about Religion: And, laſtly, that he had been informed of the conſent and agreement of the Divines of *Saxony*, *Schwabia*, and *Strasburg*. And, it is believed, they lookt upon this as the beſt courſe that could be taken, to baniſh them, that ſo the Fathers at *Trent* might have the leſs work to do, and an eaſie Victory, their Adverſaries having none hardly left, whom they might ſend to oppoſe them. Being thus baniſhed, then, and forced to flie, they went, ſome into *Switzerland*, and ſome to other places. Many were terrified at the report of this. For no Man doubted, but what had been done there, would alſo be practiſed in other places: But at the ſame time that all Men lay under this conſternation, the *French* King made War againſt the Emperour, ſeized ſome *Dutch* Ships, and made prize of them, and took ſeveral Towns in *Piedmont* and *Turin*; and amongſt the reſt *Cherie* and St. *Damian*, by the Conduct and Command of the Duke of *Briſack*. As to the Ships that were taken, the Imperialiſts publiſhed a Declaration, importing; That, in time of Peace, when the Emperour expected nothing leſs than a War, and had commanded his Subjects to be quiet, a *French* Captain come up with them, and ſent them word, that, in honour to the Queen of *Scots* whom he had on board, they ſhould, after the old and ancient cuſtom, Strike Sail, and give him ſo many Guns; and, that having done ſo, when their Guns were diſcharged, they were treacherouſly boarded and carried away. It was wondered at by moſt Men, that the *French* King durſt break with the Emperour, at a time when he flouriſhed with ſo much ſucceſs and proſperity; and, as it is ſaid, the Emperour himſelf expected no ſuch thing. For though he had a quarrel with *Farneſe* Duke of *Parma*, he would not therefore ſeem to be at enmity with the *French*, with whom he had made a Peace ſeven years before. But the *French* King, who thought himſelf wounded through Octavio's Side, had certain intelligence, that the *Turks* were at Sea with a Fleet, was informed by Agents of the intentions of Duke *Maurice*, and believed, that the Emperour, now crazy and valetudinary, could not live long, bravely attempted the matter.

1551.

The Miniſters of *Auſburg* baniſhed.

Preaching prohibited.

The liberality of the Captive Duke of *Saxony* towards baniſhed Miniſters.

The Reaſons why they were ſerved ſo.

Henry King of *France* makes War againſt the Emperour.

Cherie and St. *Damian* taken.

The Reaſons why the *French* King made War againſt the Emperour.

1551. Near to the ſame time, the *Turkiſh* Fleet, having in vain attempted *Malta*, took *Tripoly* in *Barbary*. The blame of this the Emperour laid upon the *French* King, and, by his Envoys, told the Princes and Free Towns, that it was occaſioned by *French* Treachery. So ſoon as the King came to know this, he juſtified himſelf, affirming the cauſe of the *Turkiſh* War to be, that the Emperour did not, according to his promiſe, reſtore a Town of theirs that he kept in *Barbary*, that King *Ferdinand* had ſeized and fortified the Caſtle of *Zolnock*, ſeated on the frontiers of *Hungary* within the Dominion of the *Turks*, that he payed not his yearly Tribute, and attempted Innovations in *Tranſilvania*. Afterward he publiſhed a Narrative in confutation of the Emperours Relation, (wherein it was given out *Tripoly*, was loſt by the Treachery of *d'Aremont* the *French* Ambaſſadour) and confirmed it by the Grand Signiors Letters.

The *Turk* takes *Tripoly*.

Contrary Narratives from the Emperour and King of *France*.

During theſe Tranſactions, the Firſt of *September*, the day of the Seſſions of the Council came; and then were preſent, beſides the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Biſhops, the Archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Treves*, in appearance, mightily congratulated and welcomed by all, who were followed not long after by the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*. For the Emperour had, both perſonally at *Ausburg*, and by Meſſengers and Letters, dealt earneſtly with them, that they ſhould be there; and, indeed, they far exceed the reſt in Dignity and Splendour, and have moſt of the Biſhops of *Germany* under their Juriſdiction. Now, ſeeing they thought, that they were like to make a long ſtay there, they kept but a few Horſes, and ſold all the reſt, laying in Houſhold Proviſions alſo, for a conſiderable time. There came alſo the Biſhops of *Strasburg*, *Vienne*, *Conſtance*, *Off*, and *Naumburg*; the reſt, being detained by Buſineſs, Sickneſs, or Age, begg'd leave, and ſent their Vicars and Proxies. Cardinal *Creſcentio* was Legate, and Preſident for the Pope; to whom were joyned the Archbiſhop of *Siponto*, and Biſhop of *Verona*, as his Nuncio's. The Emperour ſent thither *Don Francis* of *Toledo*, *Hugh* Count of *Montfort*, and *William* of *Poictieres*, and ſome were there alſo to repreſent *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary*. When all were aſſembled in Seſſion, then on the Firſt of *September*, in the Cathedral Church, and that Maſs and the reſt of the Ceremonies which are commonly performed in the beginning were over, unexpectedly came in the Abbat of *Belloſane*, Ambaſſadour from the *French* King, with a Letter directed to the Aſſembly of *Trent*. Having delivered it to the Legat, who read the Superſcription, a Debate aroſe, Why he called them an Aſſembly rather than Council; That the Letter was not to be received nor read, cried they, unleſs he did ſhew that he had a Commiſſion; And when, in the heat of the conteſt, a heavy noiſe and clamour was made, eſpecially by the *Spaniſh* Biſhops, and that he told them, that his Commiſſion was contained in the Letter; the Popes Legate aroſe, and called the Fathers into the Veſtry. The matter being canvaſſed, they concluded, that he was to have Audience, becauſe the Inſcription could admit of a good ſenſe. The Letter being then read privately, wherein the King briefly expreſſed his grief, and complained that he had wrong done him, they all took their places again, and then the Letter being read publickly, they made Anſwer. That whereas the King called the Council an Aſſembly, they took it in good part, and would not harbour any ſiniſtrous ſuſpicion of him, who bore the Name of *Moſt Chriſtian*; but, if he meant otherwiſe, that they lookt upon the Letter as not addreſſed unto them; and then he was bid to ſpeak, what he had to ſay. He therefore read a long Speech in Writing. And firſt, the King tells them, what *de Terme*, his Ambaſſadour at *Rome*, had done with the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals; that none of theſe ways could prevail, though he had made all Overtures of Peace: And, that Pope *Julius*, who, in imitation of his Predeceſſors, ought to compoſe the Controverſies of Princes, had raiſed an extraordinary Combuſtion, in a time that he ought leaſt of all to have done ſo, conſidering the ſad and diſtreſſed ſtate of Chriſtendom; that ſince it was ſo, and becauſe he dealt ſo roughly and implacably with him, who was the Eldeſt Son of the Church, he proteſted, as it had been alſo done at *Rome*; firſt, that, by reaſon of the Troubles and Wars, he could not ſend the Biſhops of his Dominions to *Trent*: Again, that he owned not that Council for Publick and General, but lookt upon it rather as ſome private Aſſembly, gathered together not for publick good, but for the profit and advantage of ſome few: And, laſtly, that neither he nor any of his Subjects could be obliged to ſubmit to the Decrees thereof; but, on the contrary, that, if occaſion required, he would apply thoſe Remedies, which, in the like caſe, his Anceſtors were accuſtomed to make uſe of; that his Intentions, indeed, towards Religion and

The Reſtauration of the Council of *Trent*.

Wherein Cardinal *Creſcentio* preſides.

The *French* Kings Letter to the Council.

And a Debate amongſt the Fathers about the Superſcription of it.

The Speech of the *French* Ambaſſadour.

The *French* Kings Proteſtation againſt the Council of *Trent*.

and the Church of *Rome*, ſhould always be right and ſincere, nor would he do any thing that might deſerve a Cenſure; but, that ſince he was undeſervedly loaded with the injuries and hatred of ſome Men, he could not do otherwiſe at this time. That therefore they ſhould take his proteſtation in good part, and give him an Inſtrument thereof, that he might acquaint the reſt of the Princes and People of *Chriſtendom* with the whole affair. Now, as to what he ſaid of uſing Remedies according to the cuſtom of his Anceſtors, the meaning of it is this. As in all other Provinces, ſo alſo in *France*, if any Biſhoprick or Abby fell to be vacant, the free Election belonged to the Canons and Monks; but for ſmaller Benefices, which are not Elective, as they tearm it, the Biſhops and Patrons beſtowed them; and then all Suits about Benefices or Church Matters, were decided in the ſeveral Provinces. Now the Popes of *Rome*, as they grew more covetous, began to overthrow theſe Elections, and by Reſervations and *Expectative Graces*, as they call them, drew all the Profit to *Rome* and to themſelves, and removed all Suits, even thoſe which they call of *the firſt inſtance*, *primæ inſtantiæ*, to *Rome*. The beginning of this alteration in *France* happened in the time of *Lowis* IX. but he vigorouſly oppoſed it, and in the year 1267, made a Law, that the ancient cuſtom ſhould be obſerved, and no Tribute upon that account, pay'd to the Pope of *Rome*. That Law was, indeed, in force for many years, but at length the power of the Popes prevailed, and all over *Chriſtendom* they publiſhed thoſe *Graces* and Reſervations that I mentioned, which were a great grievance to many, until the Council of *Baſil* abrogated this way of pillage, reviving the ancient Canons about Collations and Elections, and diſcharging the payment of *Annats*. *Charles* VII. of *France* having conſulted the matter, approved and ratified this Decree of the Council, by an Edict in the year 1438, which is commonly called the *Pragmatick Sanction*. But *Eugenius* the Fourth declared this Council to be null, as we ſaid in the firſt Book, and the Popes who came after him, rejected that Decree, and called it Schiſmatical; ſo that *Pius* II. by his Legat, earneſtly ſolicited *Louis* XI. the Son of *Charles* VII. to aboliſh that Sanction; but the King asked the Opinion of the Parliament of *Paris*, the moſt famous Judicature in *France*, conſiſting all of Lawyers, about the matter. They quoting the practices of ancient times, made their Report, and told him, What had been done in the matter, by the Popes and Councils heretofore, nay, what his own Anceſtors had done, *Clovis*, *Charles Maigne*, *Philip Deodat*, *Lowis* IX. *Philip the Fair*, *Louis the Hutine*, *John the Firſt*, and his own Grandfather and Father, that *France* was then in a very flouriſhing condition, and that it was now low and diſtreſſed; and unleſs the ancient Laws be obſerved, ſaid they, the Eccleſiaſtical Order will run into confuſion, *France* become thinner of People, the moſt part running away to *Rome*, and be exhauſted of its Wealth; the Churches, and other ſtately Religious Houſes in *France*, will be ſlighted and fall into decay. And as to the Money Buſineſs, unleſs your Fathers Sanction continue in force, ten hundred thouſand Crowns will be carried yearly out of *France* to *Rome*. For, not to mention other things, in the time of *Pius* II. there were at leaſt twenty Biſhopricks vacant, which, for Annats, and other charges, pay'd Six thouſand Crowns a-piece yearly: There were about threeſcore Abbies vacant, and every one of theſe pay'd two thouſand a year: Of other Benefices there were above two hundred vacant, every one of which pay'd five hundred Crowns: Beſides, there are above eleven hundred Pariſhes in *France*, out of which a vaſt deal of Money was raiſed through that Popiſh Invention. Follow then the footſteps of your Father, and depart not from the Decree of *Baſil*. This was the Parliaments Advice; but the King, being either over-reached or over-awed by the Pope, would needs aboliſh the Sanction; and a chief Agent in that buſineſs was the Cardinal *de Balvo*, in great favour with the King, and much obliged by the Pope: But both the Kings Advocate, and the Univerſity of *Paris*, who were much concerned in it, manfully withſtood the ſame, and appealed from the Pope to a Council. *Louis* XII. had afterwards great clashings with *Julius* II. about the ſame matter, and it was brought before the Council of *Lateran*; but at length *Francis* the Firſt, who ſucceeded *Lowis*, tranſacted with *Leo* the Tenth, upon certain Conditions at *Bolonia*, after the taking of *Milan*; to wit, That when a Biſhoprick or Abby fell to be vacant, the Chapter or Monks ſhould not have the Election, but that it ſhould be in the Kings power, to name, within ſix Months, one to the Pope, whom he ſhould think worthy of the Benefice. And this, amongſt other things, is what King *Henry* meant, when he ſpoke of a Remedy by his Ambaſſadour in Council. For the *French* Kings keep that as a Bit to curb the Popes with, when they fall

1551.

Expectative Graces.

The payment of Annats diſcharged.

Pragmatick Sanction.

The Advice of the Parliament of *Paris*, not to abrogate the *Pragmatical Sanction*.

The *Pragmatical Sanction* in danger.

A Tranſaction about it.

1551. out with them, and they urge the pragmatick Sanction, especially at this time, when the thunder of *Rome* is no longer so terrible, as formerly it hath been, and because *France* is a vast and wealthy Country, and, without great loss, *Rome* cannot be without some of its Riches. Now what he talked of doing at this time, he actually did not long after, as you shall hear. *Philip* the *Fair* made use of some Remedy heretofore against *Boniface* VIII. For when this Pope had enjoyned him to make War beyond Sea against the *Sarazens*, and would not hear of any Excuse, but discharged him from raising any Money from the Clergy of his Kingdom, which he was necessitated to do, because of his Wars, and unless he did obey, put him under Interdict: He assembled all the States at *Paris*, and there having complained of the Injuries of *Boniface*, and put the Question to all the Bishops and Princes, who made him answer, That they held all their Estates and Fortunes of his Bounty and Liberality; he commanded, That no more Money should be carried to *Rome* for the future, and ordered all the ways and passages to be carefully watched. Moreover, when the Parliament of *Paris* reckoned up, how much the Money, paid by vacant Bishopricks and Abbys, amounted to yearly, that, they said, was to be understood of former times; that now the Charge was double, and exceeded the Yearly Revenues: So that some beneficed persons, by reason of the extream exaction, were forced to pawn their Bulls, and leave them in the Bankers hands. Now, in *France*, there are twelve Archbishopricks, *Aix*, *Vienne*, *Lions*, *Narbon*, *Tholouse*, *Bourdeaux*, *Aux*, *Bourges*, *Tours*, *Rowen*, *Rheims*, and *Sens*; and about ninety six Bishopricks, out of the Vacancies whereof, there goes a vast deal of Money to *Rome*; and out of the Archbishopricks, about threescore Thousand three Hundred Crowns, as it was calculated in the time of *Louis* XII.

The pragmatick Sanction a curb to the Popes.

Twelve Archbishopricks in *France*: And ninety six Bishopricks.

When the Letter was read, the Fathers promised to give an answer to it in the next Session; but said, That they admitted not what was then done, but so far as it consisted with Law; and that therefore they could give him no Instrument of that Protestation. Having afterward appointed the eleventh day of *October* for the next Session, they broke up, and departed severally home, about two of the Clock in the Afternoon. And here it seems proper, to give some Description of the form and order of a Publick Session. When that day came, the Fathers, as they love to speak, meet in the Legate's Lodgings; and from thence, to the Cathedral Church, there is a Lane of Soldiers made, consisting of about four hundred foot, besides a Troop of fifty or more Horse. At Nine of the Clock, the Legate comes out with his Cross-bearer before him, and the Cardinal of *Trent* on his left hand; after him, come his Collegues, and the Electoral Archbishops; then the Ambassadors of the Emperour, and King *Ferdinand*, by themselves; and at last, all the other Bishops, every one according to his Rank and Quality. So soon as they are all come to the Church, the Soldiers discharge their Pieces, and give them a Volley; then they draw up in the Market-place, and there, and about the Church, keep Guard 'till the Council break up. These are, for the most part, sent for out of the Country, to be ready against the day of the Session, though the Town also supply a good many. When they are come into the Church, Mass is said; that being over, the Decrees of the Council are read, and then a day appointed for the next Session. Then also, if any Ambassador have ought to say, he is heard: But, by reason of the many various and most cumbersom Ceremonies that are used in every thing, the day is far spent before their Business is over, and then the Legate returns home in the same Pomp as he came. The Pope's Legate takes the first place in the Council, next to him the Cardinal of *Trent*, then the Legates Collegues, and after them the Electoral Archbishops. On the left hand, sit the Ambassadors of the Emperour and other Princes. And the middle Benches are filled by the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, taking place according to the Seniority of their Consecration. *September* the second, Subjects were given to the Divines to be discussed, and that they might give their Opinions of them, that so they might be decided in the next Session. Now in giving their Opinions, this method was prescribed, That they should insist upon the Holy Scriptures, Apostolical Traditions, received and approved Councils, and the Authorities of the Fathers; that they should use Brevity, abstain from unnecessary and superfluous Questions, and avoid all Jangling and Contention. As to the Order, it was thought fit, that the Pope's Divines should speak first, and then the Emperours, and so of the rest. The Pope's Legate also, for the finding out of the Truth, and the confuting of false Opinions, as they said, gave them leave to read all sorts of Books. There were a great many Divines present, *Spanish*, *Italians*, and *Germans*, whom the

The order of Sessions in a Council.

Subjects allotted to the Divines.

the Pope, Emperour, and his Siſter, Queen *Mary*, the Governeſs of the *Low Countries*, had ſent; beſides thoſe, whom the Electors of *Cologne* and *Treves*, and ſome *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Biſhops alſo, brought with them. All things were to be examined by them, and no Man, who had not the Title of *Doctor*, as they call it, was permitted to ſpeak. But in favour to the Biſhops of *Cologne* and *Treves*, *John Gropper*, a Civilian, and *John Delph*, a Divine, but under Doctors Degree, were admitted. And becauſe in ſome former Seſſions, in *Anno* 1546, and the year following, new Canons were made concerning Original Sin, Juſtification, Free-will, and the Seven Sacraments in general, and particular Decrees made concerning Baptiſm and Confirmation, it was reſolved, That all theſe ſtanding in force, they ſhould proceed to other things, and, in the firſt place, to the Sacrament of the Euchariſt. Then, Points were aſſigned to the Divines, with theſe Inſtructions, that they ſhould ſearch and try, if they were Heretical, and to be condemned by the holy Council: And theſe Points were gathered out of the Books of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Bucer*, and other Proteſtant Writers. 1551. Who chiefly examined all Points.

Now in this manner do the Divines handle the matter: They all meet daily in the Legate's Lodgings; and there, for ſeveral hours, and in the order we mentioned, every one diſcourſes of a Point without any interruption; yet ſo, that they ſtill ſubmit all they ſay to the Judgment of the Church of *Rome*, for none of the Proteſtants were preſent. This place is open indifferently to all Men. The Pope's Legate, and, generally, all the Fathers are there; but none ſpeak, except the Divines, and their ſeveral Sayings and Opinions are marked down by Clerks. When they have all diſcourſed, which then was done commonly in a Months time, the Biſhops meet at the Legate's Lodgings, and examine the Opinions of the Divines, regiſtred by the Clerks: Then ſome of every Nation are choſen out of the whole number, that then are preſent, who having weighed all the Opinions, out of them frame that which they call a Doctrine, what ought to be determined and believed in every point: Afterwards, they Condemn in few words, but with a ſevere Cenſure, the contrary Doctrine and Errors, as they call them: And, at length, all theſe things are reported to the whole Aſſembly. When they are fully agreed, a publick Seſſion is held, as we ſaid before, where the Decrees are read aloud, and then the Biſhops are asked, if they approve them: To which, they ſeverally anſwer with a *Placet*. And ſo then, ſome Divines tell their Opinions of the ſeveral Points; but the Biſhops only, and with them a few Mitred Prelates, have the power of Determining. What is ſo decreed, they command to be reverenced as Sacred and Holy, and call them Canons. Theſe things, indeed, are acted publickly; but they, who are more intimately acquainted with the Affairs of *Rome*, ſay, That all the Decrees are already framed at *Rome* by the Pope's order, and ſent in due time to the Legate, that the Divines in their Reaſonings may follow that Form and Preſcript; for the Pope maintains ſeveral of them, and many Biſhops alſo there. And it is a jocoſe Proverb uſed by ſome, *That the Holy Ghoſt comes ever now and then from* Rome *to* Trent *in a Cloak-bag*; becauſe, the Pope ſent Letters, with his Orders and Inſtructions, by Poſt from *Rome*. The way of making Articles of Faith. The way of making Canons. The Holy Ghoſt in the Pope's hands.

September the fourth, Count *Heideck* came to *Magdeburg*; and Duke *Maurice* ſent by him the Conditions of Peace formerly propoſed, ſo moderated, that they reſolved to proceed in the Treaty. In the mean time, there was a Ceſſation of Arms, which was afterward alſo prolonged for many days, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

The *French* King, now at variance with the Pope, publiſhed an Edict, wherein having enlarged much upon the injury done him by the Pope, upon the cauſe of the War of *Parma*, and why he had taken *Octavio* into his protection, he commands under a moſt ſevere penalty, That no more Money be for the future carried to *Rome*; for ſince Money was the Sinews of War, what madneſs would it be, with his and his Subjects Treaſure, to maintain and ſtrengthen the power of his Enemy? That it was the proper Office of the Popes, to take up the differences of Princes; and that did *Paul* III. who, being almoſt worn out by Age, made a long progreſs to *Nizza*, to make the Emperour and his Father friends; but that *Julius* took a quite different courſe, who, having lately called a Council, which was, indeed, very neceſſary to the publick, had ſtirred up a War againſt him, on purpoſe, that he might exclude all the Church of *France*, which was one of the chief, and that ſo no lawful Council might be had, wherein the Errors and Faults, both of the Head and Members, might be reformed. This Edict of the King's was publiſhed at *Paris* the ſeventh of *September*, when, a few days before, another Edict of his, and a moſt ſevere one too, was publiſhed againſt the *Lutherans*, which partly confirmed the The *French* King's Edict againſt the Pope. A moſt ſevere Edict of the *French* King's, againſt the *Lutherans*.

1551. the former Decrees of that nature, and partly, where they ſeemed not ſmartly enough penn'd, ſharpened them, and skrewed them up to the higheſt pitch of Rigour, inviting and encouraging Informers, by ample promiſes of Rewards. Which the King, as it was thought, did with this deſign, that he might curb thoſe, who were deſirous of a change of Religion in *France*, that they ſhould not take to themſelves the greater liberty, becauſe of his claſhing with the Pope at this time: Again, that they, who honoured the Church of *Rome*, might entertain no ſuſpicion of him, as if his mind hankered after a new Religion. And laſtly, that both the Pope, and College of Cardinals, might perceive, that they might have acceſs ſtill to his Friendſhip, when they pleaſed. Afterward, a Declaration came forth out of the Emperour's Court, wherein the original of the War of *Parma* is related, and how juſt a cauſe of Offence the Pope had againſt *Octavio*, and the Prince of *Mirandula*; of how reſtleſs a mind the *French* King was, who laid hold on all occaſions, and made it his whole ſtudy and endeavour, to hinder and diſappoint the Emperour's moſt honeſt and lawful Deſigns. But that the Emperour was ſo little moved at all theſe things, that he would proceed with greater Courage and Reſolution. *Octavio* had given it out, that he was neceſſitated to put himſelf under the protection of the *French* King, becauſe of the Injuries and Treacheries of *Ferdinando Gonzaga*; but in this Declaration, that is refuted: For, that if there were any cauſe of fear, he himſelf gave the occaſion, who had oftener than once laid wait for the life of *Gonzaga*. Then, there is an account given, how *Piacenza* fell into the Emperour's hands; for that *Petro Aloiſio*, the Pope's Baſtard Son, being inveſted into *Parma* and *Piacenza*, governed the People tyrannically, and, like another *Nero*, practiſed his deteſtable Luſt, not only upon Women, but Men alſo, as his cuſtom was, that therefore he was ſlain and murdered in his own Houſe by the Citizens, who could no longer ſuffer ſo great Cruelties: That the Towns-people, then, perceiving the preſent danger they were in, if they ſhould fall again under the Juriſdiction of the Pope and Church of *Rome*, had no other way of ſecurity left, than to reſign themſelves over to the Emperour, eſpecially ſince, of old, they had been free Denizons of the Empire. That therefore they had applied themſelves to *Gonzaga*, praying him, to receive them into the Emperour's protection, for that otherwiſe they muſt look for help and patronage ſomewhere elſe. That it was an idle thing in him, then, to pretend fear, ſeeing the Emperour had beſtowed many favours upon the Family of *Farneſe*; that he had choſen *Octavio* to be his Son-in-law, given his Father *Peter Aloiſio* the City of *Novara* in Fee and Inheritance, and honoured him with the Title of *Marqueſs*: But that they had been very ungrateful at all times, but particularly, when, under a counterfeit mask of Friendſhip, they aſſiſted him, in ſubduing ſome Rebels of *Germany*, their whole deſign was, at the ſame time, to have taken from him *Milan* and *Genoua*; for that *Joannin D'Oria*, a brave and valiant Man, was baſely killed in that Scuffle and Tumult, whilſt he diſcharged his duty to the Emperour, and ſtood up for the ſafety of his Country.

The Emperour's Declaration againſt the King of *France*.

There came out an anſwer to this, afterward, in name of the *French* King, wherein a relation is given, how that the Emperour, to endear *Paul* III. to himſelf, had given to his Son *Petro Aloiſio* the Title and Quality of *Marqueſs*, how that he had taken his Son *Octavio* to be his own Son-in-law; how that he had gratifyed and obliged his other Son *Alexander* with many Eccleſiaſtical Preferments; and, in ſhort, how that he had made a League with the Pope, wherein it was provided, as it is ſaid, that the Emperour ſhould confirm the Decree of the College of Cardinals, concerning the Principality of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, to the Family of the *Farneſes*: But that when the Emperour was at War in *Germany*, and pretended, it was not for Religion, but to puniſh the Rebellion of ſome, that he had taken up Arms, it was a very unacceptable Contrivance to the Pope, as wel perceiving, that, by ſo doing, he minded only his own private Concerns, and aimed at Dominion: And that he had not been out in his Judgment neither; for that, when the War being over, the Emperour ſtood not much in need of the aſſiſtance of the *Farneſes*, he had given no dark intimations of his ill will to the Pope; for that then, his Governours in *Italy* had had an eye and mind to *Piacenza*, and that not long after, Ruffians being ſubborned to murder *Petro Aloiſio* in his Chamber, before that the Citizens heard of the Murder, Soldiers had been brought into the Town, who ſeized the Caſtle in the Emperour's Name: That, if the Emperour had not been privy to the Fact, it had been but reaſonable, that, after the death of *Paul* the Third, he ſhould have reſtored it to the Church; but that he not only reſtored it not, but had alſo endea-

The *French* King's Juſtification.

The cauſe of the difference betwixt the Emperour and the Pope.

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voured to take *Parma* from his Son-in-law, and had, even in the life-time of *Paul*, laid his meaſures for effecting it, inſomuch, that the Trouble and Vexation, which the Pope thereupon conceived, ſhortened his days. That afterwards *Aſſaſſines* had been apprehended at *Parma*, who voluntarily confeſſed, That they had been employed by *Ferdinando Gonzaga* to kill *Octavio*; that being reduced then into ſuch ſtreights, that they, from whom he expected help, and his own Father-in-law too, had deſigns upon him, to rob him both of Life and Fortune; he had implored help and protection from him, which, upon his humble Supplication, he could not refuſe. 1551.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH.

BOOK XXIII.

The CONTENTS.

The Fathers of Trent *meet in Seſſion, and draw up the form of a ſafe Conduct, for coming to the Council: The* French *King conſents not; nay, he perſuades the* Switzers *to ſend none to it. Peace is fully concluded with the* Magdeburgers: *The Conditions of the Peace are ſet down. Some Cities of* Germany *ſend Deputies to the Council. The Ambaſſadors of the Duke of* Wirtemberg *are deluded. Duke* Maurice *having ſent Ambaſſadors to the Emperour about the* Landgrave, *and obtaining nothing but ſhifts and delays, he preſently reſolves upon a War. The Biſhop of* Waradine, *lately made Cardinal, by whoſe help King* Ferdinand *had made himſelf Maſter of all* Tranſilvania *almoſt, is ſlain in his own Houſe. The Emperour, in his Letters which he ſendeth to appeaſe the Electoral Archbiſhops, tells them, That he expects nothing but what is fair and honeſt from Duke* Maurice; *who, the better to cloak and conceal his deſigns, ſends his Deputies alſo to the Council, with whom others joyn, and demands a ſafe Conduct for his Divines to come; but eſpecially, that they, who are of a contrary perſuaſion, ſhould not ſit as Judges in the Council. They depart without ſucceſs, when it began to be ſpread abroad, that their Maſter, Duke* Maurice, *was a preparing for War. The* Tridentine *Fathers diſagree among themſelves. Shortly after, news being brought of the taking of* Ausburg *by ſurrender; they fly for it.* Creſcentio, *the Legate, being frightened by an Apparition, fell ſick, and deſpaired of Life, what ever his Servants and Phyſicians could do, or ſay, to comfort him.*

IN order to a pacification, Duke *Maurice* held a Convention of his own States, about the end of *September*, at *Wittemberg*; whither, as it had been agreed upon, the City of *Magdeburg* ſent their Deputies, who, ten days after, returned home, under the ſafe Conduct of Marqueſs *Albert*, of *Brandeburg*. We told you before, how Duke *Maurice* had, by Letters, interceded with the Emperour, that his Divines might have a ſafe Conduct from the Council; the Emperour therefore ſent Orders to his Ambaſſadors, to prefer the Matter to the Fathers, and bring it to paſs. A Seſſion was then held on the eleventh of *October*; wherein was read, firſt, a Decree, explaining the Doctrine of the Corporal Preſence of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt; of the manner of its Inſtitution; of Tranſubſtantiation, as they call it; of the Worſhip and Adoration of this Sacrament; of keeping of the Hoſt, and of carrying it about to the Sick; and

making Peace with *Magdeburg*, Duke *Maurice* holds a Convention of States.

He alſo deſires a ſafe Conduct from the Council for his Divines.

The Decree of the Council concerning the Lord's Supper.

1555. and of the Preparation that is required for the worthy Receiving thereof. And then all Chriſtians are forbidden to believe or teach otherwiſe, than according to the Doctrine of that Decree: Then were the Canons read over; and, in them, were all the Points condemned, which, as we ſaid before, had been drawn out of the Books of *Luther*, and others; nevertheleſs, to comply with the Emperour, they left four of them undecided, to wit, Whether or not it be neceſſary to Salvation, and commanded by the Law of God, that all receive the Sacrament in both kinds; whether he who receives it only in one kind, receives leſs than he who takes it in both; whether the Church erred, when ſhe appointed, that the Prieſts only ſhould receive in both kinds, and the reſt under one; whether the Sacrament be to be given alſo to young Children. The Proteſtants, they ſaid, deſired to be heard, as to theſe Points, before the Council determined any thing in them; and to have a ſafe Conduct to come: Since, therefore, they had hitherto earneſtly lookt for their coming, and were in good hopes, that they might return to the ancient Unity and Concord of the Church, they granted them a ſafe conduct to come and return home, and did defer the deciſion of theſe Points 'till the twenty fifth day of *January*, that, by that day, they might be preſent, and alledge what they had to ſay: That then alſo, becauſe of the Affinity that was betwixt the two, the Sacrifice of the Maſs ſhould be handled. Theſe things then were publickly read by them, as if their Adverſaries had deſired only to be heard concerning thoſe matters, whereas no ſuch thing had ever entered into their Thoughts. Beſides Duke *Maurice*, no body had made addreſs to the Emperour, and he alſo did it in the manner we mentioned before, there being far greater matters to be propounded, than thoſe were. But what the deſign was, in giving out that Sham, one may gueſs it, though nothing can be poſitively affirmed, though one of two it muſt needs be; for, either they had had a ſame and ſiniſtrous account of Duke *Maurice*'s demand, or they themſelves cunningly miſunderſtood it, which is the more likely of the two, becauſe of the ſafe Conduct which they gave; for when Duke *Maurice* deſired a ſafe Conduct for his People, in the ſame form and manner, as the *Bohemians* of old obtained one: They, in a few words, and very ſuperficially, drew up a draught, without the uſual formalities; to wit, that all *Germans*, indifferently, might come to the Council, and freely debate, confer, and treat, about the Matters there to be handled, either in full Council, or with ſome Commiſſioners appointed, and that either by Word or Writing, as they pleaſed, without contumelious and reproachful Language or Reflections, and, when they ſhould think fit, to depart and return home; that the Council, as to that, granted them ſafe Conduct, ſo far as was in their power: And, that they might alſo, for the Crimes committed, or to be committed, though they were moſt grievous, and favoured of Hereſie, chooſe to themſelves Judges at their own diſcretion. The ſame day, the eleventh of *October*, they made ſome Canons touching Reformation, which related to their own Juriſdiction. And then the twenty fifth of *November* was appointed to be the day of the next Seſſion, when Penance and Extream Unction ſhould be handled. *Joachim*, Elector of *Brandeburg*, ſent alſo his Ambaſſador, *Chriſtopher Straſſen*, a Lawyer, to offer his Duty and Obeiſance, and the Ambaſſador made a long Harangue, indeed, concerning the good Intentions of his Maſter: They make anſwer, That with great pleaſure they had heard all his Speech, eſpecially that part of it, wherein the Prince ſubmits himſelf wholly to the Council, and promiſes to obſerve the Decrees thereof; that they were in hopes, that what had been now ſaid by him, would be effectually performed by the Prince, his Maſter. Upon the death of *John Albert*, who had enjoyed the ſpacious and rich Archbiſhoprick of *Magdeburg*, as we ſaid, *Frederick*, the Elector of *Brandeburg*'s Son, was, by the Chapter, choſen Archbiſhop: But the Matter ſtuck at *Rome*, and could not be diſpatched; it being a great Obſtacle in the way, that, as it was publickly known, the Elector *Joachim* had before been of the Proteſtant Religion. To remove that ſuſpicion, therefore, was the Ambaſſador, whom I named, ſent, who uſed his utmoſt diligence, by fawning and cajoling, to work upon the Prelates.

Four Heads left undecided to be diſputed about.

The form of the ſafe conduct from the Council.

Brandeburg's Ambaſſador claws the Fathers of the Council.

Frederick, of *Brandeburg*, elected Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*.

Peace was concluded at *Wittemberg*, and though the Siege was not preſently raiſed, yet, *October* the twelfth, they began to have friendly Meetings together. At the ſame time, Duke *Maurice* made thoſe of *Catzenelbogen* a People of the Dominion of *Heſs*, who, three years before, had, by the Emperour's Sentence, been taken from the *Landgrave*, then Priſoner, as we ſaid before, to ſwear Allegiance to him, with the conſent of the *Landgrave*'s Sons, and that becauſe of an

The end of the War of *Magdeburg*.

Duke *Maurice* makes the *Heſſians* ſwear Allegiance to him.

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Hereditary League, as he ſaid, betwixt the Houſes of *Heſs* and *Saxony*, whereby, for want of Heirs Male, the one is to ſucceed to the other. No Man doubted, but that this was an injury done to the Emperour, who had pronounced the Sentence, and that it tended to ſome new commotion, and all wondred what would come on't; yet hardly any notice was taken of it in the Emperour's Court, but all was ſeemingly connived at. 1551.

The Protector of *England* again made Priſoner.

About this time, the Duke of *Somerſet*, Uncle to the King of *England*, was a ſecond time apprehended, and, with him, the Lord *Paget*, the Lord *Gray*, and ſome others. *John*, Duke of *Northumberland*, had then the chief Government; and the reaſon of his apprehenſion was ſaid to be, That he had conſpired the death of *Northumberland*, as he himſelf alledged; for that, by a late Law, was made Felony amongſt them.

Martinhauſen made Cardinal.

About the fifteenth of *October*, the Pope made *George Martinhauſen*, a *Dalmatian*, Biſhop of *Waradin*, Cardinal. He was a Man of great Authority in *Hungary*, and commonly called *Monk*, becauſe he was of the Order of *Paul*, the firſt Hermit.

The Council's Letter to the *French* King.

It has been declared before, that the *French* Ambaſſador was ordered to attend on the eleventh of *October*, to receive his anſwer, provided, the King owned the Council; but he came not, and nevertheleſs, in name of the Council, a Letter to the King was publiſhed. And firſt, they tell him, that for many Reaſons they had expected every thing that was good and great at his hands; but that upon the coming of his Ambaſſador, and reading of his Letter, it was a great Grief to them, to find themſelves fruſtrated of their hopes; and that, nevertheleſs, ſince they were not conſcious to themſelves of any wrong they had done, nor of any cauſe of offence that they had given, they had not as yet wholly laid aſide the hopes they formerly conceived of him; that the Opinion he entertained then, as if the Council had been called for the particular intereſt and advantage of ſome few, ought leaſt of all to take place in that ſo great an Aſſembly. That the Cauſes of calling the Council, were publiſhed, not only by the preſent Pope, but alſo by his Predeceſſor *Paul* III. to wit, that Hereſies might be rooted out, that Diſcipline might be reformed, and that the Peace of the Church might be reſtored: Was not that manifeſt enough? Could there any thing be done more Piouſly, or Chriſtianly? That Hereſies did now ſpread, not only over *Germany*, but, in ſome manner, over all Provinces; that the Council would apply a Remedy to this great evil; that this was the ground, and this alſo the end, of all their Deliberations, and that all they did, aimed only at that; that therefore he would ſuffer the Biſhops within his Dominions, to come and aſſiſt in carrying on ſo holy a Work; that he had no cauſe to fear, but that they ſhould have liberty to ſpeak freely what they thought; that, with much patience and attention, his Ambaſſador had been lately heard, though his Meſſage had not been ſo very pleaſant; and, that ſince a private perſon had been heard with ſo much mildneſs and favour, why ſhould any Man believe, that that would be denied to publick perſons, and Men of ſuch Dignity, too? That notwithſtanding, though he ſhould not ſend one ſingle perſon, yet both the Authority and Dignity of the Council would ſubſiſt, as being both lawfully called at firſt, and for juſt Cauſes now again reſtored; but that as to what he intimated, of uſing Remedies, ſuch as his Anceſtors had made uſe of, they did not think, that he would ever proceed ſo far, as to revive thoſe things, which have heretofore been aboliſhed, to the great advantage of the Kings of *France:* And that ſeeing God had bleſſed him with ſo many benefits and favours, they could not but hope, that he would not do any thing, whereby he might ſeem unthankful to God, or to holy Mother Church: That he ſhould only look back upon his Progenitors, upon his own Title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*, and, in a word, upon his Father King *Francis*, who honoured the former Council by the Ambaſſadors and moſt learned Biſhops, whom he ſent to it; that he ſhould imitate that late and domeſtick Example, and ſacrifice private Offences to the publick Good.

The *French* King frightens the *Switzers* from the Council.

The Emperour and Pope had exhorted the *Switzers* to come to the Council, but it was in vain. And the Pope, as we ſaid before, made uſe of the Miniſtery of *Jerom-Franco*, his Nuncio there, to bring that about: But the *French* King ſent Inſtructions to the Ambaſſador, *La Morliere*, who reſided in thoſe places, that he ſhould endeavour to perſuade them all, not to ſend any perſon to it. *La Morliere*, finding that to be a difficult task, ſent for *Vergerio*, an expert Man in thoſe Affairs, to come to him from amongſt the *Griſons*, who ſupplied him with Arguments, and, a little after, publiſhed a Book againſt repairing to the Council.

Vergerio's Book about avoiding the

1551. *La Moliere* thus provided, came to the Convention at *Baden*, and there alledging his Reaſons, he perſuaded, not only thoſe, who long before had ſhaken off Popery, but alſo all the other Cantons, to what he deſired of them; ſo that none came from them to *Trent*. From the *Griſons* came, by Orders from the Pope, *Thomas Plant*, Biſhop of *Coyre*; but when the *Griſons* underſtood, from *Vergerio*, what the Pope was driving at, that is, by his means, to recover his Authority over them, he was recalled.

The Biſhop of *Coyre* recalled from the Council.

The Duchy of *Wirtemberg* rid of the *Spaniards*.

The *Spaniards*, who Quartered here and there in the Country of *Wirtemberg*, were, about this time, called out by the Emperour, and ſent into *Italy*, becauſe of the War of *Parma*. By their departure, the whole Province was relieved from a very heavy Bondage, under which it had groaned for almoſt five whole years; only the Caſtle of *Achſperg* the Emperour ſtill retained, with a Gariſon of *Germans* in it. About the ſame time alſo, *Henry Haſen*, at the Emperour's Command, went over *Schwabia*, and in all places changed the State of the Government, putting in new Senators, as had been done three years before at *Ausburg*: He turned out alſo all Preachers and School-maſters, as had been done lately at *Ausburg*, unleſs they would obey the Decree about Religion.

Haſen's Exploits in *Schwabia*.

The Duke of *Wirtemberg's* Ambaſſadors at the Council.

That Duke *Maurice*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, had ordered the Heads of Doctrine to be drawn up, which ſhould afterwards be exhibited; and that the Senate of *Strasburg* joyned with them alſo in that deſign, it hath been ſaid before. The Duke of *Wirtemberg* therefore ſent two Ambaſſadors, *John Theodorick Plenninger*, and *John Heclin*, with Inſtructions, publickly to produce that written Confeſſion of Doctrine, and to acquaint the Council, That Divines would come to treat of it more at large, and to defend the ſame, provided, they might have a ſafe Conduct granted them, according to the form of that of *Baſil*. *So ſoon as they arrived at *Trent*, which was about the later end of *October*, they waited upon Count *Montfort*, ſhew him their Commiſſion and Credential Letters, and acquainted him, that they had ſome things to propoſe in Council, in their Princes Name. His Diſcourſe ſeemed to inſinuate, that it behoved them to apply themſelves to the Pope's Legate: But they perceiving, that if they ſhould have any Communication with him, it would be conſtrued, as if they owned him to have the chief Right and Authority in judging, which would be a prejudice and great diſadvantage to their Cauſe, did not go to him, but gave their Prince an account of what they had done, and expected new Orders from him how to behave themſelves. In the mean time, the Divines were employed, after their uſual manner, in examining and diſcuſſing the Points, we mentioned, of *Penance*, and *Extream Unction*. *November* the third, Count *Heideck* came from Duke *Maurice* to *Magdeburg*, and having called out the Officers of the Gariſon to a Caſtle hard by the City, he fully concluded a Peace, and thereupon drew up and ſigned Articles; wherein it was provided, that the Soldiers ſhould have a ſafe Conduct to depart whither they pleaſed with ſecurity; and this was done the eighth day of the ſame Month: But ſo ſoon as they were diſbanded, they were ſecretly liſted again under the Command of the Duke of *Meckleburg*, now by the pacification ſet at liberty; for Duke *Maurice* would not be ſeen in it himſelf. Now theſe were ſaid to be the Conditions of Peace: That they ſhould humbly beg the Emperour's Pardon; that they ſhould not attempt any thing againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria* and *Burgundy*; that they ſhould ſubmit to the Imperial Chamber; that they ſhould obey the laſt Decree of *Ausburg*; that they ſhould anſwer to all Law-Suits; that they ſhould diſmantle the Town, at the Emperour's diſcretion; that they ſhould at all times receive Gariſons from the Emperour, and open to him the Gates of the City; that they ſhould pay fifty Thouſand *Florins* into the publick Exchequer, for the Charges of the War; that they ſhould deliver up twelve Pieces of Ordnance to the Emperour; and, that they ſhould ſet at liberty the Duke of *Meckleburg*, and the reſt of the Priſoners. The ſame day the Soldiers of the Gariſon marched out, to the number of two Thouſand Foot, and about an Hundred and thirty Horſe; and Duke *Maurice* commanded five Companies of Foot to march in. Next day, he made his entry with the whole Army, having been met by the Senate, and made them all ſwear to be true to the Emperour, and to himſelf, who had been Commander in chief in the War, and then leaving a Gariſon in the Town, he drew out all the reſt. Afterwards, he ordered the Preachers to be called together, and by the mouths of his Counſellors, *Fuchſen*, *Carlebitz*, and *Mordeyſon*, he complained of the Injuries that had been done unto him by Libels and Pictures, which they had diſperſed abroad in his Infamy, as if he had fallen away from the Reformed Religion, and, as if he had made War againſt the City, for their con-

The Pacification of *Magdeburg*.

The Conditions of Peace.

The *Magdeburgers* having received Duke *Maurice*, ſwear to be true to the Emperour.

Duke *Maurice's* Complaint to the Preachers of *Magdeburg*.

conſtant Profeſſion of the Goſpel: That therefore he had juſt cauſe to be offended with them, if he would give way to his Paſſions, but that he pardoned all for the ſake of the Publick, and deſired of them, that, for the future, they would exhort the People to amendment of Life, and obedience to the Magiſtrates: Commanding publick Prayers alſo to be made for the Emperour, for himſelf, and for the reſt of the Magiſtrates: Moreover, he tells them, That there was a Council now at *Trent*, wherein he was to exhibit a Confeſſion of their holy Doctrine, as well in his own, as in the name of the other Princes and States: That therefore they would pray to God, to direct and order all the actions of the Council for the beſt, and that they would not rail at it, as they uſually did. They, having deliberated upon the Matter, made anſwer; That, indeed, they had not diſperſed thoſe Pictures; nor did they judge them worthy of cenſure, neither: That it was not to be deny'd, but that ſome, within his Territories, had within theſe three years fallen off from the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel; for that there were Books and Records to prove it: That the City had been beſieged for the cauſe of Religion, might be eaſily demonſtrated, if one did but conſider, who were the firſt Authors of the War: That they had never foreborn to admoniſh the people, nor would they forbear to do ſo for the future: That for the Council, which was met to ſtifle and aboliſh the Truth, and wherein the Roman Antichriſt poſſeſſed the chief place, they could no otherwiſe pray, than, that it would pleaſe God to confound, diſappoint, and break all their Counſels and Enterpriſes; for that there was nothing but miſchief to be expected from them: Theſe were the Conditions of Peace, that were made publick: But it is certain alſo, that they had good ſecurity given them for their Liberty and Religion: And Duke *Maurice* was more willing that the Town ſhould be open to him, than to the Emperour, as the event proved it afterwards. The *Magdeburgers*, contrary to the expectation of many, being in this manner delivered, purchaſed to themſelves great Reputation and Praiſe amongſt Foreign Nations; that they alone, in a manner, of all *Germany*, had by their Example made it appear, what conſtancy could do. Now, the end of their Miſeries was the beginning of a War againſt thoſe very perſons, by whoſe Aid and Counſels they had been diſtreſſed, as will be ſeen hereafter. During theſe days that Duke *Maurice* was in Town, he gave ſome intimations plain enough of what he hatched in his thoughts, and that was, that he would hazard his Life, but that he would deliver his Father-in-Law; nor did he diſſemble it the day after, when he was put to it by a certain perſon. He had already ſent Ambaſſadours to the Emperour, to ſolicite the *Landgrave*'s Liberty: He had, in that, joyned with him the King of *Denmark*, and many Princes of *Germany*, as we ſhall relate hereafter; and if he could not prevail, he was fully reſolved, to try what he could do by force, and had therefore already entered into a League with the King of *France*, who had privately ſent to him *John de Freſne*, Biſhop of *Bayonne*, a man well acquainted in *Germany*, and not unskilful of the Language. However, the Emperour ſeemed not at all to be ſtartled at theſe things, but was wholly intent upon the War of *Parma*, and the proceedings of the Council of *Trent*.

1551.

The Preachers Anſwer.

The conſtancy and renown of the *Magdeburgers*.

Duke *Maurice* hatches a War againſt the Emperour.

An Ambaſſadour from the French King Duke *Maurice*.

Much about this time, *Maximilian*, the Emperours Son-in-Law, arrived at *Genoua* from *Spain* with his Wife and Children. The French, ſetting out from *Marſeilles*, boarded ſome of his Ships, and made booty of them. The Reaſon of this was ſaid to have been, that the Horſe, which King *Ferdinand* had ſent into *Italy*, to receive his Son upon his arrival from *Spain*, and to guard him home, had ſerved in ſome Military Action under *Ferrante Gonzaga*. But the French, before that alſo, had, under a pretence of Friendſhip, put into the very Port of *Barcelona*, and carried off a Gally, and ſix Merchant Ships, loaded with Proviſions, and all things neceſſary for *Maximilian*'s Voyage, as the Imperialiſts upbraided them, in a certain Invective, wherein they complained of the injuries done by the French, and of their breach of the Peace.

Maximilian comes from *Spain*.

His Ships plundered by the French.

In the Dyet of *Ausburg*, the Princes had begg'd of the Emperour, that if he could not be preſent in Perſon, he would not be far from the place of the Council, for which he had given them his Promiſe, ſaying, That he would tarry upon the Confines of the Empire, as has been ſaid before, wherefore the beginning of *November* he left *Ausburg*, and came to *Inſpruck*, three days Journy from *Trent*. This, it was thought, he did, both becauſe of the Council, and of the War of *Parma*, that being ſo near, all things might be diſpatched with greater diligence. Shortly after, *November* the twenty firſt, *John Sleidan*, the Deputy of *Strasburg*

Sleidan ſent Deputy from *Strasburg* to the Council.

1551. *Strasburg* came to *Trent*, that he might joyn with the Ambaſſadours of Duke *Maurice*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, in negotiating the common concern. To this City were aſſociated *Eſling*, *Ravensburg*, *Ruteling*, *Bibrach* and *Lindaw*, who gave him full Commiſſion to act joyntly alſo in their name. But why thoſe of *Frankfurt*, and eſpecially *Norimberg*, did not ſend; it may be doubted. They of *Ulm* had already changed their Religion, according to the Emperours Preſcript. From *Ausburg*, and other places, all the Doctors had been lately taken, as was ſaid before, ſo that it was not in their power to ſend; though, if no ſuch thing had been done, the Senate would have acted nothing in that Affair, without the Emperours leave. In the Month of *November*, the Pope in one day created thirteen Cardinals, all Italians, for theſe are as the Guards, which they uſually provide for their own defence and ſecurity. On the five and twentieth of *November*, the Seſſion was held in the accuſtomed manner: Where the Degrees were read: Firſt, concerning Penance; that it is a Sacrament inſtituted by Chriſt, and neceſſary to thoſe, who after Baptiſm fall into ſin: That it is alſo a diſtinct Sacrament from Baptiſm, and, as it were, a Planck for Salvation after Shipwrack: That Chriſt's words, whereby he gives the Holy Ghoſt to his Apoſtles, ought to be underſtood of the Power of remitting Sins by this Sacrament: That for the Remiſſion of Sins, three things are required; to wit, Contrition, Confeſſion and Satisfaction: And that Contrition is a true and profitable ſorrow, which prepares Man for Grace: That Confeſſion, or the ſecret way of revealing Sins to a Prieſt, is of Divine Inſtitution, and neceſſary to Salvation: That all the Sins, which one remembers, and their circumſtances, are to be confeſſed: That once a year, at leaſt, one ought to confeſs, and that chiefly in time of Lent: That Abſolution is not a bare Declaration that Sins are forgiven, but a Judicial Act: That Prieſts only, though they be never ſo ſinful, have Power of Abſolving: That Biſhops reſerve to themſelves ſome Caſes and Offences, from which other Prieſts cannot Abſolve, is rightly done: That although the guilt be remitted, yet the puniſhment is not, and that Satisfaction conſiſts in Works, not in Faith: That by the Penance, which God either inflicts, the Prieſt enjoyns, or we chuſe of our own accord, Sins are expiated, in as far as concerneth the temporal Puniſhment: That ſatisfactions, whereby Sins are atoned, are part of Gods Worſhip: That the Prieſt hath the Power of binding and looſing, and therefore may impoſe Penance upon him, that confeſſes his Sins. And ſo much of Penance.

Thirteen Cardinals created.

The Decree of the Council concerning Penance.

Extreme Unction, they decreed to be a Sacrament inſtituted by Chriſt, that it both confers Grace, remitteth Sins, and comforteth the Sick: That the uſe of this Sacrament, is the ſame, that the Apoſtle St *James* ſpake of; that the Elders alſo, whom he mentions, are not the Elders in years, but Prieſts, who are the only true Miniſters of this Sacrament. This Doctrine they commanded to be taught and obſerved, and thoſe that taught, or believed otherwiſe, they curſed and anathematized, as wicked and peſtiferous wretches. Next day after the Seſſion, Letters came from the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, to his Ambaſſadours; wherein he ordered them to proceed, and produce the written draught of the Confeſſion of their Doctrine, in the Seſſion of the twenty fifth of *November*. Since, therefore they came a little too late, that it was a long while to the next Seſſion, and that Count *Monfort* alſo was abſent, they applied themſelves to the Cardinal of *Trent*, acquainting him, that they had ſome things to propoſe in Council, in name of their Prince: That it ought to have been done in the laſt Seſſion, but that the Letters came too late, when the occaſion was over: That therefore they entreated him, who was a German born, that, for the love of his Country, and the ſake of the Prince, whom he knew, he would aſſiſt them in the Matter, and ſo far prevail with the Fathers, that they would all meet, and give them an Audience. He made them ample promiſes of his Favour, and good Will, and told them, that he would acquaint the Popes Legate with their deſire; but that it had been agreed upon amongſt the Fathers, that no man ſhould be admitted to propound any thing publickly, unleſs it were firſt known what the matter were: That the French Ambaſſador had given occaſion to that reſolution, when not long ſince, an undecent kind of Hubbub and ſcurvy noiſe was, by his means, raiſed in the publick Seſſion: Wherefore, he deſired to know, what it was, in ſhort, they were about to demand: They being very hot upon the Matter, ſhewed him their Letter of Inſtructions: But, when by that Letter, he found, that they had ſome Writing of Doctrine to preſent, he diſmiſſed them, with hopes, that

The Decree concerning Extreme Unction.

Wirtemburgs Ambaſſadours apply themſelves to the Cardinal of *Trent*.

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that within a few days the Matter might be brought about. Next day he ſent for them, and told them, That he had acquainted the Legate with their buſineſs, and to confirm what he ſaid, had ſhewn him the Letter of Inſtructions: But that he took it in great indignation, that they ſhould think of preſenting a Writing, and that it was his Opinion, that it was very abſurd and misbecoming, that they, who ought reverently to receive and obey the Rule of Doctrine ſet before them, ſhould offer to preſcribe to their Superiours: That at that time, indeed, he could obtain no more of him; but that he would urge him once more about the Matter; bidding them withal not to deſpair. Some days after, when upon the approach of *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, the Cardinal was to go as far as *Mantua* to meet him, he adviſed the Ambaſſadours of *Wirtemberg*, ſince he was neceſſitated for ſome time to be abſent, to make their application to *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, the Emperours Ambaſſadour: That, by Virtue of his Character and Authority, he could do them great kindneſſes, and that he would willingly do it, were it no more but for his ſake, who had recommended the Affair unto him. In compliance with this Counſel, they addreſs themſelves to the Ambaſſadour: Who, having promiſed them great Matters, diſmiſſed them: But next time they came again, he began to excuſe himſelf, upon pretext of the enſuing Diſputations of the Divines, at which the Fathers were to be preſent; but that when theſe were over, he would not neglect the occaſion of doing them ſervice. It is probable, that he had received juſt ſuch another anſwer from the Legate, as the Cardinal had before: But that he might not put them out of all hopes, he had pretended this Reaſon eſpecially, ſince he knew that the Emperour both urged the Council, and that it was ſtipulated, by a publick Decree of the Empire, that all ſhould have liberty to propoſe what Matters they pleaſed. In the mean time, the Deputy of *Strasburg*, waited upon the Emperours Ambaſſadour, *William* of *Poictieres*, in the abſence of *Montfort*. And ſeeing the Caſe of all was alike; and their Power the ſame, he ſhew'd him his Commiſſion, as it was uſual, telling him, That he was ſent to joynt with the reſt of the Auguſtane Confeſſion, in the proſecution of ſuch means and counſels, as might tend to the compoſing of the difference about Religion and Doctrine, and the ſettling of publick Peace and Tranquillity. He, having taken a Copy of his Commiſſion, which he promiſed to ſend to the Emperour, and ſpoken much of the Doctrine, and of the dignity of the Council, as he was, indeed, a Learned Man, and accuſtomed to the Bar, offered his pains and ſervice. This was the laſt of *November*: And the ſame day, the Divines had the Sacrifice of the Maſs aſſigned them, as the ſubject of their Diſputations, of which they were to give their Opinions, in the manner before mentioned.

And are gulled.

The Deputy of *Strasburg* applies himſelf to the Emperours Ambaſſadour.

We told you a little before, that Duke *Maurice* had ſent Ambaſſadours to the Emperour in behalf of the *Landgrave*; and with them were joyned the Ambaſſadours with the Elector of *Brandeburg*. Being admitted, then, to Audience, about the beginning of *December*, and having made their Complements in the names of their Princes: You know, ſay they, moſt gracious Emperour, the ſtreights and difficulties, that the moſt Illuſtrious Princes Electors, Duke *Mauriee*, and the Marqueſs of *Brandeburg* lye under, upon the account of the *Landgrave*'s confinement, which, contrary to all expectation, they have run themſelves into, whilſt they made it their chief ſtudy to procure to your Majeſty an eaſie and honourably Victory, leſſen the charges of War, and recover peace and quietneſs to their common Country. And this alſo hath been the cauſe, why they have ſolicited your Majeſty, ſometimes by their Ambaſſadours, and ſometimes in perſon, that you would have ſome conſideration of them, and ſet him at liberty; offering your Majeſty, at the ſame time, more ample ſecurity, if that which they, *Wolfgang*, Prince *Palatine*, and all the people of *Heſſe* had granted, were not thought ſufficient. To theſe their demands, Sir, you made anſwer, telling *Chriſtopher Carlebitz*, and *James Schilling*, whom they ſent laſt to you, that you could not conveniently ſet him at liberty, before it appeared, what the iſſue of the Imperial Dyet, then at hand, would prove: And again, that you promiſed no more, but that, if he performed his Articles, he ſhould not be detained perpetual Priſoner. But, when their other urgent Affairs would not ſuffer them to come to the Dyet, they made freſh Addreſſes to your Majeſty, by Letters, and their Agents at *Ausburg*: To theſe you were pleaſed to write an Anſwer, wherein having told them, why you had more reaſon to be offended with him than before, and that you could not diſcharge him, you abſolved them from

The Ambaſſadours of Duke *Maurice*, and the Elector of *Brandeburg*, ſolicited the Emperour about the *Landgrave*.

1551. from the Obligation, wherein they ſtood bound to the Sons of the Priſoner. Wherefore, they were reſolved to renew their ſuit to your Majeſty, and would have come themſelves, but you know, Sir, how they were both hindered by the War of *Magdeburg*, and *Brandeburg* alſo by Sickneſs; they therefore have employed us to do it, in their name. And firſt, then, when it was your pleaſure that the *Landgrave* ſhould ſubmit to your Majeſty without any Conditions, they underſtood from the Biſhop of *Arras*, that your intention was, that he ſhould accept, and obſerve, the Conditions you thought fit to communicate to them. Now, if he was to be perſuaded, to render himſelf up in this manner, it was abſolutely neceſſary to make known to him, that he ſhould neither be kept Priſoner, nor be liable to more than what was contained in the Articles propoſed. And ſo the Princes gave him aſſurance, as was well enough known to your Majeſties Counſellors. Beſides, when he deſired an Explanation of ſome of the Articles of the Pacification, and that he might be diſpatched within ſix days, this was granted him by the Biſhop of *Arras*, as in moſt other particulars, the Princes obtained what they would. And though in this Treaty, things were not underſtood by both parties in the ſame ſenſe, ſo that, upon his coming in, contrary to the aſſurance given by them, he was put into cuſtody; yet they never accuſed you, Sir, upon that account, nor debated the Matter with your Majeſty, ſeeing they had treated only with your Counſellors, and not with you, ſave only then, when the *Landgrave* was upon his Journy, and ſent them word to come to him to *Norimburg*. For then they came and waited upon your Majeſty, to acquaint you, that they had perſuaded him to embrace the Conditions propoſed, and that they were going a little way to meet him, if you pleaſed to give them leave: Beſeeching your Majeſty, that ſince, relying upon their aſſurances, he was now coming, no more ſhould be impoſed upon him, than what was contained in the Articles of Pacification; and your Majeſty having graciouſly promiſed this, they then went to *Hall*, and brought him. Now in the laſt Treaty, no mention at all was made of Detention and Cuſtody, which, they think, thoſe you imployed, can honeſtly teſtifie, that is, the Biſhop of *Arras*, with whom alone they treated, and *Selden*, whom ſometimes he brought with him. And, indeed, the Princes thought, that ſo ſoon, as he had ſigned the Articles, and made his humble ſubmiſſion, he ſhould have been diſmiſſed; and many Reaſons too they had, to make them believe ſo. Firſt, becauſe your Counſellours made no mention of detention, which is the chief clauſe in that Inſtrument, and, doubtleſs, moſt of all weighed and conſidered by the *Landgrave*. Again, becauſe in the Articles of Peace, there are many things which cannot be performed by a Priſoner, but only by a free Prince: Beſides, becauſe when he humbly begg'd pardon, you forgave him his fault, promiſing, to recal the proſcription, and to give him a publick Remiſſion, under the Great Seal: Moreover, becauſe you ratified and approved the ſecurity by them given, whereby it is provided, that, if he perform not his Articles, the People ſhould deliver him up Priſoner, and his Sureties compel him to Duty, by force of Arms. Since all this was to no purpoſe, and ſuperfluous, if they had thought, that he was to have ſuffered in his own perſon. Now when no ſuch thing ever entred their thoughts, nor was mentioned by your Majeſties Counſellors, they confidently ſent for him, obliging themſelves to his Son, that if any thing elſe happened to him, they would anſwer body for body for him, and undergo the ſame Fortune, as he did. This was their mind and thoughts of the whole Matrer, which was alſo confirmed, when, after the ſubmiſſion, the Duke of *Alva*, invited the *Landgrave*, and them to Supper. Since, indeed, they could not ſo interpret that Invitation, and Hoſpitable Entertainment, according to the manner of Princes, and the Cuſtom of *Germany*, that he ſhould go to *Alva*'s Lodgings, as to a Priſon, and that they ſhould wait and attend upon him to his Gaol: For if they had had but the leaſt ſuſpition of it, who can believe that ever they would have done ſo? For as they are Princes of the Empire, and Electors too, deſcended of moſt Illuſtrious Families, they would never have had an hand, ſure, in enticing a Noble Prince, their Kinſman, and near Relation, into ſuch ſtreights, and in being the Inſtruments of his Impriſonment. Nor, indeed, had they any knowledge thereof, till after Supper; that the Duke of *Alva* told them, That he muſt remain in the Caſtle, as in Cuſtody. But however it be, they acted generouſly and fairly, as we ſaid in the beginning: And ſince they alſo engaged their Faith and Promiſe, your Majeſty may eaſily perceive, how heavy it muſt needs lye upon them, their Children and Relations, if after ſo many and frequent

interceſſions

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interceſſions, and all ſecurity given, he be longer detained Priſoner. You ſee, in like manner, moſt mighty Sir, ſince you have German-blood in your Veins, what they ought to do for their Honour and Reputations ſake, according to the ancient and received Cuſtom of the German Nobility, when the Sons of the Captive Prince, claim their Right, and put them to it, to anſwer according to the Form of their Obligation; and that they could not excuſe themſelves to other Princes, though either the Power of ſuing, or the Bond and Obligation which they have, were taken from them. Now, if the *Landgrave*, who is, neither by Compact nor Promiſe given, but upon the occaſion we mentioned, kept Priſoner, did through impatience, and the irkſomneſs of ſo long a cuſtody, eſſay ſome means of procuring his own Liberty, and if, perhaps, his Servants did attempt ſomewhat againſt his Guards; the Princes earneſtly deſire, that that may not be prejudicial to them: But ſeeing, that by reaſon of their Obligation, they lie under great ſtreights, out of which, none but your Majeſty, under God, can relieve them, ſince you know, how they came to ſtrike upon that Rock, and ſince your Majeſty has good experience of their Loyalty, Affection and Duty, when in the worſt of times, according to the Example of their Anceſtors, they ventured their Fortunes, Lives and Blood in your Service, it is their moſt hearty and earneſt ſuit to your Majeſty, that you would relieve them by releaſing your Priſoner, and therein have regard to them, who honour and love you, and not to what the *Landgrave* hath done: Eſpecially, ſince not a few of their Families have ſpared neither coſt nor danger, in ſerving you Anceſtors, and the Houſe of *Auſtria* and *Burgundy*. And if it be feared, that if he were at liberty, he would flinch from his Articles, you are not ignorant, Sir, granting it ſhould be ſo, of what the Nobility and People of *Heſſe* are bound to by Oath, and what the Princes have given your Majeſty ſecurity for. But if you demand more ample ſecurity, they have not only offered that already, but now again do it, and have impowered us to treat about the ſame. They are of opinion alſo, that all the Conditions, which could preſently be performed, are already fulfilled: But if you would know the reaſon, why the Caſtles have not been ſo ſoon demoliſhed, they make no doubt, but that the Priſoners Sons can ſatisfie your Majeſty; and then, if any more be wanting to be done, they will uſe their utmoſt endeavours, that you have all juſt content given you. Wherefore, if ever they themſelves, their Fathers or Grand-fathers, have done any thing, that has been acceptable to your Majeſty, to the Emperour *Maximilian*, or to any of your Progenitors, or if you think that they can be able to do any thing for the future, that may be pleaſant and agreeable to you: They beg of you again and again, that you would now ſuffer them to reap ſome fruit of it, and that you would give Life to that Hope and Promiſe, which you made to them, *Firſt*, at *Hall*, then at *Naumburg*, and laſtly, at *Ausburg*, that ſo they may ſerve and honour you, from henceforth with greater promptitude and alacrity, and have cauſe to glory, that the Fidelity and Service, which they have formerly performed to your Majeſty, hath been well beſtowed, and amply rewarded. For if otherwiſe they can obtain nothing at preſent, you may conjecture, Dread Sovereign, what inconvenience will enſue upon it, when they are forced to appear publickly, and juſtifie their own innocence. But it is ſtill their Hope, Sir, that you will liſten to their Prayers. They'll take that, indeed, as the greateſt favour you can oblige them by, and not only they, but the *Landgrave* himſelf, his Sons, and all their Relations, will ever make it their earneſt endeavours, to expreſs their gratitude for the ſame. And becauſe their Reputation is ſo deeply engaged in the thing, they have ſolicited other Princes to intercede with them alſo, whoſe Ambaſſadours ſtand now before your Majeſty: And for this end have they done it, that what they themſelves by Prayers, Agents and Letters could not hitherto obtain from you, by their Recommendation and Favour they might effect; and they pray your Majeſty to take it ſo. When thus they had ſpoken, they preſented to him the Letters of *Ferdinand*, King of the Romans, *Albert*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Brothers of *Lunenburg*, in favour of the *Landgrave*. Now the Princes, who interceded by Ambaſſadours, were, *Frederick*, the Elector *Palatine*, *Wolffgang*, Duke of *Deuxponts*, *John* Marqueſs of *Brandeburg*, *Henry* and *John Albert* Dukes of *Meckleburg*, *Erneſt* Marqueſs of *Baden*, and *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Wirtemburg*. Their Ambaſſadours, preſently after the foregoing Speech had been ſpoken, ſhew'd their Commiſſions, and then told their Errand. The Electoral Princes, Duke *Maurice*, and the Marqueſs of *Brandeburg*, ſay they, being in great perplexities upon occaſion of the *Landgrave*'s detention,

The names of the Princes that interceded for the *Landgrave*.

The Speech of their Ambaſſadours.

1551. as they ſaid, and intending to ſupplicate your Majeſty in his behalf, moſt gracious Emperour, have entreated our Princes to intercede joyntly with them, that, through their Recommendation, the ſuit might have greater weight with your Majeſty: Which Office, in ſo reaſonable a thing, they could not deny them, conſidering the intimate Friendſhip, and Relation, they have to one another. Since the Caſe is ſo then, as the Ambaſſadours, of both the Princes, have now made it ſufficiently appear: And ſeeing if he ſhould be longer detained, it muſt needs redound to the diſadvantage and opprobry of thoſe, who have pawned their Faith and Honour to him; the Princes, who have ſent us, pray and beſeech your Majeſty, to take theſe things into ſerious conſideration, for they think themſelves very much concerned alſo, that the Dignity, Honour and Reputation of the other Princes, do not ſuffer; nor can any thing afflict them more, than that their Fame ſhould be ſullied with any ſtain, which cannot be avoided, unleſs the Captive Prince be ſet at liberty. They therefore earneſtly beg, that theſe Prayers and Interceſſions, may prevail with your Majeſty, and that he may be ſpeedily releaſed, eſpecially, ſince he hath acknowledged his fault, humbly begg'd pardon for the ſame, and hath been now a long while in cuſtody; but above all, becauſe the neceſſary Obligation of two Electors does require it; who, in acting a fair and generous part, and endeavouring to gratifie your Majeſty, have run themſelves into theſe ſtreights. Now, though there may have been ſome miſtake committed in the Treaty, and ſome things not rightly underſtood; yet it ſuits well with your Imperial Clemency, to prefer Equity before ſtrict Juſtice, and to have regard not ſo much to the Priſoner, as to the inevitable neceſſity of the Electors: And to treat them graciouſly, after the manner of your Predeceſſors, who have been always exceedingly tender of the Dignity of the Princes of the Empire. And this, Sir, will render your Majeſties Name glorious amongſt all Men, and engage them more and more, in Love and Loyalty, to your Perſon and Intereſts, ſo that they'll be ready to do any thing for you. The Ambaſſadours alſo of the King of *Denmark*, interceded in the ſame behalf. But ſome days after, the Emperour made anſwer; That ſeeing it was a difficult buſineſs, that required deliberation, and that he had notice, that, Duke *Maurice* would be with him ſhortly, about other weighty Affairs, in ſo much, that having written to him, he expected him daily, therefore he put off the Matter till then, as thinking it moſt convenient to treat about it, when he ſhould be preſent: That as for them, they might return home to their own Princes, and tell them in his Name, That he would be mindful of their Interceſſion, and ſo order Affairs, that they ſhould underſtand, that their Mediation had been of no ſmall weight with him. Not long after, Prince *William*, the *Landgrave*'s Eldeſt Son came to Duke *Maurice*; to enquire of him, what was done in the mediation, he had put him in hopes of, now, that it was ſo many Months ſince the Ambaſſadours were gone on their Journy. He told him, That becauſe the Daniſh Ambaſſadours came a little too late, and not before the Emperour was gone from *Ausburg* to *Inſpruck*, it was ſome time delayed: And then he ſhewed him what Anſwer the Emperour had given; telling him, That ſince he was deſirous to ſpeak with him, and had put off the buſineſs till then, though he was loath to leave his Country, at that time, yet, becauſe it was the Affair in the World, that moſt affected him, he was reſolved to go, ſo ſoon as he had received his Letters. Then, replied Prince *William*, that that was a doubtful and uncertain Anſwer: Nor did he ſee, what it was, they could expect, that, in the mean time, his Father was in a ſad Condition, pining away for grief, in a naſty and loathſome Priſon: That he could not but concern himſelf for him, both in Duty, and upon the account of Promiſe; that he ſhould therefore endeavour, to get him a plain and definite Anſwer, and that within a time, too; or elſe that he, and the Elector of *Brandeburg*, muſt not take it ill, if they were cited, and made to fulfil their Obligation: As to what he ſaid of his Journy, he would have him to think better on't: Nor did he know, whether it might be ſafe for him, or not. Now theſe things were done only for a ſhew, in preſence of ſome Counſellors, whom Duke *Maurice* would, by no means, have privy to his Counſels and Deſign: For ever ſince he had begun to project the Matter with Count *Heideck*, which was, when he drew over ſome of his Forces into his Party, as we told you in the foregoing Book, he ſcarcely acquainted any about him with what he did intend, ſo that what the French Ambaſſador came thither for, or what he did at Court, none of them could tell. Having therefore received this Anſwer from the Emperour, he preſently bent his thoughts upon War, and only waited for a fit ſeaſon.

The Daniſh Ambaſſadour intercedes for the *Landgrave*.

The Emperours Anſwer to the Mediators.

The Conference of Duke *Maurice*, and Prince *William*, the *Landgrave*'s Son.

The

The Diſputes began *December* the Seventh, concerning the Heads we mentioned before; and on the ſhorteſt day of the year, *Maximilian* made his entry into *Trent* with his Wife and Children, and was received by the Popes Legate, by the *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, and ſome *German* Biſhops alſo, but not by the Electors. He brought with him from *Spain* an *Indian* Elephant, a Beaſt not often ſeen in *Germany*. The day after he came, it came to the turn of *John Gropper*, whom I named before, to Diſpute, and, in the heat of Diſcourſe, he bitterly enveighed againſt *Melanchton* and *Bucer* who was then dead, and, being himſelf a *German*, railed reproachfully at both, whereas both the *Spaniards* and *Italians* had been more moderate, and this was both contrary to the Decree of the Empire, and the Law they themſelves had made, which was, That matters ſhould be debated without paſſion or reproachful language; wherefore, ſome days after, the Deputy of *Strasburg* took notice of it to the Ambaſſadour *Poictieres*, and complained of the liberty they were ſuffered to take to themſelves. He made anſwer, That it was much againſt the Fathers Will that they did do ſo, and that they had been ſeverely admoniſhed to refrain; and, that though, perhaps, being provoked by the Example of their Adverſaries, who for many years had domineered in that manner, they did do ſo, yet they would take care, that it ſhould be ſo no more for the future; that it was not the Emperours Will neither, that any Man ſhould have cauſe of offence given him; and, that the Fathers were of the ſame mind. 1552.

Maximilian honourably received at *Trent*.

Groppers immodeſty in the Council.

On the Eighteenth of *December*, the Biſhop of *Waradine*, lately made Cardinal, was, upon ſuſpicion of confederacy with the *Turks*, murdered in his own Houſe. The Author of this Aſſaſſination was, *John Baptiſta Caſtaldo*, an *Italian*, whom the Emperour had formerly ſent into *Hungary*, to aid and aſſiſt King *Ferdinand*, with his counſel. *Sforza Palavicini* had alſo an hand in it. When this Murder came to the Popes Ears, he appointed Judges to enquire into the Fact, and, at the ſame time, Excommunicated thoſe we named. The Widow of *John Vayvode* of *Tranſilvania*, finding that it would be hard for her to preſerve the Country, treated with King *Ferdinand*, and having reſigned over the Government to him, and delivered up the *Inſignia* and Ornaments of the Kingdom, ſhe returned to *Poland*. By this means then, and the aſſiſtance of the Biſhop of *Waradin*, *Ferdinand* got poſſeſſion of all *Tranſilvania* almoſt, but becauſe this Biſhop ſeemed afterward to plot new deſigns, and to aſpire to the Government, he loſt his life.

The Biſhop of *Waradin* murdered in *Hungary*.

King *Ferdinand* gets *Tranſilvania*

We ſpoke in the former Book of the Miniſters of the Church, that were baniſhed *Ausburg*; moſt of the Churches therefore were deſtitute, to the great offence of the People, who thought, that the Senate had put the Emperour upon it. And, ſeeing it was to be feared, that this grudge might ſome time or other break out into diſorder, after much and long inquiry, one *Caſpar Huberine* was at length found out, who would conform to the Regulation of Doctrine, preſcribed by the Emperour. He had publiſhed ſome little Pieces about Religion, which were always very much approved, and commended alſo by *Luther*; but how he came to change his Opinion, I cannot affirm. He did not begin to preach ſo ſoon as he came to *Ausburg*, for fear the People might mutiny, but on *Chriſtmaſs*-day he fell to work, to the amazement of many, who had read his Books before.

Huberine an Interimiſt.

The Soldiers, as well they who beſieged *Magdeburg*, as the Gariſon that held it out, had their Winter Quarters in *Thuringe*, and the adjoyning Places, and did much damage, eſpecially to the Churchmen, and among thoſe alſo, to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, whoſe frontiers reached ſo far. The Electors of *Mentz*, *Treves*, and *Cologne*, being moved thereat, the firſt becauſe of the damage he received, and the other two, for that they feared it might be their own caſe next, reſolved to return home, and accordingly made the Emperour acquainted with it by Meſſengers and Letters.

The Soldiers of *Magdeburg* create trouble to the Elector of *Mentz*.

The Letters of the Spiritual Electors to the Emperour.

But the Emperour, who earneſtly deſired that the Council might be continued, thus anſwered them, on the Third of *January*. I received, ſays he, your Letters of the One and twentieth of *December*; and becauſe I ſent Orders to *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, to diſcourſe you concerning the Affairs you wrote to me about; and then, becauſe the Biſhop of *Arras*, had, in my Name, imparted ſeveral things of that nature to your Agent here, I thought you had been ſatisfied. But ſince I hear, that, becauſe of an unwelcome report now ſpread abroad, you are reſolving to return home, I thought fit to adviſe you in Writing, that you would not lightly give credit to every thing that is told you. For though there has been a rumour now for ſome time, of ſome hidden deſigns in *Heſſe*, as if it were to be feared there might be an Inſurrection there; yet, I am informed, that if there be any ſuch thing,

The Emperours Anſwer. 1552.

1552. it is but the attempt of a few, which the greater part diſlike; ſo that it is more credible, that they themſelves will reflect not only upon the Oath and Promiſes, whereby they have bound themſelves to me, but alſo upon the Duty they owe both to me and the Publick, and not run themſelves into ſo great danger, upon any uncertain hopes. Beſides, having, by Meſſengers, diligently enquired of the Neighbouring Princes, States, and Cities, how things went, and if any new attempts were on foot, I have found, that all were dutiful and obedient; for, indeed, I have given no Man any cauſe of offence. There has been a great talk for ſometime paſt, of Duke *Maurice* alſo, ariſing perhaps from hence, that he formerly commanded the Forces, which getting together into a Body after the ſurrender of *Magdeburg*, had done hurt in ſome places; but he hath lately, both by Letters and Ambaſſadours, aſſured me of his fidelity; nay, he has at this preſent two Ambaſſadours here, who will ſet out to morrow for *Trent* to come to the Council. He hath ſignified to me, beſides, that for ſome weighty and important Affairs he is preparing to come unto me, and, I have certain intelligence, that to day or to morrow at fartheſt, he will ſet out from *Magdeburg* upon his Journy hither. In ſhort, he makes me ſuch fair and ample promiſes of his Duty and Allegiance, that I ought not to look for any thing from him, but what is juſt and honourable, if there be any faith amongſt Men. And ſeeing he is a true *German* by Birth and Extraction, I cannot be induced to think, that he can hatch ſuch ſiniſtrous Deſigns and Counſels. As to the Forces, complaints have, indeed, been brought me from many hands, and ſome States are apprehenſive, that they may remove their Camp, and do more miſchief; but after that I came to underſtand, that they kept together in Bodies and uſed violence, for want of their pay, I ſent Meſſengers and Officers with a ſtrict charge, to uſe all their endeavours, and by any means raiſe Money to pay them off; nor is that all, for I have written alſo to Duke *Maurice*, and paſt my word and promiſe for what Money might be owing, provided the Soldiers were disbanded; and this I did, not that I was obliged to it, but becauſe I wiſh the quiet of *Germany* above all things. I now therefore expect hourly that it ſhould be done, and make no doubt, but that they being fairly diſmiſſed, all this ſtir and buſle will be over. But if the Soldiers, having received their pay, be not disbanded, then will it eaſily appear, that ſome under-hand deſigns are on foot, and then alſo will it be fit to take other meaſures, ſuch as I have already in my head. Now, as to the other frequent, but uncertain, and almoſt contradictory Reports that are brought unto me, it is my opinion, that they are in a great part deviſed by our Enemies, and, according to their wonted levity, diſperſed among the People, with deſign to diſturb the Council and Peace of *Germany*. But I truſt, that by Gods Bleſſing, theſe Clandeſtine Counſels and Contrivances will at length be brought to light, and meet with the ſucceſs they deſerve. For now, that *Magdeburg* is ſurrendered, all are ſtill and quiet *Germany*, and all the Princes and States behave themſelves ſo lovingly and obediently towards me; that I cannot, indeed, deviſe, what excuſe or pretext can poſſibly be invented to colour any new ſtirs. I am not, however, ignorant, but that circumſpection is to be uſed; and, that at this time, when there are ſuch Commotions in Foreign Nations, the leaſt ſuſpicion of danger is not to be neglected; Again, I am neither ſo unadviſed nor negligent, as to be deaf to the Reports that are brought unto me; for I have Spies in all places, that enquire into every thing, and in that I ſpare neither coſt nor labour: Nevertheleſs, that upon every light report, the whole State ſhould ſtreight be alarmed, you in your wiſdom know, how ſilly and unadviſed a thing it would be. Now, that you ſhould leave the Council, unleſs in caſe of extream neceſſity, I can in no ways approve; for ſince very much dependeth on your preſence, it is to be feared, leſt, by your departure, not only the Council may be diſperſed, but alſo a fatal blow given to Religion, wherein both the ſalvation of Mankind in general, and your own private Fortunes, conſiſt. Which being ſo, I earneſtly deſire you, my Lords of *Mentz* and *Treves*, that you would alter your reſolution, and not think of going as yet; and you, my Lord of *Cologne*, who ſeem not to be in ſo great haſte, continue in the ſame mind, I pray you. In general I exhort you all, that, ſince you hold the chief place among the States of the Empire, you would help one another with Aid and Counſel, and entertain Brotherly Love and Kindneſs amongſt your ſelves. In the mean time, it ſhall be my care to watch for the Publick, and, as far as I am able, either by parts or power, to endeavour timely to quench any fire that may break out; that, Civil Broils being over, and ſtrength increaſing at home, we may be in a better condition to reſiſt a

Foreign

Foreign War, and that you may have leiſure, all things being quiet and peaceable within your Juriſdictions, to mind the affairs of Religion and Chriſtianity. After all, though, I would adviſe you, to give Orders to the Counſellors and Officers that you left at home, that they look carefully about them, that no ſudden ſurprize happen, and that they conſult with their Neighbours, whom they think they can ſafely truſt. And, if I can do you any kindneſs that way, I'le willingly aſſiſt you, that if any Commotion happen, which, I think, will not, you may be in the greater readineſs, whatever fall out. And ſeeing we are not far diſtant one from another, I'le take it kindly, if you'll hereafter write to me of what you hear, I ſhall do the ſame, and not fail to acquaint you, with what I think concerns the Publick, nor be wanting in giving that neceſſary protection and defence to all that expect and deſerve it. 1552.

The *Wirtemberg* Ambaſſadours deſires to Count *Montfort*.

Some days before, *Montfort* was come back to *Trent*; and therefore the Ambaſſadours of *Wirtemberg* went to wait upon him, and tell him, That hitherto they had obtained nothing by the help of the Cardinal, nor of *Don Franciſco de Toledo*; and, that ſince he and his Collegues repreſented the Emperour there, they deſired, that their Princes demands might be heard. But receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer then neither, they began to deſpair of ſucceſs, and to think of returning home, as the Prince had lately enjoyned them, if they found they were put off with longer delays. The Deputy of *Strasburg* gave Count *Montfort* alſo an account of the buſineſs he came about, as he had done before to *Poictieres*, and he likewiſe took a Copy of his Commiſſion. Now were the Diſputations of the Divines over, and the Fathers met daily, that, having examined all their Opinions, they might frame the Decrees, as we told you before. Three of the *German* Nation were choſen for that purpoſe, the Biſhops of *Cologne*, *Vienna*, and *Julius Pflug* Biſhop of *Naumburg*. Whil'ſt theſe were taken up a out that affair, and prepared all things for the future Seſſion, at length, *January* the Seventh, came the Ambaſſadours of Duke *Maurice*, of whom the Emperour had written a little before, and theſe were *Wolf Coler*, and *Leonard Badehorn* a Lawyer. Their coming cheared up the Biſhops whom I named before, and chiefly the Emperours Ambaſſadours, who thought, that Duke *Maurice*, being peaceably inclined, was now no more to be ſuſpected.

The Ambaſſadours of Duke *Maurice* come to the Council.

And declare their Inſtructions.

The third day after they came, they acquainted the Emperours Ambaſſadours with their Inſtructions, and at firſt alledged, that the ſafe Conduct granted by the Council was not ſufficient ſecurity for the Divines to come, and, that it was the cauſe, why the Princes had ſent none; that he himſelf was very well affected towards the Publick, and earneſtly deſired, that ſome way of Concord might be found; that therefore he was fully reſolved to ſend ſome good and peaceable Men, and doubted not but moſt of the reſt would do the ſame; but, that it might be ſo, his demands were firſt, That thoſe who were to come might have a ſafe Conduct in the form of that of the Council of *Baſil*, which was heretofore given to the *Bohemians*; That when they ſhould come, all that had been done before might be reviewed and debated again of new, and the day of the enſuing Seſſion prorogued; That there ſhould be a Council, wherein all Nations and People might meet; That the Pope ſhould not take to himſelf the Authority of Preſident, but ſubmit to the Council, and abſolve all the Biſhops from their Oaths of Canonical Obedience, that ſo all the Votes in Council might be free, and no conſtraint laid upon Mens Judgments; That they would propoſe theſe things more at large in the Congregation of the Fathers, when it ſhould be thought fit, and move, that ſomething might be done therein with all expedition; That now the Divines were about forty Miles forward on their Journy, and waited only till they ſhould be ſent for. That was done on the Tenth day of *January*. They made anſwer, That they were very glad of their coming, and that they would make a Report of all they had ſaid to the Council. They informed the Emperour alſo of the whole matter, who, to ſoften Duke *Maurice*, adviſed and counſelled the Fathers, to return a mild and friendly anſwer to his Demands. The Duke of *Wirtemberg* alſo, hearing that Duke *Maurice* had ſent thither, ordered his Ambaſſadours to ſtay till the next Seſſion, and there exhibit their Writing. At the ſame time he ſent another ſhort Paper, much to the ſame purpoſe that the Demands of Duke *Maurice* were, as will appear hereafter; and, that he would have alſo produced with the confeſſion of Faith and Doctrine. The Deputy of *Strasburg* had orders to ſtay, either till the *Mauritians* came, or, that it were certainly known, they would not come. When they were come therefore, he communicated to them the cauſe of his Deputation, told them how Affairs ſtood, and learned of them what Inſtructions they had. Thoſe of *Wirtemberg* did the ſame, and ſo all joyned in the common cauſe;

which

1552.

which they, as coming lateſt, did chiefly proſecute, and therefore made earneſt ſuit to the three Electoral Archbiſhops, the Cardinal of *Trent*, who was Duke *Maurice*'s familiar Friend, and the Emperour's Ambaſſadors, that, for the ſake of the Publick, they would both be favourable to them, themſelves, and perſuade the reſt of the Fathers alſo, to be ſo. For none of the Ambaſſadors went to the Legate *Creſcentio*, or his Collegues, leſt they ſhould ſeem to own their Authority; but, becauſe in obedience to the Emperour, and to comply with the Imperial Decree, they had been ſent to the Council, therefore they applied themſelves in all Matters to his Ambaſſadors, who was the chief and ſupream Magiſtrate.* And, at the ſame time, News was alſo brought, that Duke *Maurice* would, in a few days, be with the Emperour, which raiſed the hopes and expectations of all Men.

The diligence of the Proteſtant Ambaſſadors in the Council.

The King of *England*'s Uncle, whom we named before, was, in this Month, beheaded at *London*, and ſome of his familiar Friends ſuffered with him. No Man doubted, but that this was done by the influence of the Duke of *Northumberland*; and wiſer Men began now to be concerned for the good King, whom they ſaw more expoſed to Danger and Treaſons, now his neareſt Relations were taken out of the way; for, after the death of the Duke of *Somerſet*, *Northumberland* brought in new Bedchamber-men about the King, and amongſt theſe his own Sons and Relations.

The Protector of *England* beheaded.

The day of the next Seſſion of the Council now approaching, the Emperour's Ambaſſadors ſent for thoſe of Duke *Maurice*, and told them, what they had done with the Fathers in their Affair; that they had obtained a ſafe Conduct, ſuch as they deſired; that all farther Action alſo ſhould reſt, and be put off until they came, and might be preſent; that it was not in the power of the Fathers, that all Nations and People ſhould meet there; that the Council was lawfully called, and, though all did not come, it nevertheleſs retained its Authority and Dignity; that they themſelves might conſider, how undecent a thing it would be, to handle the Decrees, already made, over again, for that it would redound to the Infamy and Diſgrace of ſo great an Aſſembly; that the Divines, come when they would, ſhould have a full hearing about all things, and be moſt courteouſly uſed; that if any thing ſhould offend them, or ſeem to be partially carried, they ſhould have liberty to depart, when ever they pleaſed; that they earneſtly deſired, they would have reſpect to the Times, and not to expect, that all things ſhould be granted them at once; that when Matters came into agitation, moſt part of what they demanded might be occaſionally obtained, which now ſeemed ſomewhat too hard; that the Fathers were very deſirous of Reformation, and would not be wanting in their Duty; that they much longed for the coming of the Divines, whom they would treat with all Civility and Kindneſs; and that they themſelves had Matters of great importance to propound, but were deſirous, that the Proteſtant Divines would break the Ice, that ſo they alſo might appear in due time; that what they demanded likewiſe, as to the Pope's ſubmiſſion, they begg'd, they would be a little more reſerved, as to that point; that the Fathers were very ſenſible, that, in ſo high a Pinacle of Dignity, ſeveral things were to be found fault with, and ought to be reformed, but that, nevertheleſs, ſuch a thing was to be managed by fine and quaint meaſures; that it was the will and deſire of the Emperour, that all things ſhould be carried on duly and lawfully, but that they had daily experience, how tenderly and ſlily the Pope's Legates were to be handled, for that it required ſingular Art and Dexterity to manage them; that they ſhould therefore acquieſce in what was now obtained for them, not without great trouble and pains, and haſten, as much as they could, the coming of the Divines; that, both in their publick and private Capacity, they would be ready to do them all kindneſs; and having proceeded ſo far, they gave them a draught of the ſafe Conduct, which they deſired them to read over, and then ſend it back to them again. This paſt *January* the Twenty ſecond, in the morning. After they had ſo diſmiſſed them, they preſently ſent for the Ambaſſadors of *Wirtemberg*, and, in the firſt place, made an excuſe for what was paſt, becauſe of the extraordinary buſineſs the Fathers had been engaged in, but that now, if they had any thing to be done, they were ready to ſerve them. They made anſwer, That a good while ſince they had had Matters to propoſe, and that they deſire Admittance, as ſoon as poſſible. Theſe being alſo diſmiſſed, they ſent for the Deputy of *Strasburg*, and diſcourſed him much after the ſame manner. He gave them a ſhort account of the buſineſs he was ſent about, by reaſon Don *Franciſco de Toledo* was there, to whom he had not ſpoken before, that he had no more to ſay at preſent, but expected Letters from his Principals; for he had Orders, upon the arrival of the Ambaſſadors of Duke *Maurice*, to write imme-

The Diſcourſe of the Emperour's Ambaſſadors, with thoſe of Duke *Maurice*.

A draught of the ſafe Conduct given to the Ambaſſadors of Duke *Maurice*.

immediately to the Senate, to acquaint them with their Inſtructions, and then to expect farther Orders from home; but, in the mean time, he entreated, that what was communicated to them by the *Mauritian* Ambaſſadors, they would preſently bring under publick debate. They replied, That ſome things they had to treat of, with the Ambaſſadors of Duke *Maurice* and *Wirtemberg*, and that, when any thing was done therein, they would impart it to him, that he might acquaint his Principals therewith; that they heartily wiſhed for Agreement, and that the Emperour bent all his Thoughts and Care that way; that they were very deſirous, Matters might once be brought upon the Debate; and that they made no doubt, but God would Bleſs all honeſt Endeavours. When theſe things were over, the Ambaſſadors of *Saxony*, *Wirtemberg*, and *Strasburg*, conſulting together, examined and weighed the draught of the ſafe Conduct, which they had received. And becauſe they had before drawn out the Heads of the Decree of *Baſil*, thoſe eſpecially wherein the ſtreſs of the buſineſs lay, that they might have them before their Eyes, it was no difficult matter, by comparing them together, immediately to obſerve, wherein this differed from that. Having run them over, they preſently found, that the chief places were partly altered, and partly omitted; for in the ſafe Conduct, that was heretofore given to the *Bohemians*, there are theſe things, amongſt others, That alſo they ſhould have the power of deciding; that in every Controverſie, the Holy Scripture, the practice of the Primitive Church; Councils and Expoſitors, agreeing with the Scriptures, ſhould ſtand in place of a Judge; that they ſhould have the free exerciſe of their Religion at home, in their own Houſes; and that nothing ſhould be done in contempt and diſparagement of their Religion. The firſt, third and laſt of theſe, were omitted; the ſecond, and that which is indeed the principal, was plainly altered. Having obſerved theſe things, they themſelves drew up a form, conſonant to the Decree of *Baſil*; but, in the mean time, whilſt they were buſied in drawing up that form, Don *Franciſco de Toledo* ſent a Servant once or twice for the Paper, fearing, as it ſhould ſeem, too ſtrict an Examination. However, they went on, and having finiſhed it at length, the Ambaſſadors of Duke *Maurice* return to Don *Franciſco de Toledo*, and comparing the one with the other, ſhew him what they found wanting in his. Then began he to ſtorm and huff; and why were not they content with that, which had coſt them a great deal of Labour and Pains in the obtaining; that there was ſecurity enough, in conſcience, provided, for thoſe that were to come; that ſafe coming and going was the chief point to be minded; and that the reſt ſignified nothing, but only in relation to the way of proceeding; which might be far better adjuſted when the Divines were preſent, than then. They made anſwer, That they durſt not tranſgreſs the limits of their Commiſſion, which was, that they ſhould not accept of a ſafe Conduct, different from that of *Baſil*. Two days after, all the Fathers met in the Legate's Houſe in the morning, and, with them, the Emperour's Ambaſſadors; who ſent for the Ambaſſadors of *Wirtemberg* thither, as they had told them they would, two days before. Being introduced, they were bid ſpeak what they had to ſay; ſo, having produced their Commiſſion, and made ſome little Preamble, they preſented their written Confeſſion of Doctrine, and gave it in to the Clerk of the Council, according to Cuſtom; and then told the Fathers, That there were Divines coming from the Prince, who would handle all the Points more at large, but upon theſe Conditions: Firſt, That fit Judges ſhould be choſen by conſent of both Parties, who might hear the Plea of the Divines; and judge uprightly of the Matters in Controverſy; for ſince the Prince underſtood, that the Doctrine of his Divines, in moſt things, was repugnant to that of the Pope, and Biſhops, who were all many ways bound and engaged to his Holineſs, it ſeemed very unreaſonable and unjuſt to him, that they, who were Parties, whether Plaintiff, or Defendant, ſhould take to themſelves the power of Judging: Again, That it was a Decree of the Diet at *Ausburg*, that the Council ſhould be continued, and all things carried on in a right and pious manner; that their Prince had always underſtood it ſo, that what had been done in the Council in former years, ought not to have the force of Laws, but that all things ſhould be reviewed again from the beginning; for what Law or Juſtice would it be, when two are at Law, that one of the Parties abſent upon a lawful ground, ſhould be obliged to ratify and approve the Sentence pronounced in his abſence? Beſides, ſince not only in the former Council, but in this alſo, there had been many Decrees made, contrary to holy Scripture, and many ancient Errors alſo confirmed, as might be demonſtrated; the Prince demanded, that they ſhould be of no authority, but all ſubmitted again

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The ſafe Conduct of *Baſil* perverted and altered.

The form of the ſafe Conduct of *Baſil*.

Upon examination of the Council's ſafe Conduct, a new form of one is drawn up, according to the Decree of *Baſil*.

The Speech of the *Wirtemberg* Ambaſſadors to the Fathers at *Trent*, and the Exhibition of the Confeſſion of Doctrine.

to

1552. to a fair and lawful Tryal. And all theſe Heads he gave in in Writing with the confeſſion of Doctrine. Having done ſo, their Anſwer was, That the Fathers would in due time tell them their thoughts as to the matter, and ſo they were diſmiſſed. The ſame day towards the Evening, the Ambaſſadours of Duke *Maurice* were ſent for to have Audience in the ſame place. When they were come, they delivered their Maſters Demands in a long Speech, to the ſame purpoſe, as they had lately done to the Emperours Ambaſſadours; but that it was more pithy in the cloſe; where they boggled not to ſay, That the Worſhip and Service commonly performed in Papiſt-Churches, was not the true Religion, but a painted ſhadow of Devotion. Having done ſpeaking, they delivered in the ſame Speech in Writing to the Clerk I mentioned; and they had an Anſwer in the ſame terms, as thoſe of *Wirtemberg* had before. Amongſt other things it vexed them exceedingly, as was known afterwards, that their Religion had been called by ſo baſe and contemptible a name. The Ambaſſadours purpoſed to have delivered their Commiſſion in a publick Seſſion; but to avoid that, which they knew would have been done, the Fathers gave them a private Audience, for, either they muſt have done ſo, or have left all to a publick Debate. They had brought with them, indeed, the Confeſſion of Faith, that was drawn up, as I ſaid, by *Melanchton*; but, for what cauſe I cannot tell, they produced it not.

The Confeſſion of *Wirtemberg*, given in to the Fathers.

The Ambaſſadours of *Saxony* ſent for by the Fathers.

The Confeſſion of Faith written by *Melanchton*, is not produced.

The day following, which was the Twenty fifth of *January*, the publick Seſſion was held, and the Legate went to Church in the pomp we mentioned before. There was a greater number of Soldiers then, and a greater confluence of People from ſeveral places, expecting great matters ſhould be done that day. After Maſs and all the Ceremonies were over, it was publickly read from the Pulpit, That for the ſake of the Proteſtants, all matters were put off to the Nineteenth day of *March*; by which day they were to be preſent, to propound what they had to ſay; that the Council did condeſcend to that out of kindneſs to them, hopeing that they came not obſtinately to oppugne the Catholick Faith, but with a deſire to learn the Truth, and at length to ſubmit and obey the Decrees and Diſcipline of the Church; that a ſafe Conduct had alſo been granted them, in a more ample manner, that nothing at all might be wanting; and, then, that the Sacrament of Matrimony was to be handled in the next Seſſion. Three days after, when nothing appeared, the Ambaſſadours of Duke *Maurice* dineing with *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, deſired a ſight of the ſafe Conduct that had been promiſed: He gave them a civil anſwer; but when three days more were paſt, the Deputy of *Strasburg*, at the deſire of the reſt, went to *Poictieres*, and complained, that now in ſix days time they had received nothing; that there had been delay long enough before, becauſe the ſafe Conduct was not full enough; and, that now again, time was protracted; but that the Divines would not come, before their Maſters were ſatisfied with the ſafe Conduct. He made anſwer, That it was not any fault of his, and that he wondered why *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, who was chief of the Embaſſy, deferred ſo much; that he would preſently go to him, and made no doubt, but that the matter would be diſpatched the ſame day; that he would ſend him word of what he learnt from him, and ſo going out together, he went to his Lodgings. This was on the Thirtieth of *January*. Some hours after, all the Ambaſſadours are ſent for to the Lodgings of *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, where *Montfort* alſo was preſent, but *Poictieres* ſpoke; and firſt makes an Apology for the delay that had been made, enlarging much upon their own ſincerity in the affair, and the honourable Intentions of the Emperour their Maſter; and then he urges them to haſten the coming of the Divines with all ſpeed; which they thought they muſt needs do, having once received their ſafe Conduct. At theſe words *Don Franciſco de Toledo* aroſe, and gave every one of them a Copy of the ſafe Conduct, ſigned by the Clerks of the Council. They withdrew to peruſe it, and found that the places which they had corrected before the Seſſion were not altered; wherefore they came back to them again, and complain of that, ſhewing them what it was they deſired to have done in every Article of the ſame. The Ambaſſadours of Duke *Maurice* alſo were willing to know of them, what anſwer the Fathers made to their demands; which thoſe of *Wirtemberg* likewiſe deſired. *Poictieres* ſpoke again, and as to the ſafe Conduct, made anſwer: That to demand liberty to be granted to their Divines to ſit in Council, and decide, was done a little too early by them; that if they were once preſent, and engaged in buſineſs, many things, perhaps, might be occaſionally allowed them, which now were refuſed; that no Man was, indeed, againſt it, but that the holy Scripture ſhould be the Judge in all Controverſies, but

The ſafe Conduct is delivered without any alteration.

Poictiere's Diſcourſe as to the Ambaſſadours Demands.

that

that when any debate aroſe, about the interpretation of Scripture, who was more to be believed, than a Council? That Scripture was an inanimate and dumb thing, as all other Political Laws alſo were; but that the Judges Mouth muſt go along with it, to make it to be underſtood; and, that that had been the cuſtom ever ſince the Apoſtles days, when any doubts aroſe: That it was not, indeed, expreſly granted to them, that they ſhould have the exerciſe of their Religion, in their Houſes, but likewiſe, that it was not forbidden; that they had no reaſon to fear, that any thing would be done in contempt or reproach of their Religion and Doctrine, becauſe ſevere Orders would be made to the contrary; for, that it was the Emperours will it ſhould be ſo, as the Fathers hated all ſawcy and intemperate Language; and that ſeeing they met for the ſake of peace, ſcurrilous and opprobrious Expreſſions would not be allowed in any manner. They anſwer their demands much in the way as they had been lately anſwered before the Seſſion, as we ſaid before, to wit, That all Publick Action was at a ſtand upon their account, and put off till another time; but to have the Decrees debated again of new, they prayed them not to caſt ſuch an aſperſion upon ſo many Excellent Men; that they would engage their Faith and Word, that when the Divines came, they ſhould be heard concerning all things; that as to the bringing the Pope to ſubmit to the Council, and to abſolve the Biſhops from their Canonical Oath, was a thing that properly belonged to his Holineſs himſelf, and that therefore the Fathers would do nothing therein, till firſt they had acquainted him with it; that as to the demands of *Wirtemberg*, ſince they were almoſt of the ſame nature, the Opinion of the Fathers was the ſame; that therefore they beſought them, that for ſuch trifling matters they would not ſuffer the occaſion, ſo long wiſhed for, of accompliſhing a moſt holy deſign to be obſtructed and diſappointed, to the prejudice of all the Provinces in *Europe*, which might otherwiſe reap the fruits thereof; but, that they would uſe their endeavours, and perſuade their Maſters, that the Divines might be ſent with all ſpeed; and, that they could not, at that time, do the Publick better Service. Many words having paſt betwixt them, when the Ambaſſadours had inſiſted upon this chiefly, that it was very unreaſonable, that one of the Parties in a Suit ſhould be both Judge and Party, and paſs ſentence upon the thing controverted, at length they depart, proteſting, that they received the Copy of the ſafe Conduct upon no other condition, but that they might ſend it to their ſeveral Maſters, which they would forthwith do with great expedition; that they would promote the matter as much as poſſibly they could, and that they did not deſpair of their coming. The Ambaſſadours of Duke *Maurice* preſently ſent the ſafe Conduct, both to their Prince and Divines, who, they thought, were then at *Ausburg*; the like did the Deputy of *Strasburg*; but thoſe of *Wirtemberg* carried their Copy themſelves, ſetting out on their Journy homewards on the firſt of *February*, by permiſſion from their Prince, who appointed others in their places, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. A little before this, the Divines came from Duke *Maurice* to *Norimberg*, and amongſt theſe *Melanchton*, being ordered to ſtay there, till the Ambaſſadours ſent the ſafe Conduct from *Trent*; but ſome days after they arrived, they had other orders ſent them, not to proceed any farther in their Journy, but to expect the event of the Prince's Negotiation with the Emperour, to whom, as it was ſaid, he was going. After the Decrees are publiſhed in the Seſſion, it was uſual to aſſign the Divines Subjects for their future Diſputations, as hath been mentioned before; but all things were now at a ſtand, ſince the laſt Seſſion, whereof more cauſes than one were alleadged. However it was given out publickly, to have been done for the ſake of the Proteſtants; for in the beginning of *February*, when one of the Ambaſſadours of *Saxony* and the Deputy of *Straſburg* went for their pleaſure into the adjoyning part of *Italy* as far as *Venice*; the other, in the mean time, who had ſeen *Italy* before, dealt with the Emperours Ambaſſadours, becauſe he expected the Divines in a very ſhort time, they being then, as he thought, come as far as *Ausburg*, that all Buſineſs might be deferred till they came, and that the Fathers would patiently bear with ſo ſmall a delay. The Archbiſhop of *Treves* had with him one *Ambroſe Pelarg*, a Dominican Fryar, who on a Feſtival day, which was the Seventh of *February*, preaching on that Text of Scripture concerning the Tares mingled with the Wheat, ſaid, amongſt other things, that the Tares muſt be in any manner rooted out, provided, it could be done without endamaging the Wheat, applying all his Diſcourſe to Hereticks, who were ſignified by the Tares. Now it was reported to the Ambaſſadour of *Saxony*, that he had railed bitterly againſt Hereticks, and had alſo ſaid, that no faith nor

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The Anſwer made to the Demands of the Ambaſſadours.

The Ambaſſadours of *Wirtemberg* depart from the Council.

The Divines of *Saxony* come to *Norimberg* on their way to the Council.

The bitter Reflection of *Ambroſe Pelarg* upon the Proteſtants.

The Ambaſſadour of Duke *Maurice* his Complaint of the ſawcineſs of *Pelarg*.

1552. promiſe, though made to them, was to be kept. Having therefore made diligent enquiry into the thing, he went to the Cardinal of *Trent*, who had authority there, and the Emperours Ambaſſadours, and complained of what he had heard. The Fryer being ſent for, confeſſed that he had ſpoken of Heretick in general, and that they were to be deſtroyed by Fire, Sword, the Halter, or any way whatſoever, provided that could be done without a greater Inconvenience, or Tumult; but that he had not ſaid a word of not keeping Faith to them, and that if he had, he muſt have endangered his own life, for having tranſgreſſed a Decree of the Empire. Afterwards they ſend for the Ambaſſadour, and having read over the Fryers Juſtification, bid him look for nothing from the Fathers but candour and fair dealing; that if any thing ſhould happen to be raſhly blurted out, though that was a thing ſeverely prohibited, they ought not to be moved thereat. Whether the Fryer was wronged or not, I cannot certainly tell; for ſome of the Hearers, being asked about it, varied in their Relation.

Pelarg Juſtifies himſelf before the Cardinal of *Trent*.

Much about this time came Letters from Duke *Maurice* to his Ambaſſadours, dated the laſt day of *January*. Therein he ordered them, that they ſhould urge thoſe things, which they had not as yet obtained of the Fathers; that now he was wholly taken up in making preparations to come to the Emperour; that then, amongſt other matters, he would treat of thoſe things with him; that beſides his Divines, the Deputies ... Divines of ſome other Princes and Cities would alſo come, amongſt whom he named the Couſins, Dukes of *Pomerania*. The one of the Ambaſſadours, becauſe his Collegue was not as yet returned from his Expedition, ſent a Copy of this Letter to the Cardinal of *Trent*, who lately before was gone to *Brixen*; for he being much devoted to the Emperours ſervice, as he had a great love for Duke *Maurice*, with whom he had lived with great intimacy, and above all things wiſhed the progreſs of the Council, he was much troubled at this growing diſſenſion, that was in every bodies mouth, and, that was the reaſon why the Ambaſſadour ſent a Copy of the Letter, becauſe he knew it would eaſe and refreſh his Mind. No ſooner had he received that Letter, but he wrote the Ambaſſadour an Anſwer, That whereas he had had ſome doubts before, he now began to take breath again, and to hope that all would be well; that ſo ſoon as Duke *Maurice* arrived at *Inſpruck*, he would immediately go thither, if it were a great deal farther off to meet him; for he thought, that upon account of the friendſhip and intimacy that had been betwixt them, he could prevail with him to follow peaceable courſes. Now the Letters were ſigned by Duke *Maurice*'s own Hand, and thereto was their Commiſſion joyned, which they might produce, if there were occaſion; for that had been omitted before. Not long after, *February* the Sixteenth, the Elector of *Treves*, to refreſh himſelf, departed from *Trent* homewards; which the Emperour, as it was ſaid, allowed of only upon this condition, that ſo ſoon as ever his health did permit, he ſhould return thither again; but he left *Pelarg* behind him, that he might be preſent at all the Actions. The Electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne* brought him going a Mile or two on his Journy, but he ſtruck off to the left hand, and did not go by *Inſpruck*, where the Emperour then was. Not long after it began to be whiſpered by many, that the Council would be Prorogued; and, that Duke *Maurice* having made a League with the *French* King, was preparing to make War with the Emperour. This was, indeed, but a faint rumour in the beginning; but growing ſtronger and ſtronger daily, there was one privately ſent from *Trent* to know the Emperours thoughts of the matter. Afterwards one came thither alſo from the Emperour; but all things were induſtriouſly concealed. On the Second of *March*, which then was *Aſhwedneſday*, the Popes Legate affixed publick Indulgences upon the Church-doors, granting Plenary Remiſſion of Sins to all in general, but eſpecially to the Biſhops, Ambaſſadours and Divines, who having either already, or would within a certain time confeſs their Sins, ſhould go to ſome Churches of *Trent*, on certain days, and there by ſaying five *Pater Noſters* and as many *Ave-Maria*'s, with the other Prayers, ſhould pray to God for the Concord of Princes, the Unity of the Church, and the happy progreſs of the Council; That this ſo great a benefit was granted by Pope *Julius* III. out of his great care for the ſalvation of Souls, and that it might be obtained at *Trent* as well as at *Rome*. The Biſhops and the reſt, therefore, thronged daily to the Churches, eſpecially the *Spaniards*, obſerving a diſtinction of days; for ſometime they ſpent more time, and ſometimes leſs about their Devotion. In this ſo great ſilence, the Deputy of *Strasburg* having, in a Conference with *Poictieres*, enquired of him concerning the ſtate of Affairs, was told

Duke *Maurice*'s Letters to his Ambaſſadours.

The Elector of *Treves* returns home.

A Rumour of a War with the Emperour.

Indulgences publiſhed by the Popes Legate.

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told by him, that it was an idle Report ſpread abroad, of proroguing the Council, and that the Emperour would have them by all means to proceed and continue their Actions; that it was for their ſake alſo, that for ſeveral days nothing had been done, ſince they had given hopes of the coming of their Divines. This was about the beginning of *March*, when towards the later end of *February*, Duke *Maurice* had recalled his Divines from *Norimberg*, who after the Report was raiſed of his going to War upon the Emperour, having made ſome progreſs in his Journy thitherwards, returned home, and began to raiſe Soldiers, as you ſhall learn in the following Book. When theſe things began to be publickly known, and that the many Meſſengers who came upon one anothers heels, put the matter paſt all doubt, the Electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, to whom plenty of Proviſions had been lately brought from the *Lower Germany*, having with great expedition provided themſelves Horſes, on the Eleventh of *March*, departed from *Trent* about break of day; the Legate with the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Biſhops having been to take leave of them the Evening before. The ſame day new Ambaſſadours came to *Trent* from the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, *Wern*, *Munching*, and *Jerome Gerard* a Lawyer. Next day after they went to wait on the Emperours Ambaſſadours, and having ſhew'd their Commiſſion, deſired to have an anſwer to their Princes Demands, which were preſented to the Fathers on the Twenty fourth day of *January*; and acquainted them withal, that within a few days the Divines would come and give a fuller account of their Doctrine and Confeſſion of Faith. That ſeemed very ſtrange to them, but for what reaſon, I know not, unleſs it were, that it was ſaid, one of them had all things in readineſs for their Journy, and was thinking of returning home, who then muſt needs tarry againſt his will. Their anſwer was, That they muſt communicate the matter to the Fathers, and that when that was done, they would inform them of what they had ſaid. In the mean while the Ambaſſadours of Duke *Maurice* were in great perplexity and anxiety; for they were thought to have acted craftily, and being privy to their Maſters Councils, to have diſſembled all along; when they, in the mean time, affirmed, That they neither knew what was doing at home, had received no Letters from thence, nor could tell how they could return home without danger. And ſince they perceived that the longer delay they made, the greater their danger was like to be, *March* the Thirteenth as ſoon as it was day, with great ſilence they ſlipt away, and poſting to *Brixen*, conſulted the Cardinal of *Trent* what they had beſt do. At length one of the Ambaſſadours, who had lived long at *Inſpruck* before he came to *Trent*, and had in his Princes name made interceſſion with the reſt to the Emperour for the *Landgrave*; Having, if I be not miſtaken, obtained a ſafe Conduct, came to *Inſpruck*, and purged himſelf ſo well to the Emperours Counſellors, of having any knowledge of Warlike Preparations, that he gained credit from them. From thence he went ſtreight home; but the other took his Journy through *Carniola*, and ſo returned ſafe into his own Country. When the Electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne* came to *Inſpruck*, they were honourably received by thoſe whom the Emperour ſent to meet them, amongſt whom was the Biſhop of *Arras*. Having after had long and private Conferences with the Emperour, they purſued their Journy; for the matter required diſpatch. Six days after the Ambaſſadours of Duke *Maurice* left *Trent*, four Divines of *Wirtemberg*, and two of *Strasburg* came thither, of whom *Brentius* was one. Wherefore the Ambaſſadours repair inſtantly to Count *Montfort*, and name the Divines to him that were come, praying that he and his Collegues would uſe their endeavours, that the Fathers might give an anſwer to their demands, and fall to buſineſs again. Next day, being the Nineteenth of *March*, appointed for the Seſſion, as was ſaid before, the Fathers met in the Houſe of the Legate. The Ambaſſadour of *Portugal*, who arrived a little before, was preſent; who having ſhewed his Commiſſion, was in ſolemn manner received by the Fathers, and admitted to his place; After that, the publick Seſſion was put off till the firſt of *May*, and all this privately, nothing elſe being done. In the mean time the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, cauſed the Confeſſion of Faith which his Ambaſſadours preſented in Council, to be printed, of which thoſe who came laſt, and afterwards the Divines, had brought ſome Copies with them, and thoſe being communicated to ſome, were ſought after by many. For the Popes Legate kept the written Copy, that, as I ſaid, was preſented on the Twenty fourth of *January*, and ſuffered but very few to read it, which was not known till then; ſo that when it was now publiſhed, ſome *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Biſhops and Divines, made great enquiry after it, though, perhaps, not all with the ſame deſign. But the

The Electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne* return home.

New Ambaſſadours from *Wirtemberg* to the Council.

Duke *Maurice*'s Ambaſſadours depart ſecretly from *Trent*.

Divines of *Wirtemberg* and *Strasburg* come to *Trent*.

The Confeſſion of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*.

1552. Legate *Creſcentio* taking that ill, chid a certain Phyſician of *Trent*, a Learned Man, for diſperſing ſuch kind of Books. Count *Montfort* alſo told them plainly little leſs, than that they had treſpaſſed againſt the Conditions of the ſafe Conduct; and, that they who had publick ſecurity given them to ſave them harmleſs, ought alſo to avoid all occaſions of giving offence. Two days after the private Congregation that was held in the Legates Houſe, *Poictieres* ſent the Deputy of *Strasburg* word in the Night-time, after they had had ſome hours before a long Conference together about entering upon Buſineſs again, that if they would have him or his Collegues propound any thing to the Fathers, they would not fail to do it, and at the ſame time appointed them an hour. Wherefore the day following, which was the Two and twentieth of *March*, the Ambaſſadours of *Wirtemberg* and *Strasburg*, came to the Houſe of *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, where *Poictieres* having ſpoken firſt, the Ambaſſadours of *Wirtemberg* ſaid, that they again demanded the ſame thing, which they had moved at their firſt coming, to wit, that they might have an Anſwer to the Demands preſented long before; that, that being done, they might the more conveniently proceed to the reſt; and when after many words on both ſides, it might eaſily appear, that if they ſtuck to that, a ſtop would be put to the whole Negotiation, the Ambaſſadours, according to their Inſtructions, declare, That though they did not obtain what before they had demanded, yet that it might be evidently known, how very deſirous their Prince was of Peace and Concord; again, that the handling of the cauſe might no longer be delayed, as alſo, that in obedience to the Emperour, and in compliance with the Decree of the Empire, they were willing in their Princes Name, to preſent their Divines to a publick Diſputation; but upon this condition ſtill, that thereby they may not be thought to paſs from any part of their own Right, but that they may retain whole and entire to them and theirs, all that they can claim by Law and Cuſtom, and by the Decrees of the Dyet of *Ausburg*. When they had made this proteſtation, they gave it them in Writing, and then ſtept aſide. Being again called, the Imperialiſts commended their Action, and acknowledged that they aimed at Concord; that ſince it was ſo, the next thing, ſaid they, that was to be conſidered, was the manner of proceeding, and they entreated them to give their opinion, as to that. The Ambaſſadours withdrew, and having conſulted together, declared, that they had thought on two ways; to wit, That either the Divines might be heard touching all the Decrees of Doctrine that had been made in the Council, or that the Confeſſion of Doctrine given in to the Fathers, and now publiſhed in Print, ſhould be produced openly, and the ſeveral Heads thereof handled in order; for that their Divines were come with that intent, that they might more fully explain and demonſtrate the Doctrine contained in that little Book, and anſwer thoſe that would oppugne the ſame; that this ſeemed to them to be a very compendious way, and the moſt convenient that they could think on. Then the Deputy of *Strasburg* ſaid, that the Magiſtrates whom he repreſented had read the Writing of the *Wirtemberg*-Doctrine, which they approved and profeſſed, and had ſent Divines thither, to joyn in that Confeſſion, and, together with thoſe of *Wirtemberg*, to defend the ſame; that he was enjoyned to make this profeſſion to them in the name of the City of *Strasburg* and their Aſſociates.

The Proteſtation of the Ambaſſadours of *Wirtemberg*.

To theſe things they made anſwer, That whereas they made ſo fair advances, and acted ſo openly and ſincerely, that the Commonwealth of *Strasburg*, and the other aſſociated Cities, joyned alſo in the Profeſſion of the ſame Doctrine, they were exceedingly overjoyed, and thanked them for it, promiſing to make a faithful report of the ſame to the Emperour, who they doubted not but would be glad to hear of it: That as to the Theological Diſceptation, and way of proceeding preſcribed by them, they would ſhortly acquaint them, what the Fathers Opinion was concerning it. Some days after, when they heard no news from them, when the Biſhop of *Naumburg* was upon his departure, and the other two German Biſhops, who were all that remained, preparing alſo, as it was ſaid, to be gone, the Ambaſſadours went to Count *Monfort*, to know if the Fathers had, as yet, given any anſwer. All that he had to ſay, was, that the Fathers had not given any anſwer, as yet; and when mention was made of the departure of the Biſhops; he ſaid, that *Naumburg* went no farther than to wait upon the Emperour; for that there were ſome Commiſſioners coming out of *Saxony*, to treat a Peace with Duke *Maurice*, and that he being of the ſame Country, and one of chief Note too, he could not, but at their requeſt, be there: That as for the o-

thers,

thers, he knew nothing of their deſigns. For that ſince the Emperour was very deſirous of the Progreſs of the Council, they alſo directed all they did and ſaid to that end, that Men might not loſe all hopes of the main concern. The next day, which was the twenty ſeventh of *March*, the Deputy of *Strasburg* waited upon *Poictieres*, and told him, that the ſtate of his Affairs was ſuch, that he muſt needs return home: And that therefore he was deſirous to know, what account he could give, upon his return, of the Theological Diſceptation. This gave occaſion to ſome farther diſcourſe about the way, how the future Debates of the Divines was to be managed, and it was the opinion of the Ambaſſadour *Poictieres*, that they could not conveniently proceed in the Method, which they had lately propoſed: That now it was the deſign of the Fathers to determine the buſineſs of the Maſs, in the next Seſſion: That therefore he thought, that this was firſt to be debated, and then to proceed to the reſt in order: That, nevertheleſs, what he had ſaid, was his own private thought, not that his Collegues had enjoyned him, to ſay any ſuch thing. On the other hand, the Deputy of *Straſburg* alledged: That in the ſame manner, as the Divines of the Council had handled all things, in order, from the firſt Fundamentals of Religion, as the Creation; the Fall of Man; Original Sin; Juſtification; Faith; Good Works; and at length the Sacraments, ſo alſo ought their Divines to be allowed to follow the ſame Method: That they had alſo promiſed, the very ſame day, they delivered the ſafe conduct, about the later end of *January*, that they ſhould be heard about all Matters: That it was beſt to ſtick to that, and not invert the Order and Nature of things: For that unleſs Superiour and Antecedent Points were rightly determined, all Diſputes about inferiour and ſubſequent Matters, that depend on, and are deduced from the former, would be fruitleſs and vain. But when they could not agree upon that Matter, he told him, That as to his intended departure, it could not be granted him: That the Emperour had commanded them to ſuffer no Man to depart. After a long Diſcourſe, when he told him, That he had no more to do, that what now remained would be managed by the Divines, who had a Commiſſion for that in Writing: He bid him go to Count *Monfort* and ſhew him the Commiſſion, and then civilly diſmiſſed him, wiſhing him a good Journy home. When Count *Monfort* had ſeen the Commiſſion, he could have wiſhed, he ſaid, that his Affairs would have permitted him to ſtay longer, but that ſince his occaſion ſo required, he could not be againſt his going, and ſo very kindly diſmiſſed him. Next day, when he was juſt ready to ſet out upon his Journy, the Ambaſſadours ſending for him, *Poictieres* told him, That though they had the day before condeſcended to his departure, yet having conſidered better on't, and conſulted together, they could not give him leave to depart: That Matters were now brought to ſuch a maturity, that the fruit of the time ſpent was to be expected: And the Actions to be begun again: That if the Legate had not been ſomewhat indiſpoſed, ſomething might have been determined that very day: That therefore he muſt needs ſtay: For if he ſhould depart at that juncture of time, the Fathers would be offended, who knew, that he had been there for ſome Months paſt: That it was the Emperours command alſo, that no Man ſhould withdraw: But that if he had Orders, from his Principals, to be gone, he ſhould ſhew the Letters whereby he was recalled, that they might excuſe themſelves to the Emperour. To which he made anſwer, That he did not go, becauſe he was recalled by the Senate, but becauſe his own Affairs required it: And then having told them ſome Reaſons, he declared, That if it were not for theſe, he would not have ſtirred one foot from thence: That not only the Authority of the Senate, who wiſhed that he might tarry longer, but the dignity alſo of their Character, who deſired it of him, and the cauſe it ſelf, which he was very fond of, might juſtly prevail with him to do ſo: That by the coming of the Divines, he could be much better ſpared now; eſpecially, ſince all that remained, was only to admit them to a hearing: That the Ambaſſadours of *Wirtemburg*, who lately arrived, were alſo preſent with the Divines, and that the cauſe was common, as had been lately declared: That if the Matter ſhould be handled ſeriouſly, and without intermiſſion, the Senate, perhaps, would ſubſtitute another in his place, for that he had given them, by the laſt Poſt, notice of his coming away. To this, replied Ambaſſadour *Poictieres*, that he would ſtay, at leaſt, ſo long, till the Action were begun again, which would be very ſpeedily: And that if the Legate *Creſcentio* recovered not, they would endeavour, that his Collegues ſhould manage the Matter in his place. When he perceived that excuſes

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The Deputy of *Strasburg*'s Diſcourſe with the Ambaſſadour *Poctieres*.

The Deputy of *Strasburg*, being upon his return home, is ſtopt.

1552. excuſes and entreaties would not prevail, he betook himſelf to his laſt remedy, which he had purpoſely reſerved till then; and told them, That both he, and all the reſt, of the Auguſtane Confeſſion, had leave granted them, by the ſafe Conduct, to depart, whenſoever they pleaſed. Then at length, ſaid *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, they had ſo, indeed, and that they neither would, nor could, hinder him from going: But that they could do no otherwiſe, than to ſignifie to him the Emperours Commands, and what it was they themſelves deſired. So then having recommended the Publick Cauſe, and the Divines to their Cares, he took leave of their Excellencies, and departed. At that time, the Fathers diſagreed among themſelves, nor did they all look one way: For the Spaniards, Neapolitans, Sicilians, and all that were on the Emperours ſide, but chiefly the Spaniards, and with them the Ambaſſadours, urged hard, that the Actions of the Council might be continued: But the Pope's Creatures, ſuſpecting that the Spaniards had a deſign to attempt the Reformation of the Court of *Rome*, deſired to ſee ſome impediments ſtarted, that might prevent it: And, becauſe of the Civil Broils, the Chief German Biſhops were already gone, they looked for the ſame occaſion, and the rather, that they had intelligence daily by Letters, that Duke *Maurice* and the Confederates were already in Arms. The King of *France* alſo had employed the Cardinal of *Tournon*, who beſtirred himſelf actively in negotiating a Peace with the Pope: And if that took effect, ſince the French King was then in War with the Emperour, no Man doubted, but for his ſake alſo, the Council would be diſſolved. The Ambaſſadours of the Emperour, therefore, who ſaw and dreaded all theſe thing, made it their whole buſineſs, to bring about what they moſt deſired, by means of the Proteſtant Ambaſſadours. About the later end of *March*, a certain *Franciſcan Fryer*, preaching upon St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Romans*, before a numerous Auditory, took occaſion now and then to rail bitterly againſt *Luther*, and his Followers, and went ſo far, as to ſay, That they, who had never had the knowledge of Chriſt, and yet lived an honeſt Moral Life, might be ſaved: That this was the true meaning of the Apoſtle, in the ſecond Chapter of the *Romans*, upon which he preached. Some of the Proteſtant Divines having been preſent, and heard this, they all conſulted together, and wrote a Letter to the Emperours Ambaſſadours, on the laſt day of *March*, declaring that the cauſe of their coming, was, that they might illuſtrate, and defend the Confeſſion of Doctrine exhibited: And that it was a grievance to them, that nothing was done in Council, whoſe Decrees already made contained hardly any thing elſe, but bitter Cenſures, and Execrations of the Doctrines they profeſſed: That a Franciſcan Frier t'other day had not only ſaid many abſurd things openly, which were contrary to the ſenſe of the Church, and Ancient Doctors, but had alſo belched out many reproaches againſt their Doctrine and Churches: And that although ſome ſaid, that he did theſe things againſt the will of the Fathers, yet they ſaw how well his Sermon took with the Hearers. That if that were the only cauſe why they were called to come thither, that they might be made a ſpectacle and laughing-ſtock to others, and be forced daily to hear their Doctrine reproached and railed at, there was no neceſſity, that they ſhould have made the Journy, and that all theſe things might have been done in Writing: That therefore it was their earneſt ſuit to them, that by virtue of their Character and Authority, they would procure, not only that they might, at length, know what the Fathers found fault with, in the Confeſſion exhibited, but that they alſo might be publickly heard, as to all the Points of it. The Ambaſſadours graciouſly received the Letter, profeſſing that they were glad to find an occaſion offered of urging the Council to action, ſo that, if the Legate *Creſcentio* did refuſe, they might put it home to his Collegues, and the reſt of the Fathers. The Frier alſo preached no more after that, pretending Sickneſs.

Diviſions amongſt the Fathers of the Council.

The French King negotiates a Peace with the Pope.

The Demands of the Proteſtant Divines to the Council.

Duke *Maurice* takes *Ausburg* upon ſurrender.

The Ambaſſadour *Poictieres* Conference with thoſe of *Wirtemberg* and *Strasburg*.

April the firſt, Duke *Maurice* and his Aſſociates, beſieged *Ausburg*, and three days after took it by ſurrender, as ſhall be related in the following Book. *April* the fifth, the Ambaſſadours of *Wirtemberg* being ſent for came to the Houſe of *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, taking with them, as they had been enjoyned, two Divines, *Brentius*, and *John Marbach* of *Strasburg*. The Ambaſſadour *Poictieres* ſpoke, and told them firſt, That the Ambaſſadours had been very zealous in purſuing the common concern; but then, that becauſe of the Sickneſs of the Legate *Creſcentio*, neither his Collegues, nor the Fathers, would act any thing in his abſence: Laſtly, that it was not their fault, if no progreſs were made, and that they would not omit any thing for the future, that might contribute to the furthering

thering of buſineſs, and of this he made a proteſtation. The others having conſulted together, made anſwer, That they were very ſenſible of their Zeal, and the diligence they had uſed, but that they had expected ſomething elſe, and a more certain Anſwer to their Demands, to have been communicated to thoſe that ſent them: But that now, ſince the matter was ſo, they were to take the next courſe. With that the Ambaſſadours, replied, That he did not intend, by what he ſaid, nor was he to be ſo underſtood, as if there remained no more hopes of acting: That it was well done in them, and according to Duty, to acquaint their Magiſtrates with the whole ſtate of Affairs: Nor did he doubt, but that when they ſhould come to hear of all, they would both wonder at this delay and ceſſation, and take it ill: But that, however, he pray'd them, patiently to bear the tedioufneſs of a few days more: That in the mean time, they would endeavour, that they ſhould have a plain and poſitive anſwer: To which they made anſwer, That, for their ſakes, they were very willing to do ſo. Next day, Meſſengers and Letters came poſt haſte with the news of *Ausburg*'s being taken, and that the Princes were marching ſtreight towards the *Alpes*, to poſſeſs themſelves of the Paſſes, and ſtop all the ways. Whereupon the Militia was raiſed all over the Country of *Tirol*, and Soldiers liſted, with Orders to Muſter at *Inſpruck*. All the German Biſhops were now gone, none remained but the Proxies of the Biſhops of *Spire* and *Munſter*, when this news was brought, the Italian Biſhops preſently fled for it, carrying their Goods, by Water, down the River *Adige*. So that the *Wirtemberg* Ambaſſadours ſtarted thereat, and ſeeing that the Council broke up of their own accord, they went to the Emperours Ambaſſadours, and acquainted them, that they alſo, and the Divines, were reſolved to return home. They ſeemed much againſt it at firſt, and told them, That until they knew the Emperours pleaſure therein, they could not conſent to it: But when they could not prevail, they deſired to have the reaſons, of their departure, given them in Writing, that they might excuſe themſelves to the Emperour, and the Fathers. The Ambaſſadour *Poictieres* put the queſtion alſo, that if, after they were gone, the Fathers did proceed to action, what would the Divines ſay? To which the Ambaſſadours, having conſulted with the Divines, ſaid, That they would anſwer it, and ſo, *April* the eighth, in the Morning, they delivered to them the Writing they required. Therein they declared, when the Confeſſion of Divines was exhibited; wherefore the Divines came: How they had in vain ſolicited till then, to have had anſwer to their demands: How to that very day, there had been no hopes of any future action: That now alſo a War was broken out, ſo that not only the German Biſhops, but the Italians alſo went away, and that all the States were ſo involved in troubles, that there was nothing to be expected at preſent: That they did not think it prudent neither, to make any progreſs, in the abſence of the Roman Biſhops: That if hereafter, that Affair happened to be duely and orderly treated, they ſuppoſed their Prince would not be wanting: That it was the Opinion of the Divines, that many Decrees had been made, both in this, and in the former Council, which could not but be found fault with, if they were brought under a lawful Examination: That if the Fathers ſhould now proceed, it was credible, that the ſame courſe would be taken: That, nevertheleſs, if perhaps, either the Decrees already made ſhould be corrected, or that ſuch things ſhould afterwards be decreed, as were agreeable to the holy Scriptures, they made no doubt, but they would be embraced with moſt willing and obedient Minds: That that would be moſt acceptable to them, as had been demonſtrated in ſome places of the Confeſſion exhibited: Which Writing they both judged to be pious, and would be ready to explain it more fully, when occaſion called for it: That therefore they prayed them, to take their departure in good part: That they had liberty, indeed, granted them, by the ſafe conduct to depart thence, whenſoever they pleaſed, and were not obliged to give any Man a reaſon for their ſo doing, but that the many civilities, they had received from them, obliged them not to baulk that ſmall Duty, ſuch as it was. So then they took their leave, and departed in the Afternoon, and a few hours after, they met upon the rode the Cardinal of *Trent*, coming poſt from *Brixen* to his own City, who being informed, That they belonged to *Wirtemberg*, asked, who was *Brentius*, and ſpoke to him moſt courteouſly. We ſaid before, that the Fathers did not all look one way: The Spaniſh Biſhops, indeed, ſeemed the moſt active and diligent of all: Some of the Germans alſo pretended, that there was great need of Reformation: But this was the mind of thoſe, who all entertained the beſt thoughts, that

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The flight of the Fathers at *Trent*.

The Writing of the *Wirtemberg* Ambaſſadours given to the Imperialiſts.

The different Opinions and Intentions of the Fathers of the Council.

1552. that Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline and Manners ſhould be reformed, That Luxury, Ambition, and Examples of impure and diſhoneſt Lives, ſhould be removed, that every one ſhould mind his own Cure, and that no ſingle perſon ſhould enjoy more Livings than one. Beſides they had it in their thoughts, as it ſhould ſeem, to confine the Popes Power within certain bounds, and not allow his Court ſo much Authority and Juriſdiction over all Provinces. Theſe, and ſome other things, they comprehended under the name of Reformation, and acknowledging, that they belonged properly unto them, and required amendment: But as to Doctrine, they neither owned themſelves guilty of any Error, nor would they allow that a Council could err, and believed, that their Adverſaries would be at length forced to come over, and obey the Council; as appeared plainly enough from the French Kings Letter, and the form of the ſafe Conduct. It confirmed them in this Hope and Opinion, that they thought there were not many Profeſſors of that Doctrine remaining, the moſt part being either dead, or baniſhed, as it has been ſaid of *Schwabia*. It was the common talk there too, that, within a few Months, all Matters relating to Doctrine would be determined. For of the chief Points, two only remained, the Lords Supper and Marriage: All the other Heads of Doctrine were already determined. The Fathers of *Baſil* decided all things by the holy Scriptures, and the Writings which agreed with them: But theſe would have it to belong only to them to interpret the Scriptures, nor would they admit of that place, of the Decree of *Baſil*, by the Ambaſſadours reſtored, as we ſaid before, and changing the Words of the Decree, determined that the Traditions alſo of the Apoſtles were to be followed in all doubtful and controverted Points, and whenſoever they wanted a Teſtimony of Scripture, they bragg'd of Traditions, handed down to them from the very Apoſtles, as was oftner than once obſerved in the Diſputations of the Divines. And this alſo was the reaſon, that when on the thirtieth of *January*, the Proteſtant Deputies received the ſafe Conduct from the Imperial Ambaſſadours, they declared, That by Apoſtolical Traditions, they only underſtood written Traditions of the Apoſtles, which were ſubjoyned to the Second Part of the Bible, the New Teſtament, or the Hiſtory of the four Evangeliſts. We told you before, that the firſt of *May* had been appointed the day of the next Seſſion: But Affairs being now in a deſperate Caſe, the Fathers that remained met, and, by reaſon of the Diſſentions, and Quarrels, of Kings and Princes, prorogued the Council for two years time, and longer, if Peace were not made. This was done the twenty ninth day of *April*, and by this time, the Pope had agreed with the French King. Within a few days after, the Emperours Ambaſſadours departed alſo. But the Legate *Creſcentio* was ſick, and ſtayed behind: He being frightned by a Viſion in the Night, as it is ſaid, began both to be ill, and to deſpair of Life; notwithſtanding, all his Friends and Phyſicians could do to comfort him. Nor was he miſtaken in his Judgment: For his Diſtemper increaſing, he died at *Verona*. And this now was the end of the Council, at this time, which being with great hopes, renewed, thought of nothing leſs, than of retrieving Popery, and ſetting it ſhortly upon its Legs again. There were preſent at it, beſides the Popes Legates, and the Cardinal of *Trent*, threeſcore and two Biſhops, and of theſe, eight Germans, five and twenty Spaniards, two Sardinians, four Sicilians, one Hungarian, the Biſhop of *Agria*, all the reſt were Italians: But of Divines, there were forty two, and of them, nineteen Spaniards, twelve Germans and Flemings. I intended to have paſt in ſilence the occaſion of the Legate *Creſcentio*'s Sickneſs, becauſe it was ſuſpected to have been invented, by ſome, out of malice: But ſeeing it hath been ſo reported, by his Friends and Servants, who waited upon him, and ſometimes comforted him on his Sick bed, I thought fit to ſubjoyn it. He had been very buſie all day, *March* the twenty fifth, even till night, in writing Letters to the Pope; but then, riſing to refreſh himſelf, when his Work was over, it ſeemed to him, that a black Dog of extraordinary bigneſs, with flaming Eyes, and Ears reaching almoſt to the ground, entred the Room, and made ſtreight towards him, but afterwards ſlipt away under the Table. When he came to himſelf again, after the great fear and amazement, that the ſight ſtruck him into, he called in his Servants, who were in the Outer-chamber, and bid them bring a Candle, and beat out the Dog: But when no Dog could be found, neither there, nor in the next Chamber to it, he became very penſive, and ſo fell into Sickneſs, as I ſaid before. It is reported alſo, that upon his Death bed, he many times cried out to thoſe, that were about him, to beat off the Dog that clambered up upon the Bed.

The laſt Seſſion of the Council of *Trent*, at this time.

Peace betwixt *France* and the Pope.

The death of the Popes Legate.

The number of Biſhops and Divines in the Council of *Trent*.

The cauſe of the Sickneſs of the Popes Legate.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK XXIV.

The CONTENTS.

Duke Maurice *publiſhes a Declaration to all the States of the Empire, entreating them not to hinder his Deſign, but that all aſſiſt and declare for him. Much to the ſame purpoſe there was another Declaration publiſhed by* Albert, *Marqueſs of* Brandenburg. *The King of* France *alſo declares himſelf the Protector of the Liberty of* Germany, *and of the Captive Princes; and ſo marching into* Lorrain, *ſeizes* Metz. *After that he marches as far as* Strasburg, *and from thence went to* Hagenaw, *whither many Ambaſſadors and Deputies came to him, to deſire him that he would abſtain from waſting the Country, and put a ſtop to his Army. The King removes his Camp, and leaving* Germany, *retreats again to* Lorrain. *Duke* Maurice *with his aſſociates poſſeſſes the paſſes of the* Alpes, *and forces the Emperor to fly, who a little before had ſet the Duke of* Saxony *his Priſoner at liberty. The Princes by Proclamation at* Ausburg *reſtore all the outed and baniſhed Miniſters. Whilſt Duke* Maurice *is at* Paſſaw *treating a Peace,* Albert *of* Brandenburg *uſes great Cruelty againſt thoſe of* Norimberg, *and forces them to accept of a Peace; many things both by Letters and Agents repreſented to the Princes, who treat about entring into a League, and by certain conditions things are ſoftened. They of* Siena *revolt from the Emperor, who comes to* Strasburg *on his march to beſiege* Metz.

WE told you before that in the laſt Diet of *Germany*, the conduct of the War with *Magdeburg*, was by the unanimous conſent of the Emperor and the other States, committed to Duke *Maurice*. This War laſted a Year; in which time, the Duke who had the chief command of the Forces, began to think of a way of ſetting at liberty the *Landgrave* his Father-in-Law; ſince all the interceſſion he had hitherto made to the Emperor for that purpoſe had proved ineffectual. Having therefore forced the People of *Catzenelbogen* to ſwear Allegiance to him, made Peace with *Magdeburg*, and ſent an Embaſſie to *Inſpruck*, as hath been fully related in the foregoing Book, he entered into League with the French King, which was confirmed by Hoſtages mutually given, and both thought fit to publiſh a declaration of the cauſes of the War, that they might thereby win the favour and good-will of many. *Albert*, Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* had a great hand in making this alliance, who for that end went privately into *France* to treat with the King. In the mean time the Soldiers, as well thoſe who had beſieged *Magdeburg*, as the Garriſon that held out the City, had their Winter Quarters in *Mulhauſen* and the places thereabouts, and did much damage to thoſe of *Northhauſen* and *Erford*. When the Emperor demanded the reaſon of this from Duke *Maurice*, who had the chief Command in the War, he was anſwered, that the outrages they committed was, for want of their Pay; for this was the pretext he uſed, when, in reality,

The care Duke *Maurice* took for the *Landgrave* his Father-in-Law.

His League with the French King.

1552. they were liſted in his Service, and had been ſecretly ſworn to their Colours. And the better to perſwade, at the ſame time he ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Trent*, who were to paſs by *Inſpruck*, to procure a ſafe conduct for the Divines that were to come, and to propound ſome other things in the Council: then he ordered the Divines to follow, who being advanced on their way, as far as *Norimberg*, there ſtayed for Letters from the Ambaſſadors we mentioned, as hath been fully related in the preceding Book. He ſent before other Ambaſſadors alſo to the Emperor, *Chriſtopher Carlebitz*, and *Ulrick Mordeyſen*, who were to ſtay for his coming upon the Frontiers of *Bavaria*, being to uſe them in his Treaty and Negotiation: Beſides, he ordered Lodgings to be taken for him at *Inſpruck*, and he himſelf ſet out and advanced, ſome days Journey in the way, but then ſtopt ſhort, and making an excuſe by very kind Letters which upon the road he wrote to *Inſpruck*, returned home. Thus from day to day he ſpun out the time, till in the very beginning of the Spring, having timely recalled his Miniſters, he began to muſter the Soldiers, whom with great Secrecy he had raiſed in the Winter time, and publiſhed his Declaration to all the States of the Empire to this purpoſe: That there was nothing in this World ſo dear unto him as Peace and Concord; but that the chief thing he wiſhed for, was agreement in Religion, according to the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles; that their Adverſaries had indeed, put them in hopes of that, both privately and by publick decrees: that however nothing had been performed, and that they did not only interpret theſe Promiſes and Decrees in another ſenſe now; but wholly reſcinded and abrogated them: that they had not ſpared neither to tell ſome, that unleſs they were obeyed, no Man needed much to truſt or rely upon former Promiſes; for that when they were made, the ſtate of the times and affairs was different; but that now all muſt obey, or expect to ſuffer if they refuſe. That not ſatisfied with theſe Expreſſions, which yet ſhewed a hoſtile Mind, they had ſtirred up alſo foreign Kings againſt himſelf and other Princes of his Rank and Profeſſion, and invented many cauſes of hatred againſt them, ſometimes their Religion, and ſometimes other Crimes: whereas the thing it ſelf made it plain, that Religion was leaſt in their thoughts, but that it hath been always their aim to make the difference in Religion, a ſtep to raiſe them to Dominion and Rule: for that it was now obvious to all Men what arts and tricks they had uſed to overturn and deſtroy the true Religion, which in former years was ſet forth and profeſſed at *Ausburg*, that in order thereunto, they had baniſhed the Preachers of the Goſpel out of the Empire, and without ſtaying for the decree, not to ſay of a lawful, but even of a Popiſh Council, had begun, where they ſhould have ended, with Execution: that therefore he was not to be blamed, if by Wars he reſcued himſelf and People from that ſlavery of Mind and Conſcience: But that ſeeing the Glory of God was concerned in that, who alone was able to promote and defend his word, he referred all to his divine Majeſty, heartily beſeeching him that he would give him grace conſtantly to perſevere in the true knowledge of him to his lifes end. That there was another thing he intended to ſpeak of, and that related to the *Landgrave* his Father-in-Law: that five years ſince he and *Joachim* Elector of *Brandenburg*, had been in the Emperors name put in hopes, that if the *Landgrave* could be perſwaded, to come and humbly beg the Emperor's Pardon, the Emperor would demand no more of him than what was contained in the Articles of Peace accorded to, but would graciouſly diſmiſs him: that therefore they had prevailed with him by Letters to comply, having bound themſelves to the Sons, Body for Body for the Father, that they ſhould ſubmit to the ſame fortune that he underwent; that ſo he had come with full aſſurance to *Hall*, and made his humble ſubmiſſion to the Emperor, then ſupped with the Duke of *Alva*, and ſpent a good part of the Night pretty chearfully; but that when he was about to return to his Inn, he had been, contrary to all expectation detained, and committed to Cuſtody, wherein he had now for almoſt five whole Years languiſhed in great Miſery; and that though his Sons, the Nobility and People had ratified and approved the tranſaction, though he himſelf, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and *Wolffgang*, Prince *Palatine* had engaged as ſureties for him, that unleſs he did perform his Conditions, they would deliver him up into his Hands, and that though according to the treaty of Pacification, his Fine was payed, the Artillery with all the Ammunition delivered, the Caſtles and Forts demoliſhed, Duke *Henry*, of *Brunſwick*

Duke *Maurice's* Declaration to the States of the Empire.

and

and his Son ſet at liberty, and the Copy of the League and Confederacy exhibited; ſo that no more, indeed, remained to be performed, nevertheleſs neither the Prayers nor interceſſion of himſelf, of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, of his own Wife, who died for grief, of the People, nor of other Princes could hitherto any way prevail: That he had often made his application to the Emperor, and becauſe many entertained a ſiniſtrous opinion of him, had earneſtly begg'd of his Majeſty that he would have regard to his Honour and Reputation, that he would be pleaſed to have reſpect to the good Offices that their Predeceſſors had rendered to his Anceſtors, and to what they themſelves had deſerved at his own and Brother King *Ferdinands* hands, and in conſideration thereof, ſet him at liberty: but that none of theſe Arguments could prevail with him; nay, that on the contrary, he had compelled him being a Priſoner, to anſwer Law-ſuits, and, againſt all Law and Juſtice, eſpecially in ſuch difficult matters, to plead his Cauſe under conſtraint; not to mention how ſuſpiciouſly, and with how great precipitation the matter was managed, a thing not before known or heard of in *Germany*, that under that pretext of Law forſooth, he might by degrees turn him and his Children out of all, and reduce them to ſuch ſtreights, that they might not be able to maintain their rank and quality for the future: That it highly concerned him not to ſuffer this, both for the near relation he had to the Houſe of *Heſſe*, and the right he had to its Succeſſion: That this might ſeem ſtrange indeed, were it not now obvious to all Men, that theſe kind of Arts, tended mainly to the eſtabliſhing of that Monarchy, which for ſo many years had been a rearing. That the third and chief thing he had to ſay, concerned all *Germans*, and their common and native Country *Germany*, whoſe condition was certainly moſt ſad and deplorable: for that contrary to Laws and Treaties, foreign Soldiers had been brought into the bowels of the Empire, where they now after many years continuance began to take rooting, devouring other Mens Goods and Eſtates, both in City and Country, and practiſing all kinds of filthy Luſt: that beſides, new ways of raiſing Money were invented, and the ancient Liberty many ways impoſed upon, wherein no rank nor ſtate, no not the Electors themſelves were ſpared: That the Ambaſſadors of foreign Kings who grieve at theſe things, and who tender the wellfare of *Germany*, were kept at diſtance from the publick Diets, quite contrary to the cuſtom of the Empire: That in ſhort, it was fully reſolved, that all ſhould be reduced under a foul and ignominious Bondage; upon which account Poſterity and thoſe that came after, would have juſt cauſe to curſe and deteſt the ſottiſh Cowardice of this time, wherein the faireſt ornament of the Country, that is, its Liberty was loſt. That therefore, ſince the caſe was ſo, he and the *Landgrave William*, the Son of *Philip*, moved by a juſt grief for his Father's Calamity, having made a League with the King of *France*, whom the Enemy alſo laboured to undermine and turn out of all, had reſolved to take up Arms for the deliverance of his Father-in-Law and the Duke of *Saxony*, for the reparation of his own Honour, and for recovering the common Liberty of all: That no Man ſhould then offer to hinder or diſturb this his Enterpriſe, but that all forward it, and declare and give good aſſurances of their reſolutions ſo to do; for that otherwiſe, if any Man did aid and aſſiſt their adverſaries in any manner of way, he ſhould be lookt upon as an Enemy. This Declaration was alſo ſigned by *John Albert* Duke of *Meckelburg*, particularly for the maintenance of Religion, ſince Duke *Maurice* had declared, that for that cauſe alſo he had taken up Arms. Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg* publiſhed in like manner a Declaration much to the ſame purpoſe, wherein he complained that the Liberty of *Germany* was oppreſſed by the very ſame Perſons, who by their office ought to maintain and enlarge the ſame: that there was a Council now held, ſaid he, wherein ſome few were aſſembled to ſubvert the truth: that many diets of the Empire were alſo called, whereof this was the end, that with ſome cunning fetch, and by Men corrupted with Bribes and Promiſes, Money may be raiſed to the weakening and impoveriſhing of *Germany*, and that was brought about chiefly by the Churchmen, who had the moſt voices in the Diets of the Empire: that matters were now ſo ordered, that the effect of all conſultations in a manner, depended on the will and pleaſure of one ſingle Man, who was neither a Gentleman nor *German* Born, nor yet Incorporated into the Empire, to the great prejudice and diſgrace of all *Germans*: that if publick affairs muſt be thus managed; it were far

1552.

The Declaration of *Albert* of *Brandenburg* againſt the Emperor.

1552. far better to have no Imperial Diets at all; but that Money ſhould be given freely and liberally as often as demanded; for that by ſo doing, there would be a great deal of time ſaved, and beſides much charges ſpared: that by the ſame Artifices the great Seal of the Empire was put into the hands of Strangers, which now Foreigners abuſed at their Pleaſure, to the detriment of *Germany*: that yet there was not a Man to be found who durſt bewail that, unleſs he would expoſe himſelf to the higheſt diſpleaſures; that nevertheleſs the affairs of the *Germans* were not in the mean time diſpatch'd, but put off by tedious delays; ſo that it was almoſt a publick Grievance: for that as matters went, the *Germans* had need to learn other Languages, if they would ſollicite their own Buſineſs to any purpoſe: that in like manner, it was contrary to the ancient Liberty of the Empire, that a publick Edict ſhould be made, prohibiting any Man to ſerve in foreign Wars; that the Proteſtants who were received into Favour, over and above moſt grievous Penalties, ſhould be forced alſo to ſubmit to other inferiour ſneaking Conditions: that great ſumms of Money were extorted from their Tenants and Vaſſals for having ſerved them in the Wars: that theſe Burthens had been alſo laid upon other Princes and States, who had committed no fault, and, as if that War had been made for the publick good, Money had been impoſed upon them for defraying the charges thereof, and all with deſign, that no Sinews, nor Force at all might be left in *Germany*: That it was to be reckoned up with the reſt, that civil ſuits of greateſt concern, were not brought before the publick Judicature of the Empire, but before a few Commiſſioners; ſo that it was in their Power, to make or to marr great Princes: beſides, that it was ordered by Edict, that no Prince ſhould have his own Image ſtampt upon his Coin, that through all the Cities of *Germany* almoſt, new Senators were appointed; that it was a ſlavery impoſed now generally upon all *Germans*, that they were forced to bear with foreign Soldiers in their Country, who did much miſchief, reduced many to Poverty and Want, and practiſed all ſorts of Inſolence and Laſciviouſneſs: for that neither had his own Country been favoured, though he had promiſed himſelf better Uſage, for his Fidelity and the good Services he had rendered the Emperor; but that when during the War of *Magdeburg* he was abſent in the ſervice of the Publick, Soldiers had been brought into his Country, though his Officers had made great interceſſion to the contrary: and that certainly both he and the other Princes alſo, who in the late War againſt the Proteſtants, put lives, fortunes, and all to the risk for his Honour and Safety, had been bravely rewarded for their Pains, in that Hiſtory of the ſame War, written by *Louis D'Avila* a foul-mouth'd lying fellow, whilſt he ſpeaks of all *Germany* ſo coldly, and with ſo much contempt and averſion, as if they were a barbarous and obſcure People, unknown in the World: that the indignity was ſo much the greater, in that the Libel had been Printed with a ſpecial Priviledge and Licence from the Emperor: that many things indeed were now excuſed by Letters ſent up and down *Germany*, but that the ſame was the cry ſtill which was up ſome years ago, and that all their talk was, that degrees were to be altered according to the condition of the times, and that Men muſt obey the preſent Commands or ſuffer Puniſhment: that therefore ſince ſome Princes had taken up Arms, to ſhake off this yoke of Bondage and Ignominy, he was reſolved to hazard his Life and all with them in the common concern: That he openly declared this, and required that no Man ſhould aid and aſſiſt their Adverſaries, but that all ſhould join with him and his Aſſociates in that common Cauſe: for that though ſome might take the contrary part, yet ought they not to expect better uſage from their victorious Adverſary: Since then the ſtate and condition of all *Germans* would be the ſame, and their miſery alike; that if any now did carry Arms againſt him and his Aſſociates, he was reſolved to proſecute them with Fire and Sword: that there went a report of him and his Aſſociates, as if they intended to call in foreign Nations, nay, and the *Turk* himſelf into *Germany*, but that it was a falſe and abſurd Calumny; for what madneſs would it be, to put themſelves and Country into ſo great a danger? That what was ſaid of him by ſome, was alſo falſe, as if he had engaged in this War only to enrich himſelf: that for ſome years paſt he had ſerved the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* in their Wars, to the great prejudice of his Eſtate, without any other proſpect or deſign but the purchaſing of Honour and Reputation by his Services: that fair and ample conditions had been ſeveral times offered him alſo;

alſo; but he had rejected them, that he might eſpouſe this War, for the Liberty and ancient Dignity of his Country: That if perhaps in this War, the overgrown Power and Authority of the Clergy, which is prohibited in holy Scripture, ſhould chance to be weakened and impaired, he was not to be blamed for that; ſince, to ſay the Truth, the chief Biſhops of the Empire had been the cauſe of all theſe Evils: that it was not his deſign, though, that thoſe religious Houſes, which were founded chiefly for the uſe of the Nobility and Gentry, ſhould be deſtroyed; but that the vices being rooted out, and thoſe things reformed, which could not be ſuffered, they might continue in their own ſtation, nay and flouriſh too: and that he would aſſiſt them therein, provided they were willing, and did not ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded by his Adverſaries to the contrary. The *French* King alſo made publick Declaration, that it had been his chief deſign, Religion being once ſetled, that he might do good to the publick, but eſpecially to his Friends. That therefore immediately after the death of his Father, he had reſtored *Scotland* to its ancient dignity, renewed the league with the *Switzers*, recovered *Boloigne*, brought back the People that had been diſperſed up and down, into their own Lands and Poſſeſſions again; and made a Peace and ſtrict Friendſhip with the King of *England*: But that whilſt he was intent upon theſe things, the Emperor by cloſe and clandeſtine Counſels had contrived many things to his ruin, and oftener than once given him a cauſe of War; but that to give ſome eaſe and refreſhment to the publick, and to his own People alſo in private, he had been ſtill, and, winking at theſe injuries, had wholly applied himſelf to the ſettling of his Kingdom: that this his quietneſs had been by his Adverſaries interpreted Cowardiſe and Faint-heartedneſs afterwards: but that in the mean time, ſad and grievous Complaints had been brought to him from many of the Princes and States of *Germany*, who ſaid, that under the ſpecious Pretexts, partly of Religion, partly of a *Turkiſh* War, and puniſhing of Rebellion, deſigns had been carried on to bring them into Bondage, and that through cunning and crafty counſels, Factions and Diviſions were fomented, and *Germany* totally exhauſted; ſo that it was no longer to be doubted, but that he aimed at an univerſal Monarchy for himſelf and the houſe of *Auſtria*: that that truly had been a great grief to him, not only becauſe of the common origine of both Nations, but alſo of the ancient alliance and friendſhip, which had always remained firm and unviolate, ſo long as the craft and ſubtlety of the Emperor had given it leave: for that if the Government ſhould be changed, and *Germany* loſe its liberty, he well underſtood how dangerous and prejudicial that would be unto him: that *Germany* was indeed the Bulwark, not only of *France*, but of all Chriſtendom alſo: and that therefore he had many times heartily wiſhed and prayed, that both People might have united their ſtrength and put themſelves into ſuch a condition, as not to need to fear any danger: but that ſince there appeared no hopes of that, and that in the mean time many craved his aſſiſtance, but on different accounts, he could ſee no way how he could ſuccour the Empire ſo much rent and torn: Nevertheleſs that in this ſo weighty a deliberation, God, the juſt Judge of all, had offered him a very fit occaſion: for that *Octavio Farneſe* Duke of *Piacenza* and *Parma*, for whom the Emperor and Pope *Julius* laid Snares, had implored help from him, and by laying open before him all the injuries received, had perſwaded him to undertake the Protection of him and the Prince of *Mirandula*: that afterwards came thoſe complaints from the Princes of *Germany*, who deſired to enter into league with him, as being the only way in their opinion, to reſtore the State: that he would not mention thoſe weighty and juſt cauſes, that the Princes had to take up Arms; ſince they might be underſtood from their own declarations: but yet that any Man might conſider with himſelf whether this inſatiable ambition of their Adverſaries was not a juſt ground of grief, who, having ruined the Wealth of *Germany*, ſwept all into their own Coffers and Treaſury? Were not the provinces of *Utricht*, *Liege* and *Cambray*, ſufficient inſtances thereof? And what was alſo *Conſtance*, and many other free Cities oppreſſed? That the *Burgundians* now hovering over the People of *Treves*, *Cleve*, and *Wirtemberg*, had left the Prints of their footſteeps upon their Borders, and many ways made havock of the *Landgraves* Territories: that in like manner, and for the ſame purpoſe, the Emperor excluded his Ambaſſadors from the Diets of the Empire, prohibited, by publick Edict, the *Germans* from ſerving foreign

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The *French* King's Declaration againſt the Emperor.

Germany the Bulwark of Chriſtendom.

1552. foreign Princes in their Wars, cut off brave and valiant Soldiers, and amongſt thoſe *Vogelſperg*, whom he himſelf, to glut his revenge, ſaw executed at *Auſburg*. Was it not a thing of bad example that he ſhould encourage and hire Men to kill thoſe who ſerved in his Wars? That it was not certainly to be expreſſed, what Arts their Enemies uſed: for ſuch were by them thruſt in and admitted into the Judicature of the Imperial Chamber, and Diet of the Empire, as might make it their whole buſineſs to bring about and accompliſh whatever they pleaſed; and that indeed, the blame of all the Evils that had happened was to be imputed to thoſe kind of Men, but eſpecially the Judges of the Imperial Chamber: That for theſe reaſons, he could not refuſe his aſſiſtance to the *Germans* who deſired it: that therefore he had made a League with them, and not only done ſo, but was reſolved alſo to employ all his force, nay his very Perſon in that war: that he did not neither look for any private profit or advantage thereby; but that it was only his intent, that by aſſerting the Liberty of *Germany*, delivering *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* and the *Landgrave*, whom he had detained in a tedious and baſe Captivity, he might purchaſe to himſelf Praiſe and immortal Glory; as *Flaminius* had heretofore done in delivering *Greece* from bondage; nor needed any Man to fear Violence: for that ſince he had undertaken that War for the ſake of Liberty, he would take care that no Man who did not deſerve it, ſhould receive any hurt: that therefore they might believe the Promiſe which he faithfully made to them, and not give credit to their Adverſaries, who gave it out that it was his deſign to afflict and plague the Clergy: that he was ſo far from entertaining ſuch thoughts, that he took them all under his protection and defence, provided they gave him aſſurance that they would not annoy him nor his Friends: for that he had been put in good hopes by the Letters of a great many, that if Liberty were once reſtored, the Peace of the Church might alſo be upon lawful terms eſtabliſhed, all ambition and deſire of private lucre being ſet aſide: That theſe were the things he thought fit to declare unto them, that they might know what his will and purpoſe was: That therefore he did require, that no Perſon would offer to hinder or moleſt him or his Friends in the proſecution of ſo juſt a War, and ſo neceſſary for the welfare of *Germany*: for that otherwiſe, if any Man ſhould ſo much forget the love and duty which he owed to his Country, as to think of making reſiſtance, he would deſtroy him with Fire and Sword: and though it would be againſt his will to do ſo, yet if any ſuch ſhould be, he muſt be cut off as a rotten and corrupt Member, from the reſt of the Body, leſt he might hurt by Contagion, and ſo be reſtrained from doing of Miſchief: That they might learn the reſt from his Ambaſſador the Biſhop of *Byonne*, that he ſent to them with fuller Inſtructions, to whom he willed them to give Credit.

The badge of Liberty.

The *French* King calls himſelf the Defender of the Liberty of *Germany* and of the Captive Princes.

The out-lawed Men, who ſerved the King of *France*.

This Declaration was Printed and Publiſhed in the vulgar Tongue, with a Cap betwixt two Daggers over head, and this Motto, *The Emblem of Liberty*; underneath was the title of the King, who called himſelf *the Defender of the Liberty of* Germany *and of the Captive Princes*. Some ſay, that this cogniſance was to be found on ancient Medals, and was given by the Murtherers of *Julius Cæſar*. Whereas he ſaid, that the Emperor had allotted a reward to thoſe, who ſhould kill ſome of his Collonels; the Story is this: The Emperor had by a late Edict again proſcribed, the *Rhinegrave*, *Recrod*, *Riſeberg*, and *Scherteline*, who all ſerved the King of *France*, as we ſaid before, and had promiſed a reward of four thouſand Florins to him that ſhould bring in any one of them dead or alive; for they were great promoters of the Cauſe, and after the League we mentioned was made, went into *Germany* and there raiſed Soldiers, whom they carried into *France*. Now *Scherteline* was in a manner forced to fly over to the *French* King, after he had for ſome years in vain ſollicited, but could not by any man's Interceſſion be received into favour again with the Emperor nor King *Ferdinand*.

Theſe declarations of the Princes and *French* King, being diſperſed over *Germany*, wrought hope in ſome, but in many fear and anxiety. Duke *Maurice* who diſguiſed all things, held a convention of the States of his Dominion on the firſt of *March*, and amongſt other things declared unto them, that being cited to appear by the *Landgrave's* Sons, he could no longer ſhuffle with them, nor fruſtrate their Expectation: that he was therefore going to them, that he might fullfil his Promiſe and Engagement: that in the mean time they ſhould obey his Brother *Auguſtus*, whom he left to govern them in his abſence, and

to

to raiſe Men for the defence of the Frontiers, that they might not be unprovided if any thing ſhould happen. The Elector of *Brandenburg* was preſent there, it being the day he had been cited to appear on; but having obtained leave from the *Landgrave*'s Sons, to appear another time when he ſhould be ſummoned to come and fulfil his Promiſe, he returned Home. In the mean time Duke *Maurice* having ſettled all things at home, and aſſigned ſome Counſellors to his Brother *Auguſtus*, went with few in Company to the Forces, which, as I ſaid, he had lying in *Thuringe*, and marching forwards a little, waited for the coming of the *Landgrave*'s Son. Before he parted from home, *Henry Burgrave* of *Miſnia*, a Man of Illuſtrious Birth, and Chancellor of *Bohemia*, had in King *Ferdinand*'s Name treated earneſtly with him about an accommodation. Now when on the eighteenth of *March*, the *Landgrave*'s Son was come with his Forces to *Erlebach*, the *French* Ambaſſador being there alſo, they both wrote to the City of *Frankfurt*, requiring them amongſt other things, not to admit a Garriſon from the Emperor: and although their anſwer from within was not plain enough, nor to their ſatisfaction, yet there was nothing elſe done, becauſe it concerned him to haſten his March forwards. Six days after he joyned Duke *Maurice*, and ſo in three days more, all the Army came to *Schuinfurt*; there Duke *Maurice* told him, that King *Ferdinand* offered to Mediate, and had both by Letters and Agents, plainly enough intimated, that he had Power alſo to treat about his Father's Liberty. He therefore, making the *French* Ambaſſador privy to it, was willing he ſaid, to hear what conditions and demands King *Ferdinand* would propoſe. That being reſolved upon, they march in great haſte by *Rotenburg*, *Dinkleſpiel*, and *Nordlingen*, to *Donawert*: at *Rotenburg* they were joyned by *Albert* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, with his Forces both Horſe and Foot: whereſoever they paſt, they brought the Towns-People under Subjection, and made new Magiſtrates in place of thoſe the Emperor put in, whom they turned out; making them alſo furniſh Money and Ordnance: and becauſe *Ausburg* was but meanly Garriſoned, and that about the ſame time, part of the Wall and Rampart was fallen down, on the firſt day of *March* they ſet forward, and marching all night, came before it the firſt of *April*, about noon, where, by making ſome Incurſions, they ſhewed themſelves to be Enemies. The Emperor had ſent four Companies of Foot into the Town: but when four days after the Towns-People ſurrendred the Place, they had leave given them to March away. Then they ſummon the Cities of upper *Germany*, and *Norimberg* amongſt the reſt, commanding them to appear at *Ausburg* by the end of *April*: They alſo ſollicite *Ulm*, which is but nine Miles diſtant from *Ausburg*, to aſſiſt them with all things neceſſary, and enter into Society with them.

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Duke *Maurice* taketh the Field.

Albert of *Brandenburg* joyns Duke *Maurice* and the *Landgrave*'s Son.

Ausburg ſurrendred to the Princes.

The Cities are ſummoned to come to *Ausburg*.

Much about the ſame time, the Prince of *Salerno*, upon occaſion of a quarrel which he had with the Viceroy of *Naples*, revolted from the Emperor, and went into *France*. Whilſt theſe things are acting in *Germany*, the *French* King having taken the Field with a vaſt Army, made himſelf Maſter of *Toul* and *Verdan*, two Imperial Cities upon the Frontiers of *France*. Afterward he marched to *Lorrain*, and ſent the young Duke, a Boy of nine years of Age, into *France* (though his Mother the Dutcheſs Dowager had begged earneſtly to the contrary,) and promiſed to give him his Daughter in Marriage. Whilſt he himſelf is taken up about theſe affairs, the Conſtable *Ann* of *Momorency*, who commanded the Van, poſſeſſes himſelf of *Metz* a famous Imperial City, on the tenth of *April*, there being but a ſmall Garriſon in it, and the *French* having made fair Promiſes, proteſting that their King had taken up Arms only for the defence of their Liberty. For when *March* the fifteenth the King marched over the borders of *France*, by Letters and Meſſengers whom he ſent unto them, he deſired only that they would furniſh him with Proviſions, and that he might March with his Army through their Country, promiſing them all Good-will and Friendſhip. He made uſe of the Cardinal of *Lenoncour* as his Agent, who commended his Zeal and good Intentions to the Senate. The Conſtable had written to them alſo moſt friendly: but when he was come nearer the Town with his Forces, he deſired to be let in, and obtained it: and next day he made himſelf Maſter of the Gates, and all the Works and Fortifications. Afterward on the eighteenth of *April*, the King himſelf came alſo, and ſtayed four days there. He obliged the Senate and People to take an oath of Allegiance to him; and appointed *Monſieur Gonnor* to be their Governour, with orders to diſarm

The Prince of *Salerno* revolts from the Emperor.

The *French* King takes *Toul*, *Verdun*, and *Metz*.

Lenencour, Biſhop of *Metz*.

The *French* King takes an Oath of Allegiance of the Senate and People of *Metz*.

1552. arm them, to carry all their Weapons into one place, and to fortifie the Town; the ſame he did in thoſe Cities we mentioned: In *Lorrain* alſo, and by Meſſengers ſent before to *Strasbourg*, *Haguenaw*, all the neighbouring places, and to the Biſhop of *Strasburg*, he demanded ſupplies of Corn and Proviſions. *Ausburg* being taken, as we ſaid, the old Town-Council whom the Emperor had turned out, reſtored, and the Power of Election alſo being again confirmed to the Companies; the confederate Princes marched to *Ulm*, which had refuſed to enter into League with them. When on the twelfth of *April* they were come thither, they rode about the Town; but being ſhot at with the great Guns from within, they demanded ſatisfaction for the Injury done unto them, and rated it at three hundred Thouſand Florins; which being refuſed, they fell to Hoſtilities. But Duke *Maurice* went from thence to *Lintz*, a City of *Auſtria*, that he might underſtand from King *Ferdinand* what the conditions of Peace were; for he, as I ſaid, was by conſent of the Emperor, Mediator. The Emperor, in the mean time, had by Letters exhorted the chief Princes of the Empire, to uſe their endeavours to quench this Conflagration, and find out ſome means of Peace, wherein he would not be wanting: and when ſome implored ſucours from him, as being unable to act any thing againſt ſo great force, to encourage them, he made anſwer, that there was a treaty of Peace on Foot, which he hoped would take effect; but if otherwiſe, that he would not be wanting neither to them nor the Publick. The Princes having beſieged *Ulm* ſix days, on the nineteenth of *April* removed to *Stocach*, a Town in *Hegow*: where they received three Months Pay in the *French* King's Name, as it had been agreed, and *Gamey de la Mark* the *French* Hoſtage was delivered up; for the other *de Nantueil* died on the way thither. The Hoſtages, whom the Princes gave the King, were *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Meckelburg*, and *Philip* the *Landgrave*'s Son. *April* the laſt, the Princes returned to the *Danube* ſome Miles below *Ulm*. In the mean time *Albert* of *Brandenburg* burnt and deſtroyed the Towns and Villages belonging to *Ulm*, raiſed Contributions from them, and took their Caſtle of *Helfenſtein* ſeated on a high Hill, putting a Garriſon therein. He alſo raiſed a Contribution of eighteen Thouſand Florins from the Town of *Giſlingen* three Miles diſtant from *Ulm*, and ſome adjoyning Villages. When Duke *Maurice* came to *Lintz*, he offered Propoſals about the ſetting at Liberty the *Landgrave* his Father-in-Law, about ſettling the difference concerning Religion; the right Eſtabliſhment of the Government; about the making Peace with the *French* King their Confederate, and the reception of the outlawed Perſons into Favour. Theſe were the *Rhinegrave*, and others whom we mentioned before, amongſt whom alſo was Count *Heideck*, who ſome years before had put himſelf under the Protection of Duke *Maurice* as hath been ſaid; but on whoſe head the Emperor had ſet no rate, that he might not offend Duke *Maurice* as it is credible. To theſe demands King *Ferdinand*, with whom were his Son *Maximilian*, his Son-in-Law the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, made anſwer: that the Emperor did not refuſe, but that the *Landgrave* might be ſet at Liberty, yet ſo that they preſently laid down their Arms: that as to Religion and the regulation of the Government, he was pleaſed, that the matter might be determined in the next Diet of the Empire; but that the Emperor was very loth that the *French* King ſhould be comprehended: that however Duke *Maurice* might learn of him upon what terms he would make Peace: that the proſcribed might alſo be received into Favour, provided they would ſubmit to the condition offered by the Emperor. King *Ferdinand* demanded beſides, that after the concluſion of the Peace, Duke *Maurice* would aſſiſt him in *Hungary*, and that the Soldiers ſhould not take on under the *French* King. But Duke *Maurice* having anſwered that without the conſent of his Aſſociates he could not conclude any thing, they broke off the Treaty at that time, and appointed another meeting to be on the twenty ſixth of *May*, at *Paſſaw*, a Town lying between *Ratisbonne* and *Lintz*, where the River *Inn* falls into the *Danube*: that the Princes, Mediators, and their Deputies ſhould alſo be there. On the firſt of *May* the *Landgrave*'s Son, and *John Albert* Duke of *Meckelburg* led the Army to *Gundelfingen*, and there lay eight Days, waiting for Duke *Maurice*'s return from *Auſtria*. Next day after he came, the Army was Muſtered at *Laugingen*, a Town belonging to *Otho Henry* Prince Palatine; for they had recovered his Province out of the Emperor's Hands, and driven the Biſhop of *Ausburg* out of his Country; *Otho* Prince Palatine, having alſo joyned in League with them.

The Princes go to *Ulm*, and beſiege it.

The *German* and *French* Hoſtages are ſet at Liberty.

Albert of *Brandenburg* waſtes the Country about *Ulm*.

Conditions of Peace propounded by Duke *Maurice* to King *Ferdinand*.

King *Ferdinand*'s Demands.

Duke *Maurice* his Anſwer.

Otho Henry, Prince Palatine recovers his own Province.

them. From thence they direct their March towards the *Alpes*; but it happened at this time, that King *Ferdinand* obtained a Truce from them, which was to laſt from the twenty ſixth of *May*, to the eighth of *June*: In the mean time the Emperor was raiſing Forces at the Foot of the *Alpes*, who aſſembled at the Town *la Rue*. During theſe Commotions, the Cardinal Biſhop of *Ausburg*, who otherwiſe was not rich, and had ſuffered much damage, went to *Rome*, that he might obtain from the Pope new Promotions and Benefices to fill up the chinks again. After this the Judges of the Imperial Chamber fled from *Spire*; for both the *French* King and the Princes had in their Declarations hinted their diſpleaſure againſt them plainly enough, and caſt the blame of all the troubles upon them. The *French* King marched with his Army along the Borders of *Lorrain*, and *May* the third, came to *Saverne*, a Town belonging to the Biſhop of *Straſburg* within four Miles of that City. He had before demanded a ſupply of things neceſſary from the *Strasburgers*; and therefore Deputies had been ſent to him to *Sarbruck*, ſeven Miles from the City, to offer him a certain ſupply of Corn and Wine; and the Deputies were *Peter Sturmey*, *Frederick Gotteſſeim* and *John Sleidan*: but the Conſtable undervalued that offer, as nothing anſwering his Expectation, and though the Deputies left him with a promiſe to make their report to the Senate, and afterwards give him notice of their anſwer; yet next day he ſent two Gentlemen of Quality to urge an anſwer, highly extolling the Affection and Friendſhip that the King bore to *Germany*, and inſiſting likewiſe upon the cauſe of his taking up Arms, to wit, that he might retrieve the liberty of *Germany* from oppreſſion. Another demand they made was, that ſeeing the Soldiers were in want of moſt things neceſſary, they might be allowed to come and buy in the City what they ſtood in need of, and that Tradeſmen might have leave to carry out their Commodities and ſell them in the Camp. To theſe things the Senate made anſwer, that in matters of ſo great moment, nothing was uſually determined, without the conſent of the whole State: that having debated the matter, they would again ſend deputies, and acquaint them with what their reſolution was. They being thus diſmiſſed, the day following the ſame Deputies were again ſent out to the Camp, which then was at *Saverne*. When the Conſtable had heard their Diſcourſe, wherein they offered more than before, and gave their reaſons why the Soldiers could not be allowed to come into the Town, he began to ſpeak more angrily, telling them in ſharp Language how partial Judges they were both of the King's Favours, and the Injuries received from the Emperor. The concluſion of his Speech was, that the King would ſpeak to them himſelf to Morrow, and confirm the ſame things he had told them. Next day the Deputies being ſent for to come to the King, with whom were the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Vendoſme* and the Conſtable, they relate to his Majeſty what had paſt in two conferences with the Conſtable, and offer as great a quantity of Oats as they had offered of Wheat before, and ſomewhat more Wine, beſeeching the King, that for the ancient amity which the Kings of *France* had entertained with the Commonwealth of *Strasburg*, and his own gracious Diſpoſition, to take in good part what was offered: That there were many Soldiers in the City, and a multitude of People that had flocked thither out of the Country. So that the City could not ſpare the Corn that they had for their neceſſary ſubſiſtence. The King having conferred with his Council, began himſelf to tell the cauſe of his coming into *Germany*, much to the ſame purpoſe as the Conſtable had done the day before: that Victuals were abſolutely neceſſary, and not to be refuſed to any who offered to pay for them, unleſs it were an Enemy: That if Soldiers were in want of Food, they commonly took a courſe to ſupply themſelves; but how inconvenient a thing that was, might eaſily be underſtood by any Man. The King refuſed not indeed, what was offered, but he would have had it in Bread: on the contrary, the Deputies offering Wheat, they could not agree upon the matter, and ſo they departed, without coming to any Concluſion. The Deputies being returned home, the Senate reſolved, that ſeeing they could not ſpare any of the Wheat which was in the Town, as much Bread as could be, ſhould be baked in the circumjacent places; for the Deputies had told both the Conſtable and King, that neither the preſent condition of the City, nor the ſtate of the times would allow any thing to be ſent out of the Town: but that if they could gather together any thing amongſt their Neighbours, they ſhould have it very freely. Now the Senate made this reſolution,

1552.

The Emperor raiſes Soldiers.

The Judges of the Imperial Chamber fly from *Spire*.

The *French* King's demands from the *Strasburgers*.

The anſwer of the Senate of *Straſburg*.

The Conſtable chides the *Straſburgers*.

They addreſs themſelves to the King.

The King's Speech to the Deputies.

1552. leſt the Soldiers might Prey upon the Goods and Subſtance of the Husbandmen, and other Country People. And ſo what could be got together of a ſudden out of the Towns and Villages about, was carried to the Camp; but that was very little. When the *Strasburgers* were informed of the ſeizing of *Lorrain*, and the City of *Metz*, they preſently raiſed about five Thouſand Soldiers for a Garriſon to the City; beſides, they demoliſhed a great many, both publick and private Buildings about the Town, cut down the Trees, and ſpoiled all the Gardens and Orchards, which either hindred the Proſpect, or might be advantageous to an Enemy, and raiſed new Works and Fortifications where there was greateſt need. That went againſt the grain with the *French*, and in the laſt conference with the Conſtable, he did not diſſemble it to the Deputies: for it was believed, that they were almoſt in certain hopes, that as they had been let into *Metz* upon a ſhew and fair pretext of Friendſhip, ſo likewiſe they would not be held out of *Straſburg*; but when they underſtood that the Town was very well Fortified, and ſaw beſides how eagerly all things were making ready for a Defence, they changed their purpoſe, as it is credible, and turned another way: for *May* the ſeventh they removed their Camp, and marched firſt to *Hagyenaw*, and then to *Weiſſemberg*. Hither came to the King, Ambaſſadors from the Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Electors of *Mentz* and *Treves*, the Dukes of *Cleve* and *Wirtemberg*, who, upon account of publick affairs, were lately before aſſembled at *Wormes*. Their demand was, that the King would refrain from waſting the Country, that he would ſpare the poor People, and that ſince he declared that he made War for the Liberty of *Germany*, he would put a ſtop to his Army; for that if he proceeded, it would prove very prejudicial to the Empire: that they prayed him to ſet his thoughts upon Peace: that they had already mentioned it to the Emperor, and would do ſo again, in hopes that all would turn to the beſt: but as to what he wrote of entring into a League, that he would have ſome Conſideration of their Honour and Reputation: for becauſe of the Oath they had taken to the Empire, they could not do that: but that they would uſe their utmoſt Endeavours that publick Peace might be Eſtabliſhed: Moreover, that they moſt earneſtly beſought him to ſpare the Territories of *Straſburg*, which was a free City of the Empire, and uſe his intereſt with Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, that he would deal more kindly with the Biſhop of *Wurtzburg*. The very ſame day the King had Letters from Duke *Maurice*, giving him an account of what was acted at *Lintz*; deſiring him withal, ſince he propoſed to have his Majeſty compreliended in the Treaty of Peace, to let him know upon what Conditions he was willing to accord with the Emperor. The King having received theſe Letters, and, as it was thought, finding the Contents thereof contrary to his Expectation, removed his Camp two days after, and leaving *Germany*, retreated again to *Lorrain*; but before his departure, he returned an anſwer to the Ambaſſadors of the Princes we mentioned; That now he had effected what he came for with his Army into *Germany*, to wit, that the Captive Princes would be ſet at Liberty; which had been the cauſe of the War: that ſo he had purchaſed Glory enough; but that if at any time thereafter *Germany* did ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance, he would ſpare neither Pains, Coſt, nor Danger to gratifie them: that now he intended to return home, eſpecially ſince his Enemies had invaded *France*: that he was not a little troubled at the Complaints of the poor People; however, no Army could be kept in ſo ſtrict Diſcipline, but that licentious Soldiers would ſtill be doing ſome Miſchief: That nevertheleſs, he made it his chief Care that both, as little damage ſhould be done as was poſſible, and that offences of that nature ſhould be moſt ſeverely puniſhed: that as to what they wrote of the Emperor and a Peace, he expected they would be as good as their words: That *Germany* through his Care, Pains, and Power, being now reſpited from thoſe Calamities under which it groaned, it chiefly concerned them to look to it, that they did not baſely loſe that Liberty, which was reſtored to them by his Endeavours: That he could not deny them the requeſt they made to him concerning *Straſburg*: though when he was in thoſe Parts with his Army, the Soldiers of that City had behaved themſelves very ſawcily and inſolently towards his Men.

Strasburg provides a Garriſon againſt the *French*.

The demands of ſome Princes made to the *French* King.

Duke *Maurice's* Letters to the *French* King.

The *French* King's anſwer to the Ambaſſadors of the Princes.

When the King was gone into *Germany*, the Emperor's Forces in the Netherlands, under the Command of *Martin de Roſſem*, entred *France*, Burnt and Plundered *Champaigne* far and near, and took *Aſteney* upon the *Meuſe*, a Town within

within the Territories of *Lorrain*, but lately ſeized by the *French*. This was thought to have been one reaſon why the *French* King drew off his Army: another was, that he was not well pleaſed with what Duke *Maurice* had done; and then, laſtly, becauſe he was diſappointed in his hopes of *Strasburg*. Upon his removal from *Weiſſemburg*, Ambaſſadors came to him from all the Cantons of *Switzerland*. To King *Ferdinand* belongs the Province of *Sontgow*, which borders upon *Switzerland*, and they of *Enſiſſheim* are the chief People of the Country: Theſe being apprehenſive of their own Danger, had entreated the *Switzers*, that for the Intereſt and Favour they had with the *French* King, they would interceed for them; which they willingly undertook, having their charges born; and this was the reaſon of their coming to the King, to whom alſo they recommended the neighbouring Cities of *Colmar*, *Schleſtadt*, and *Strasburg*, alledging that this whole Country was linked to them in ſtrict Friendſhip, becauſe of its Neighbourhood, from whence alſo, in time of need, they had plentiful ſupplies of Corn; ſo that what damage was done to the one, the other muſt needs feel. To theſe, the King made anſwer, *May* the twentieth, not far from *Deux-ponts*: That he pardoned the People of *Enſiſſheim*, provided they ſet at Liberty thoſe of his Soldiers whom they had in Priſon. But as to the reſt for whom they had ſpoken, he had never intended them any hurt, and that though the Soldiers of *Straſburg* had received his Men who went thither to buy Goods, ſomewhat roughly before the Gates, and had turned them back; yet he would not break off Friendſhip with them, were it no more, but for their ſakes that made the Interceſſion: That now he was in poſſeſſion of *Lorrain*, and ſo they his near Neighbours, he would act nothing contrary to the rules and cuſtoms of Neighbourhood: and that he expected from them the ſame Friendſhip and good Offices. Before that, Ambaſſadors came to the King when he was at *Saverne*, from the Senate of *Baſil*, much about the ſame Buſineſs, and had alſo a gracious Anſwer from him.

1552.

The reaſons of the *French* King's leaving *Germany*.

The *French* King's Anſwer to the *Swiſſes*.

We told you before how Duke *Maurice* departed from *Lintz*: ſo ſoon as the Conference was over, King *Ferdinand* alſo haſtened to *Inſpruck*, to give the Emperor an account of his Negotiation. Now Duke *Maurice* returning to the Camp, marched with his Aſſociates towards the *Alpes*, as hath been mentioned before: and being come pretty near unto them, at the inſtigation of the *French* Ambaſſador, he reſolved to fall upon the Soldiers whom the Emperor had ordered to be raiſed in thoſe Places. When then *May* the ſeventeenth he was advanced almoſt as far as *Fieſſen*, a Town lying at the entry into the *Alpes*, upon the River of *Leck*, he ſent out Scouts to learn Intelligence of the Enemy, all of them in a manner brought him back word, that they had fortified themſelves in the ſtreights and paſſes of the Mountains, that there was no way to hurt them. Wherefore the Princes ſent out ſome choice Men pickt out of the whole Army, who having made an excurſion, near the Enemies Camp, intercepted ſome Straglers, and brought them with them back to the Army: Theſe made ſeveral diſcoveries, ſo that next day the Princes advanced with the Foot, and having with them but two hundred Horſe, marched into *Fieſſen*; and not far from *La Rue*, came to the narrow Paſſes, poſſeſſed by about eight Hundred Imperialiſts, with two Field-Pieces. Thoſe they Charged, and forcing their way into the Streights, drove the Enemy out, who flying to the Camp near *La Rue*, put their Comrades into great Fear and Conſternation. The Princes following cloſe in the purſuit, break in upon them alſo, and at length put them to flight; of whom about a Thouſand were taken, killed, or drowned in the *Leck*, with the loſs of one pair of Colours. Next Morning they march on to *Erenberg*, a Caſtle we have often named; and having by good Fortune taken the Fort underneath the Caſtle, with ſome great Guns, and by that means being Maſters of the Paſſes, they clambered up a very ſteep Hill over againſt them, and in ſpight of all the Shot that were poured down upon them, got up to the Caſtle, which they took upon Compoſition. There was a Garriſon there of thirteen Enſigns, whereof they took nine, and the other four got off, and of theſe three were of *Germans*, and one of *Italians*; in all, were taken about three Thouſand Men, with very ſmall loſs on the ſide of the Princes. But Duke *Maurice* fell into great danger after; for reſolving to march forward, the Soldiers commanded by *Riſeberg*, refuſed to move, unleſs they had ſome extraordinary Pay in hand for taking of the Caſtle: but Duke *Maurice* told them, that it was an unreaſonable Demand, and at the ſame time

The Skirmiſhes the Princes had with the Imperialiſts.

Erenberg again taken.

A Mutiny in the Camp of Duke *Maurice*.

1552. commanded one of the Mutineers, who bawled out louder than the reſt, to be apprehended. With that the reſt make at him both with Pikes, and Butt of Muſquet, ſo that flying in all haſte, with much ado he ſaved his Life. *May* the twenty firſt, two Regiments of Foot were detached to march over the *Alpes* to *Inſpruck*, two days journey diſtant, all the Horſe, with one Regiment of Foot more, lying about *Fieſſen* and *La Rue*, to defend the paſſage. Duke *Maurice* and the aſſociate Princes following after, next day joyned the Foot at *Zirlen*, a Town not above two good Miles from *Inſpruck*: but the Emperor having Intelligence of the taking of *Erenberg*, in great haſte fled from *Inſpruck* by Night, with his Brother, King *Ferdinand*, who came thither a little before, to negotiate a Peace, as has been ſaid, and taking his way through the *Alpes*, as they go to *Trent*; he ſtruck off to the Left-hand, and made his eſcape to *Villach*, a Town in *Carinthia* upon the *Drave*; having a little before ſet at Liberty *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, whom he had kept Priſoner full five Years, that the Enemy might not Glory as if they had done it, which the Priſoner himſelf did not at all deſire; who, though he had his Liberty, yet waited on the Emperor whitherſoever he went. The Emperor's Siſter *Mary*, Queen of *Hungary*, Governeſs of *Flanders*, at the ſame time held a Convention of the States of the Low-Countries at *Aix la Chapelle*, about making a League with the Neighbouring Princes. The Duke of *Cleve* indeed, excuſed himſelf; but *Adolph* Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, went thither, and made an Alliance with the Houſe of *Burgundy*; ſo alſo did *George* of *Auſtria* Biſhop of *Liege*. When Duke *Maurice* came to *Inſpruck*, all that belonged to the Emperor, the *Spaniards* and Cardinal of *Ausburg* was plundered, but no damage at all done to the Goods of King *Ferdinand* or the Towns-People. And becauſe the Truce that was made for the future Treaty, as I ſaid, expired within three days, Duke *Maurice* went from thence to *Paſſaw*: but the Confederate Princes returned by the ſame way they came to *Fieſſen*, *May* the twenty eighth; and then by Meſſengers whom they ſent, cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed at *Auſburg* both in their own and Duke *Maurice*'s Name, to this Effect. Foraſmuch, ſay they, as in our former publick Papers, we have declared, that we took up Arms chiefly for the defence of Religion and the Liberty of *Germany*; the thing it ſelf requires, and we are bound in duty, that able Teachers be provided to inſtruct both the People and Youth. Now that it hath always been the endeavour of the Enemies of the Truth, by the oppreſſion of the Godly Teachers, to reſtore the Idol of Popery, and to breed and educate Youth in thoſe Errors and falſe Doctrines which might ſtick to them when they were grown up; *is ſo manifeſt in it ſelf*, that it needeth no farther Demonſtration. For even at that time when they had the confidence to ſay, that there was no deſign againſt Religion, they employed all their Power and Skill, that they might utterly extirpate the purer Doctrine, nor did they only caſt the Godly Preachers into Priſon; but even in this City with great Inhumanity compelled them to take an Oath preſently to depart out of the limits of the Empire. And though that was a moſt impious Oath, and therefore contrary to Law and Juſtice: yet to avoid all cavilling, we have recalled thoſe Miniſters and Schoolmaſters who were thruſt out by our Adverſaries, thinking it to be our Duty to do ſo. Wherefore by theſe Preſents we do abſolve and free all thoſe who have been thus turned out, from that Oath which contrary to Law they were forced to take, and reſtore them again to their liberty; enjoyning them, that not only in this City, but in other places alſo, where they have a Call, to Preach the pure word of God, according to the confeſſion of Faith heretofore exhibited in this place, and rightly to breed up and inſtruct the Youth in all Pious Learning, under our Patronage and Protection. We moreover command and charge, that no Man upbraid nor moleſt them, as if they acted contrary to their Faith and Promiſe: for ſince they have now for ſeveral Months lived in Baniſhment, not for any fault of theirs, but only for the Profeſſion of the Truth; we make no doubt but good Men will pity their Condition, and think them worthy of all favour and kindneſs. And becauſe they, who in their abſence have taught in the City, are ſuſpected and inconſtant Men, ſo that by reaſon of the different way of Teaching, they cannot conveniently be with thoſe whom we have recalled: we require the *Senate* to ſilence them from Preaching, and ſo to demean themſelves, that *this our* Edict and Proclamation may have its full force and effect. This Proclamation being publiſhed on the ſeventh of *June*, five Days after the Miniſters were reſtored,

The Emperor flies in the Night time. And eſcapes to *Villach*.

The Duke of *Saxony* ſet at Liberty.

A Convention of the States of the Low-Countries about making a League.

The Biſhops of *Cologne* and *Liege* make League with the Houſe of *Burgundy*.

The Emperor's Houſe Plundered.

The Declaration of the Princes, for reſtoring the outed Miniſters.

The Princes reſtore the Miniſters.

ſtored, and Preached again in their Churches, to the great delight and joy of the People. Before Duke *Maurice* was come back from *Lintz*, Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, being detached with his own Forces from the reſt of the Army, burnt and plundered where-ever he came in the Territories of *Wolfgang*, Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order, and having exacted Money from him, marched into the Country of *Norimberg*, and on the fifth of *May* took by Compoſition the Caſtle of *Lichtenaw*, five Miles diſtant from the City, with the adjoyning Town, both belonging to the Juriſdiction of that State. His Army conſiſted of two Thouſand Horſe, and nineteen Enſigns of Foot. Next day he wrote to the Senate, to this purpoſe; although, ſaid he, the *French* King, and Confederate Princes, have by publick Declarations, made known at large, what their Intentions were as to the publick, and at the ſame time, that they would recover the Liberty of *Germany*, and ſettle Religion, in confidence, that not only all good Men would with thankful Minds embrace their Deſign, but alſo to the utmoſt of their Power aſſiſt it, as ſome indeed have done; but as for you, ye have neither declared what your Mind and Reſolution is, nor, as I hear, have ſent your Deputies to the Aſſembly appointed to be held at *Auſburg*, but have prepared all things for a Defence, planting Ordnance here and there upon your Walls and Works, and raiſing new Forces, ſo that, as I am told, you brag that you will hold it out to the laſt: which I am the more apt to believe, becauſe hitherto you have ſent no Deputies to me to ſue for Peace; a thing nevertheleſs, that hath been done by ſome Princes and Cities more remote. Since therefore, it hath been publickly declared by the King and confederate Princes, that they who either reſiſted or did not actually aid and aſſiſt them in this their Enterpriſe, ſhould be accounted Enemies: again, ſince it is my charge in the ſame War, to bring thoſe, into whoſe limits I come, to do their Duty, and to leave no ſtrong hold behind us, from whence any force or eruption might be feared: for this cauſe then have I taken from you, who have not hitherto anſwered Expectation, the Caſtle of *Lichtenaw*, which much incommoded my Camp, having ſpared the Garriſon, whom nevertheleſs, I might have uſed more rigorouſly. But becauſe the main thing remains ſtill to be done; I require you both in the name of the *French* King, and of the confederate Princes, that you openly declare what you are reſolved to do, for the defence of the Liberty of *Germany*, and the ſettlement of Religion, and ſend me your anſwer by to Morrow, that I may underſtand what is to be expected from you, and how I ought to look upon you. Now it is to be obſerved, that when Duke *Maurice* and the Confederates met at *Schuinfurt*, *March* the twenty ſixth, as has been ſaid, they ſent agents to the *Norimbergers* to invite them into the League, and to demand of them Ammunition, Proviſions, and a great ſumm of Money: but after a long Treaty, when all the other Conditions being ſet aſide, they had paid down an hundred Thouſand Florins, they promiſed them Peace both in their own Names, and in the Names of all their Aſſociates, and thereupon gave them an inſtrument under Hand and Seal, in moſt ample form. Being therefore, now attacked by Marqueſs *Albert*, they ſend their Complaints to them: and becauſe Duke *Maurice* was not as yet come back from *Lintz*, on the third of *May*, the *Landgrave*'s Son wrote back to them from *Gundelfingen*, bidding them be in good Hopes: but five days after, when Duke *Maurice* was come back, they both wrote, promiſing to obſerve the Treaty, and diſapproving the action of Marqueſs *Albert*, as quite contrary to their Expectation: and they aſſure them beſides, that they will endeavour to have all reſtored that hath been taken from them, and that they will inſtantly recall the Forces which they lent him. The *Norimbergers* having received Marqueſs *Albert*'s Letter, wrote him an Anſwer the ſame Day, ſhewing him what Duke *Maurice* and the Princes had promiſed them by Treaty, and telling him, that that was the reaſon why they had not ſent Deputies to him. Wherefore they earneſtly pray and beſeech him to reſtore to them the Caſtle in good condition, and thereby gratify his Confederates. He again wrote back three days after, that, ſince it was unknown to him what Tranſaction the Princes had made with them, and that the caſe much concerned the *French* King, to whom he was no leſs engaged than to them, he demands a ſafe Conduct for a perſon of Credit, whom he would ſend into the Town, to whom they ſhould ſhew the inſtrument of their Treaty: they comply, and produce the ſame. Notwithſtanding all this, though Duke *Maurice* and the Confederate Princes carefully interpoſed; on the eleventh

1552.

Devaſtations made by Marqueſs *Albert*.

Albert's Letter to thoſe of *Norimberg*.

The treaty of the *Norimbergers* with Duke *Maurice*.

Their Complaint to the Princes.

The Anſwer of the Princes.

The *Norimbergers* Anſwer to *Albert*'s Letter.

1552. eleventh of *May* he again ſent them a threatning Note, requiring them, in the *French* King's Name chiefly, to give him within a few Hours a poſitive Anſwer, whether they would obey what was commanded them or not: and having received an anſwer not to his liking, he plundered, burnt, and razed to the Ground the Caſtle of *Lichtenaw*, with the adjoyning Town; and having exacted Money of the Towns-People, and forced them to take an Oath to be true to him, and his Couſin-German, *George Frederick*, he laid Siege to the City. Wherefore the *Landgrave*'s Son forthwith recalled two Troops of Horſe, which he had lent him againſt *Wolfgang*, Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order, commanding them to return back to him, whereat he was mightily offended: He therefore began a cruel War, and having Plundered an Hundred Villages within their Territories, about ſeventy Mannor, and Farm-Houſes belonging to the Citizens, with the Churches, he Burnt, not only them, but alſo three Thouſand Acres of Wood in a vaſt Forreſt of theirs, which ſupplied both them and their Neighbours with Timber and Fuel: He had before this declared War againſt the Nobility and others who lived thereabouts, if they would not obey, and eſpecially againſt the Biſhops of *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg*, whom alſo in this ſtate of Affairs, he forced to ſubmit to very hard Conditions: Inſomuch, that the Biſhop of *Bamberg*, to ſave himſelf and whole Province from imminent danger, bought a Peace of him at a very dear rate; for he was fain to make over to him twenty Towns and Lordſhips within his Dominion, by Deed and Conveyance which he Signed the nineteenth day of *May*, and therewith all his Superiorities and Vaſſalls. But the Biſhop of *Wurtzburg* paid him down two Hundred and twenty Thouſand Florins, and took upon him the Payment of his Debts, which amounted to about three hundred and fifty Thouſand Florins more. The free Towns of *Schuabia*, which, as we ſaid before, aſſembled at *Ausburg* to the number of twenty ſix, but eſpecially thoſe of *Ausburg*, taking Pity on this ſad and deplorable condition of the *Norimbergers*, ſent Deputies choſen out of their whole number, to mediate an accommodation; who being come up-on ſafe Conduct to *Norimberg*, exhorted the Senate to Peace for many Reaſons; telling them, that *Erenberg* and the Paſſes of the *Alpes* were all in the Power of the Confederates, and that the ſtate of *Italy* and *Hungary* was ſuch, that no help nor relief was to be expected from any hand; and then they ſhew them the Conditions propoſed by Marqueſs *Albert*. The Senate gave them thanks for their Affection, and the Pains they had put themſelves to, and having repreſented to them, how that Marqueſs *Albert* had no cauſe to make War againſt them, and how they had capitulated with Duke *Maurice* and the Confederates; they plainly told them, that ſince the Conditions were ſuch, as neither they could perform them, nor if they did, could juſtifie themſelves to the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* for ſo doing; they reſolved to ſuffer the Extremity, and commit their Cauſe to God; being ſo well ſatisfied with their own Innocence, that they could make not only the Emperor, but all Princes, nay the Relations and intimate Friends of Marqueſs *Albert* himſelf, their Judges in the caſe. When the Mediators had in as ſoft and fair words as they could, given Maqueſs *Albert* the Senate's Anſwer, and found him ſo far from relenting, that he broke out into moſt outragious threats; by Letters dated the fourth day of *June*, they acquaint the Beſieged that his Mind was implacable, and that they could not by any means bring him to more reaſonable terms. In the mean time Marqueſs *Albert*, batters the Town again more furiouſly than before, throws Fire into ſeveral places, and one Night gives the Aſſault, burning at the ſame time one of the Suburbs for the greater terror. At the ſame time came to the Camp, *George Thannenberg*, and *William Schachten*, Ambaſſadors, ſent joyntly from Duke *Maurice* and the *Landgrave*'s Son to treat of Peace. Theſe, taking to them the aſſiſtance of the Deputies of the Cities, who otherwiſe were about to depart, as deſpairing of any Succeſs, after a tedious and laborious negotiation, prevailed with both at length, and clapt up a Peace; for not only was Marqueſs *Albert* reinforced with freſh recruits that came to the Army under the Command of *James Dalbeck*, and *Chriſtopher Oldenburg*; but Duke *Maurice* had written to the Senate alſo, that though he was extreamly troubled at what Marqueſs *Albert* did, yet he was not able to remedy it at preſent. Theſe were the conditions of Peace: that they ſhould pay two hundred Thouſand Florins; deliver ſix pieces of Ordnance, with their Appurtenances, and entertain amity with the Confederate Princes, as they of *Ausburg* did: on the other hand, that he ſhould reſtore

Albert's cruelty towards the *Norimbergers*.

The Biſhops of *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg* ſeverely fined by *Albert*.

The Cities of *Schuabia* Mediators betwixt the *Norimbergers* and Marqueſs *Albert*.

The *Norimbergers* make Peace with Marqueſs *Albert*.

1552.

reſtore all he had taken from them. Wherefore about the twentieth of *June*, the Siege was raiſed from before *Norimberg*, one, not only of the moſt famous, powerful, and Wealthy, but alſo ſtrongeſt Cities in *Germany*. The Marqueſs puffed up with this ſo brave Succeſs, wrote from the Camp to thoſe of *Ulm*, to this Effect: That the *Norimbergers* to their great loſs, being now ſubdued by him, had accepted Conditions of Peace, and promiſed to ſubmit to what ſhould be commanded them by him, and the reſt of the Confederates: That he reſolved to beſiege them, but in a far different manner, and more cloſely than had been lately done: that if Fortune favoured his Enterpriſe, he would not ſpare Man nor Man-child above ſeven Years of Age, unleſs they returned to their duty in time, and inſtantly ſent Deputies to give him and the Confederates Satisfaction, and ſo wipe off the ſtain of their late Rebellion; that he had ordered him by whom he ſent his Letter, to bring back their Anſwer, which he commanded them to give poſitively, that he might know their final Reſolution. To this Letter they gave a very ſhort Anſwer; that ſo long as they had Health and Life, they would never condeſcend to his Demands.

The Siege of *Norimberg* removed.

Albert's Letter to the City of *Ulm*.

The City of *Ulm*'s Anſwer to *Albert*.

The *French* King upon his March out of *Germany*, having his Army divided into three Bodies, came to *Walterſingen*, a ſmall Town in the Dominion of *Lorrain*, upon the River *Sare*. There all his Forces being united again, on the twenty fifth of *May* he Marched, and having paſt the *Moſel*, entred the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, burning, plundering, and waſting the Country wherever he came, being provoked by the Example of *Van Roſſem*, as they themſelves affirm; he alſo retook the Town of *Aſteney*, deſerted by the Garriſon, for *Van Roſſem* was now returned Home. Having afterwards Encamped, he took by Compoſition, the little Town of *Danvilliers*, and ſoon after *Ivey*, one of the chief Forts in the Country. In that Town was *Erneſt*, Count *Mansfield*, Governour of the whole Province, with the flower of the Youth, who fell all into the Enemies Hands: the Town was afterwards ſacked by the unruly Soldiers, againſt the King's Will, as it was ſaid; but let us now return to Duke *Maurice*. He was gone, as we told you, to *Paſſaw*, about the treaty of Peace. There on the firſt of *June*, having reſumed what was done in the Treaty at *Lintz*, he declared his Mind more fully and plainly as to all Points. There were preſent the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, King *Ferdinand*, *Albert*, Duke of *Bavaria*, the Biſhops of *Saltzburg*, and *Aichſtadt*; the Ambaſſadors of all the Princes Electors, as alſo of the Dukes of *Cleve* and *Wirtemberg*, and many others. His grievances were, That the Government of the Empire, which ought to be free, was in the Hands of Strangers; that the Authority of the Princes Electors was impaired, and that many things were done without their Advice or Knowledge: that ſome things alſo were diſmembred and alienated from the Empire: that ways were taken to deprive them of their right of Electing the Emperor; that in the Diets of the Empire, the Opinions and Votes of the Electors were almoſt ſlighted; that the private Aſſemblies of the Electors, were out of a certain fear intermitted; that their Juriſdiction was diminiſhed, whilſt contrary to ancient Cuſtom, the Imperial Chamber admitted of Appeals from them: that the Controverſies of the States of the Empire were purpoſely fomented, and never taken up, till both Parties had received Damage: that it was a hard matter to be admitted to Audience in the Emperor's Court; where Caſes were often miſtaken for want of underſtanding the Language: and that not only the Charges was great, but much time alſo loſt in waiting there: that matters were not handled amicably in the Diets: and that if any Man made a Propoſal for the publick good, it was taken ill: that by thoſe frequent and long laſting Diets, *Germany* was Exhauſted, and Buſineſs often neglected at Home, and nevertheleſs, the Publick not a whit the better, but many times the worſe, and more entangled thereby: that ſevere Edicts were made, that no Man ſhould ſerve in foreign Wars: that ſuch as made their Peace, were obliged not to fight againſt the Provinces of the Emperor, and ſo were torn off from the Empire: that they, who according to Duty, ſerved their Lords in the *Smalcaldick* War, were fined: that they who perſevered in the Emperor's Friendſhip, were alſo made to Pay, and that under pain of having their Lands and Goods put to Sale, if they did not make preſent Payment: and that their Ambaſſadors, for not aſſenting immediately, were commanded upon pain of Death, not to depart from Court without Leave: that foreign Soldiers had been ſeveral times brought into *Germany*, and after the laſt War was over, had been quartered

The *French* King waſtes the Country of *Luxembourg*;

And ſacks *Danvilliers*, and *Ivey*.

The Treaty of *Paſſaw*.

Duke *Maurice*'s Grievances.

1552. quartered up and down in the Country, where they did many things diſſolutely and licentiouſly, glorying that *Germany* was ſubdued, and would be annexed to the Patrimony of the Emperor, who would have Caſtles and Citadells built in the chief Cities thereof: that a vaſt number of great Guns, and ſtore of Ammunition, had been carried as in Triumph, out of *Germany*, into ſtrange Countries: that ſome out of Vain-glory and Ambition, had cauſed the Arms of *German* Princes to be put upon the Guns, which were Caſt for themſelves, as if they had been taken from them: that Books were Publiſhed, and that with Priviledge from the Emperor too, to the great infamy and diſgrace of *Germany*, as if it had been Conquered, and brought under Bondage: that in the publick Diets, ſome, as repreſenting the Emperor's Provinces, were admitted into the Aſſembly of the Princes and States, and that was done with ſecret Deſigns, that the number being encreaſed, they might carry all by Plurality of Voices: that four Years ſince the Judicature of the Imperial Chamber had been Erected, and Laws made by a very few Perſons, which were afterward promulgated to the great Prejudice of many, eſpecially of thoſe of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion; who were all excluded from that Bench: that therefore the thing it ſelf required, that theſe Laws ſhould be reviewed, and better examined in the next Diet. Theſe, and other things of the like nature he propounded, and foraſmuch as they chiefly concerned the Emperor; he demanded that they ſhould be forthwith redreſſed, and the Empire reſtored to its ancient Dignity; and others not ſuffered to baffle and deſpiſe it.

The Opinion of the Princes Moderators concerning the Grievances propoſed by Duke *Maurice*.

The Mediators having conſulted together, were of opinion, that theſe Demands were very reaſonable: but yet, that in reſpect to the Honour and Dignity of the Emperor, which was concerned, and that he might be the more eaſily perſwaded, it was their Judgment that ſome things which related to the publick Reformation of the Government, might be referred to a general Diet of the Empire. The Biſhop of *Bayonne*, the *French* Ambaſſador, was there; who on the third of *June*, made a Speech before the Princes, to this Effect.

The *French* Ambaſſador's Speech.

That in old time, and before the name of *Francs* was known, there had been ſo great a reſemblance of Life and Manners betwixt the *Gauls* and *Germans*, that the *Germans* are the People whom the *Romans* long ago called the Brethren of the *Gauls*: but that when the *Francs* had planted themſelves in *Gallia* (now *France*) there was ſuch a Coalition of both Nations, that they made but parts of one and the ſame Empire, under one Prince, and governed by the ſame Laws, but that when in the viciſſitude of time, the Empire devolved upon the *Germans*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, and other Emperors, as deriving their Original from the Kings of the *Francs*, entertained conſtant Friendſhip with the *French*; inſomuch that *Philip* the Auguſt King of *France*, cauſed that ancient League, which was almoſt worn out by time, to be written of new in Golden Characters, and to be laid up in a more Sacred place: and not without juſt Cauſe neither; for that ſo long as this Union laſted, both People lived in a moſt flouriſhing State: That the force of *Germany* was then ſo great, that they gave Laws, not only to the *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, *Polanders*, and *Danes*; but to the *Italians* alſo: and the Kings of *France* again, who fought for the maintenance of Religion, obtained many glorious Victories, in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, over the *Saracens* and *Turks*, the declared Enemies of Chriſtendom: But that the times proved more unlucky afterwards, when ſome Emperors, as being ingrafted upon the Stock, but no natural *Germans*, nor worthy of that Dignity, forſook the amity of the Kings of *France*, and brought great Calamities upon the Empire: but that through God's Bleſſing, this Wound was Healed, by the Illuſtrious Family of *Luxembourg*, which hath produced ſome Emperors, Princes of great Merit, and moſt intimate Friends of the Kings of *France*: For the Father of *Charles* IV, died, fighting for the King of *France*: that the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria* have entertained the ſame Amity and Kindneſs and particularly *Albert* the firſt, whom neither the Promiſes nor Threats of the Popes, could move to make War againſt *France*; that he mentioned theſe things with this Intent, that they might be convinced, how little ſome of the Counſellors and Courtiers of the moſt mighty Emperor, *Charles* V. tendered the welfare of the Empire, whilſt they make it their Buſineſs, not only to divide, and rend aſunder thoſe two moſt renowned Nations; but alſo did by their Arts and Cunning; ſo far prevail formerly, that King *Francus*, a moſt excellent Prince, was by their Procurement judged an Enemy, and no reaſon given why: That they

they did thoſe things for their own private Gain and Advantage, indeed, but to the great Prejudice of the Publick: That this alone was enough to ſhew, how difficult it would be for them (ſo long as Friendſhip continued betwixt both Nations) to infringe the Liberty of *Germany*, and to erect their own Monarchy; that the fear of the *French* Arms made them now proceed more remiſsly, and not ſo much urge their *Spaniſh* Yoke of Bondage as formerly: that theſe were the Men, who by Prayers and Tribute obtained Peace from the *Turk*, that they might under the Colour of Religion and Loyalty, raiſe Feuds and Animoſities in *Germany*; that being aided by the Forces of *Germany*, they might make War againſt *Germany*; that they might ſqueeze Money from all, and reduce the Empire to a ſad and miſerable Condition, placing here and there *Spaniſh* Garriſons, exhauſting the Magazines, and making way for Arbitrary Rule: For that matters were now brought to this Paſs, that the great Seal of the Empire, the Judicature of the Imperial Chamber, and the right and liberty of Diets all depended on the Will and Pleaſure of one Man, the Biſhop of *Arras*: For what inſtance could be ſhewn, or reaſon given, that free-born *Germans*, who for a livelihood ſerved Strangers in their Wars, ſhould be Puniſhed, Proſcribed, and have Prices ſet upon their Heads? Not to mention ſo many Murthers, laſcivious Practices, Devaſtations, plunderings of Towns, but eſpecially the varying and altering of Religion, according to occaſion, and the turn of Times: That there was no doubt to be made, but that whatever had been done of this nature for many Years paſt, tended only to this, that the Laws of the Empire being Confounded, King *Ferdinand* either forced, or wheedled by Promiſes, and the Princes of the Empire over-awed, the Prince of *Spain* might be deſigned Emperor. Were not Death more eligible to brave Men, than to live and ſee the Sun with ſo great Miſery? That no Man certainly could be imagined ſo Barbarous, as not to be moved at theſe things: That it ought not to be thought ſtrange then, that ſome Princes ſhould at length ariſe, and amongſt others, Duke *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, who thought the danger of their Lives too little for recovering the liberty of their common Country: But that finding themſelves inferiour in Strength, they had implored the Aid and Aſſiſtance of the King of *France*: and that he ſetting aſide all the Provocations received in former Years, had not only imparted to them his Treaſure, but alſo employed himſelf wholly in the Affair, having made a League with them, wherein amongſt other things it was provided, that no Peace ſhould be made with the Emperor, without the Advice and Conſent of the King: Moreover, that Duke *Maurice*, though he lay under that Obligation, yet that he might ſerve his Country, and comply with the Deſires of King *Ferdinand*, had lately demanded of the moſt Chriſtian King, that he would let him know upon what terms he would be willing to make Peace: That the Propoſal had been made ſomewhat contrary to his Expectation, indeed, for conſidering what a great Favour he had done, he thought that in matters concerning himſelf, he ought to have Treated Perſonally, and not at ſo great diſtance: But that nevertheleſs, ſince he preferred the publick far before his own private Intereſts, he was not willing to deny any thing to a Confederate Prince: That therefore, if the Wounds of the State might be Healed, as they ought to be, and ſuch Care taken, that they might not for the future Feſter again; if the Captive Princes might be ſet at Liberty, upon the Conditions preſcribed by the League; if the ancient Alliance betwixt *France* and the Empire, and the League made lately with the Princes, might be confirmed, ſo as it ſhould be perpetual; if all theſe things might be procured, the King was ſo well affected towards the Publick, that he not only aſſented to the Treaty of Peace, but would render hearty Thanks to God, that by Counſel and Aſſiſtance he had contributed thereunto: That as to private affairs, ſince the Emperor detained many things by force, and upon no juſt Cauſe had made War, the King thought it reaſonable, that he who had firſt done the wrong, ſhould firſt alſo make the Satisfaction: That for his part, though he did not diſtruſt his Strength, yet he would ſo behave in all things, that it ſhould appear he was not only deſirous of Peace, but willing alſo to gratify Duke *Maurice*, and them all. To theſe things the Princes make anſwer; that the Commemoration of the ancient Alliance betwixt *Germany* and *France*, brought from the Records of former times, had been very pleaſant unto them; nor was it leſs acceptable to underſtand that the King preferred the Publick before his own private Advantages, and that he was willing the

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The Princes anſwer to the Speech of the *French* Ambaſſador.

1552. Confederate Princes ſhould make Peace with the Emperor: For that it was the Intereſt, not only of one Nation, but of all *Europe* alſo, that it ſhould be ſo, ſince the civil Broils that diſturbed the ſame, threatned no leſs than its ruin: That they made no doubt but the Conditions which the King deſired, would be obtained: For that the Emperor, as before, ſo now in theſe inteſtine Commotions, was well affected towards the Publick, and would not have the Liberty of *Germany* depreſſed: That there was great hopes alſo, that he would ſhortly ſet the Princes at Liberty: But that as to the renewing of ancient Leagues, and confirming new ones, the King in his own Prudence knew very well, that a matter of ſo great moment could not be tranſacted in that Aſſembly: That nevertheleſs, they wiſhed the Friendſhip and Correſpondence that had always been betwixt both People, might remain firm and inviolable: That it was not only their chief Deſire, that ſuch private Controverſies as he had with the Emperor, might be adjuſted, but that they would alſo uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to accompliſh it: That nevertheleſs, ſince the King had hinted that the Emperor detained ſome things that were his, and that he had ſomewhat to re-demand from him, it ſeemed not unreaſonable to them, that he would declare what his Pretenſions were: For that they were reſolved to ſtate the Controverſie to the Emperor, and interpoſe as Mediators: and that they earneſtly prayed the King to take theſe things in good part. Now as to the Relation that is betwixt the *French* and *Germans*, we diſcourſed in the eighth Book: But as to what the *French* Ambaſſador ſpoke of the Family of *Luxembourg*: the matter in ſhort is this. *Henry*, Count of *Luxembourg*, had a Son *Henry*, who was afterwards Emperor, and the ſeventh of that Name. He again had a Son, who by Marriage became King of *Bohemia*, and this Prince aided *Philip* of *Valois* in his Wars againſt *Edward* the third King of *England*, and being preſent in a Battel, wherein the *Engliſh* got the Victory, he was ſlain there, leaving amongſt others, an eldeſt Son, who was afterward the Emperor *Charles* IV. the Father of *Wenceſlaus*, and *Sigiſmund*, who were both afterwards Emperors, and *Sigiſmund* alſo King of *Hungary*, and *Bohemia*, he who procured the calling of the Council of *Conſtance*. *Albert* of *Auſtria*, of whom he ſpoke, the Son of the Emperor *Rodolph*, when he became Emperor, entertained a firm Amity with *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, though Pope *Boniface* VIII. had eagerly incited him to War. Beſides the delivery of the *Landgrave*, Duke *Maurice* inſiſted chiefly on two things: Firſt, that as to thoſe things which wounded the liberty of *Germany*, and had been reckoned up by him, King *Ferdinand*, his Son *Maximilian* and the Mediators would themſelves forthwith determine, and pronounce Sentence concerning them, according to the Laws and ancient Cuſtom of *Germany*: And then, that Religion ſhould be let alone in Peace, and no Man moleſted upon that account, till all the difference ſhould be fully agreed. The Mediators did not diſapprove this Courſe: But the Emperor's Ambaſſadors in his Name interpoſed, and ſaid, that their Maſter thought it but reaſonable, that they who for their Fidelity to him, had incurred Calamities, and ſuſtained great Loſſes, ſhould have reparation made them. When ſome Points after much debate, had been moderated, they came to this Reſolution at length, that the Emperor ſhould by the third of *July* give his poſitive Anſwer, and that, in the mean time, there ſhould be a ceſſation of Arms; wherefore on the ſixteenth of *June*, the Mediators wrote to the Emperor, and exhorted him to Peace.

Of the Family of *Luxembourg*.

Albert of *Auſtria*.

Duke *Maurice* inſiſts chiefly on two Points.

The Mediators by Letters exhort the Emperor to Peace.

We told you, that after the taking of *Erenberg*, and the plundering of *Inſpruck*, the Confederate Princes took another way through the *Alpes*, and about the latter end of *May*, returned to *Fieſſen*. Marching from thence, they came on the nineteenth of *June*, with all their Forces, and Encamped at *Aichſtadt*, and Epiſcopal City upon the Frontiers of *Bavaria*, where they expected the coming of Duke *Maurice* with great Deſire, being in ſome Anxiety for his Abſence. At length he came and gave them a full account how Affairs ſtood; but on the laſt day of *June*, took Poſt back again to *Paſſaw*, upon Horſes purpoſely laid on the Road, that he might be preſent by the day appointed: and the day following, the Confederate Princes decamped, and after four days March, came to *Rottenburg*, a Town on the *Danube*, bordering upon *Franconia*. Notwithſtanding all this, Marqueſs *Albert* ſtill purſued his Point, and having brought *Norimberg* to accept of Peace, compelled the Nobility and States in thoſe Places to ſubmit to his Orders: For though he acted in the common Cauſe at firſt

first, as he promised in his publick Declaration he would, yet he was not joyned in that Confederacy, and after the siege of *Ulm* was raised, he began in a manner to act separately, either because he would take all to himself that the Fortune of War gave him, or that he disapproved what Duke *Maurice* had done, or else, that being put on by the *French* King, he entertained other Designs: but yet he made those who had given Oath, to be true to him, to swear the same also to the Confederates. His next Expedition was into the Territories of the Archbishop of *Mentz*, where along the River of *Mayne*, he did very much damage by Fire and Pillage, and demanded a vast sum of Money of him: but when Agents being employed to treat, could not agree about the Sum, the Elector having first sunk his great Guns in the *Rhine*, *July* the fifth, fled for his safety. At the same time, Marques *Albert*, who left nothing unattempted, demanded of the Archbishop of *Treves*, that he would put into his Hands the chief Castle of his Territories: it stands where the Rivers of *Rhine* and *Mosell* do meet, upon a very high Hill, both strong by Nature, and very commodiously scituated. This demand he made, as he said, in name of the *French* King. But the Elector having advised with his Friends, made Answer, that he could not comply with his Demands. Because in the latter part of the Answer which the Princes Mediators made to the *French* Ambassador, as we mentioned before, they had said, that it seemed reasonable to them, that the King would declare what Pretensions he had, and what he demanded of the Emperor. The Ambassador having received Instructions from the King, wrote to them from the Camp at *Aichstadt*, *June* the nine and twentieth: That the King had undertaken that War for no other Cause, but meerly for the publick Good, and especially that he might retrieve the liberty of oppressed *Germany*, having been thereto much sollicited by some Princes of the Empire: That he had not at all proposed to himself any private advantage therein, as the thing it self might bear him witness: For that he had not possessed himself of any thing in *Germany*, which he could easily have done: That he had also given his Confederates Leave to manage the War at their own Pleasure: and that though, whilst he himself lay still with his Army upon the *Rhine*, the Enemy had invaded his Country at Home, yet he did not stir, till he had Information from Duke *Maurice*, that those things, for which the War had been undertaken, might be obtained in a peaceable manner: That he had not a little rejoyced at that News, seeing matters went according to his own Hearts desire: For that it had been his Advice and Counsel; first, that the Princes should not let slip so fair an occasion as they had offered them; nor that they should not be so far overseen, as to suffer themselves to be imposed upon, and gulled, as formerly: and then, that since he had given them so eminent an Instance of his Good-will and Friendship, a firm Amity might be setled betwixt the two Nations, that so he might afterwards have more leisure to mind the other concerns of the Publick: That now since Duke *Maurice* had desired to know of him, upon what terms he was willing to listen to Peace: It was his Opinion, and he must say it, that the Emperor had made War against him, for no just Cause: but that it was not the Custom of the Kings of *France* to sue for Peace from an Enemy, especially from one, to whom, neither in Strength, nor any thing else, they were inferiour: So that to propound any thing, unless there were certain hopes that it would be granted, he did not at all think it proper: That he entertained so good Thoughts of them, that he was confident, they would require nothing of him, but what might stand with his Honour and Dignity: and that he on the other hand, had so great a Love and Esteem for them, that were they to Treat of the General Peace of the whole World, he would be ready, for their sakes, to remit part of his own Right: That he was very willing they should have the Cognisance and Determination of his Demands, provided the Emperor submitted to the same, and earnestly wished, that with the first occasion, some Meeting might be held upon that account: and that if so, then all Men should understand, both how much he loved the Publick, and how falsly it was given out by his Enemies, that he had made a League with the *Turks*: But that if nothing of what he said should take place, if all Consultations conspired for his ruin, and that the Alliance which he had good reason to expect with the *Germans*, should not be contracted; the blame ought not to be imputed to him, if greater Troubles did arise. This Letter was publickly read before the Princes, on the first of *July*.

1552.

Albert of *Brandenburg*, deserting the Confederates, makes War in his own Name.

Albert falls foul of the Electors of *Mentz* and *Treves*.

The Elector of *Mentz* flies for it.

Albert demands of the Elector of *Treves*, his chief Castle.

1552. Duke *Maurice* came to *Paſſaw* by the day appointed, and next day was the Emperor's Anſwer brought to King *Ferdinand*; who having thereupon called a Meeting, told the Princes, that the Emperor had written his Mind, but that he did not aſſent to moſt things propoſed: and that ſince it was ſo, it was to no purpoſe to tell them what Anſwer he had given to every Particular: But nevertheleſs, that he might make it appear how deſirous he was of Peace, and how well he wiſhed *Germany*, he would go himſelf in great Diligence to the Emperor, and doubted not, but that he might be able to perſwade him: That in the mean time he earneſtly deſired Duke *Maurice* would not be impatient, but condeſcend to a ſhort delay of eight Days, which was the leaſt time he could take to go and come in. This the Duke immediately refuſed, and King *Ferdinand* preſſed it very hard; but all in vain; for Duke *Maurice* calling together the Princes and Ambaſſadors, told them, that they themſelves knew very well, who had been preſent at all Tranſactions for the ſpace of a whole Month, that he had omitted nothing which might have contributed to the ſetling of a Peace, and doubted not but they would upon Honour, teſtifie as much: That therefore he deſired them to continue their Good-will and Favour towards him, and promote the common Cauſe of *Germany*: That no more could be granted by him, and that becauſe of his forwardneſs to Treat, he began almoſt to be ſuſpected by his Confederates. The Princes having made him a generous Anſwer, and commended his Zeal for the Publick, apply themſelves to King *Ferdinand* and deſire that in the Emperor's Name, he would come to a final Determination: That they believed whatever he ſhould do, would be ratified by his Imperial Majeſty. King *Ferdinand* made Anſwer, that he had no ſuch Power granted him by his Brother; elſe he would not offer to take upon him the trouble of that Journey: and that indeed, he durſt not tranſgreſs the Limits that were preſcribed to him.

Duke *Maurice* impatient of Delay.

His Speech in the Aſſembly of the Princes.

The Emperor's Letter to the Princes Mediators.

We told you before, that the Princes Mediators, had by Letters of the ſixteenth of *June* exhorted the Emperor to Peace: To theſe Letters now the Emperor wrote an Anſwer from *Villach* the laſt day of the ſame Month, to this purpoſe: That from his firſt entring into the Government, he had always been ſtudious of Peace, and deſired nothing elſe at preſent: That they needed not then, to have recommended it ſo much unto him, but to thoſe rather who had been the Authors of theſe Troubles, they ſhould have ſpoken in that Strain: and that by their Allegiance to him, and the Empire, he required them to do ſo: That as to his own private Concerns, he was ready for their Sakes to condeſcend to many things, provided, that in the way of Treaty, the Imperial Authority might not be impeached, nor matter left for greater Broils: but that as to the ſubſtance of the Pacification, he had ſignified his Mind to his Brother, King *Ferdinand*, from whom they might learn the Particulars: To theſe Letters they wrote back an Anſwer, on the fifth of *July*, when King *Ferdinand* returned to the Emperor, repreſenting to his Majeſty, that at his deſire and ſuggeſtion, they came to this Treaty, and the more willingly too, becauſe he had declared, That he would do any thing for the publick Good: That with great Labour, Care, and Diligence, they had found out a way of Pacification, and that therefore they begged, and that moſt earneſtly, that he would conſider the caſe of their common Country: That many, and thoſe the chief States of the Empire had already ſuffered great Calamity; and that the condition of Affairs was ſuch now, and ſo little time given to Deliberation, that the reſt of the Princes and States, eſpecially thoſe who were neareſt the Flame, could not, how willing ſoever they might be, perform the Duty and Loyalty they owed him; nay, that they were neceſſitated to take ſuch Courſes, as might ſooneſt rid them of the imminent Calamity and Miſery, wherewith they were threatned: That if he would not incline to Peace, but try the fortune of War, ſad diſorders, and dangerous alterations would thereby be occaſioned in *Germany*, which might afterwards be communicated to his own Provinces: That he could not do better then, than to acquieſce to thoſe conditions of Peace, which they had ſo follicitouſly ſought out and Collected; eſpecially ſince the chief of them had been approved at *Lintz*, which Treaty they had propoſed to themſelves as a Pattern to be followed: as alſo, ſince thoſe things which properly belonged to his Dignity and Character, had been purpoſely referred to a Diet of the Empire, that there they might be handled more conveniently, and with greater Moderation.

The Mediators Letter to the Emperor.

The

The ſame day this was done, Duke *Maurice* departed; and when on the eleventh of *July* he was come to the Confederates, who then encamped at *Mergetheim*, he told them what had been done, and that King *Ferdinand* was gone to the Emperor in great haſte, ſo that he believed, he would ſpeedily ſend Commiſſioners with a full and definite Anſwer. However, that in this doubtful ſtate of Affairs, they might not be idle; and becauſe in *Franckfurt* there was an Imperial Garriſon of ſeventeen hundred Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, under the Command of *Conrad Hanſtein*; ſo that *Heſſe*, that bordered upon it, was in no ſmall danger; it was reſolved, that they ſhould march thither. Having then burnt, and plundered, and done a great deal of damage to *Wolffgang* Maſter of *Pruſſia*, in whoſe Countrey they then were, they marched through the Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz* his Territories, and on the Seventeenth of *July* came before *Franckfurt*. But immediately upon that, the Princes Interceſſors, and the Ambaſſadors ſent their Agents after Duke *Maurice* to the Camp, to ſweeten things, and promote the Peace. In that Siege *George* Duke of *Meckleburg*, having joyned Duke *Maurice*, the ſame who firſt of all made War againſt the *Magdeburgers*, was ſhot with a Cannon-Bullet. So ſoon as the Siege was laid down before *Franckfurt*, the Confederate Princes demanded a great many great Guns from the Elector Palatine; which once and again he denied them: But when he could not do otherwiſe, and they threatned to come and fetch them with an Army, he gave them Eight of the beſt he had, with all their Equipage. King *Ferdinand*, at the prefixed day, returning to *Paſſaw*, declared to the Mediators the Emperor's Will and Pleaſure as to the ſeveral Points; to wit, that as to publick Matters of the Empire, which Duke *Maurice* had propoſed, as we ſaid before, they ſhould not be handled by ſome few Commiſſioners apart, but by the whole Body of the Empire met in a Diet. Again, That the Cauſe of Religion ſhould reſt till the next Diet of the Empire: And that what ſhould be thought fit to be done in that particular for the future, by all the States in that Diet, ſhould be ratified and confirmed. The Emperor alſo, *July* the eleventh, gave this Anſwer to the Mediators laſt Letter: That as they had by their Letter, ſo King *Ferdinand* his Brother had alſo very earneſtly dealt with him, that he would accept of the Conditions; and thus he would willingly, indeed, have gratified both of them; but that there were many Cauſes that hindred him, which he had declared unto his Brother; for he could not approve and ratifie all indifferently. Now that ſome had undeſervedly fallen into calamity, through the occaſion of theſe Troubles, no man living was more ſorry for it than he; that yet their Sufferings were not to be imputed to their confidence and relying upon him, ſince he had put no man into ſuch hopes as he might ſecurely truſt to: For that though when the Stirs did firſt break out, he had written to ſome of the chief Princes, that they would endeavour to prevent that growing Evil, promiſing them his beſt concurrence, yet it was not his mind to approve of every thing that might be propounded: That it ſeemed indeed reaſonable to him, that ſuch things as concerned the Empire in general, ſhould be referred to the publick Diets thereof, wherein if any juſt complaint ſhould be by any man brought againſt him, he would not be wanting to that Duty, which hitherto he had never neglected: That ſince no Demand of that Nature had ever been preſented to him as yet, which nevertheleſs ought to have been done before any War had been attempted, he could not divine what would be demanded of him, and much leſs give Inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors whom he ſent to *Paſſaw*, what they ſhould anſwer to every Head; which, for the dignity of his Perſon and Character, he thought it not fit to do perſonally: That, if therefore he approved not all things, which ſome perhaps endeavoured to perſwade them to do, no man ought to cenſure him for that; but that they who were the Mediators, ought rather to encline and exhort them to reaſonable and moderate Conditions; eſpecially ſince they were ſenſible, that hardly at laſt, and not before he was forced to it by neceſſity, he had taken up Arms, which he intended not to make uſe of now neither, if he might chuſe; and if they could hit upon an equitable and proper Expedient for Peace: That, ſince the Caſe was ſo, he was very confident, that they would ſhew all Duty and Allegiance to him who was their chief Magiſtrate, rather than liſten to thoſe, who contrary to Duty, had made a League with his Enemies, and raiſed Stirs and Commotions: That, he was not ignorant of the Evils and Calamities that did impend, when both Armies ſhould be ready to joyn in Battel;

and

1552.

Duke *Maurice* returns to the *Confederates*.

Duke *Maurice* beſieges *Franckfurt*.

George Duke of *Meckleburg* killed with a great Shot.

The Elector *Palatine* unwillingly ſupplies the Princes with Cannon.

Conditions of Peace propoſed by the Emperor.

The Emperor's Anſwer to the Mediators Letter.

1552. and that he was very much moved at the Damages ſuſtained by the State, but eſpecially by the innocent People; wherefore he did now, as at all times before, ſet his mind on Peace, and would not refuſe any reaſonable Overture; but that he was not at all to be charged with this: That, whilſt he was deliberating about the Conditions ſent to him at two ſeveral times, ſome of the States had ſuſtained wrongs; for that the Truce was to have laſted all the time of the Treaty: That Marqueſs *Albert*, during the ſame time, damnified ſeveral ſorts of People, he was not to anſwer for it; ſince from the very beginning he had been againſt the Treaty: That, neither had he ever made any delay in anſwering, and if they had continued ſtill on the ſame ſort as they propoſed at firſt, but altered ſince, he could have anſwered much ſooner, and more diſtinctly too; nay, if they had not ſwerved from the Treaty of *Lintz*, which they themſelves mentioned, all things might have been long e're now accommodated: That ſince they were ſenſible then, how he ſtood affected towards the Publick, *he* inſtantly required them, that together with his Brother King *Ferdinand*, unto whom he had diſcovered all his mind, they would induce them to reaſonable Conditions, and therein have reſpect both to the Safety and Dignity of the Empire: That he, for his part, was reſolved to uſe the ſame Lenity and peaceable Ways in time to come, as utterly abhorring all Civil War: But that if Peace could not be had on theſe Terms, he expected from them all the Fruits of Allegiance, that they were obliged to render unto him.

The Emperor's Anſwer to the *French* Ambaſſadors Letter.

King *Ferdinand* made Anſwer alſo in the Emperor's Name, to the *French* Ambaſſador's Letter, lately read in the Meeting of the Princes, as we ſaid before: That his Imperial Majeſty had had Peace with the *French* King, which he punctually obſerved; and that, though ſome things had been done by him inſolently and haughtily, yet for publick Peace ſake, he had diſſembled them; but that though he had by his Ambaſſador promiſed great Matters, yet, when he pretended no ſuch thing, he had made War againſt him both by Sea and Land, without any previous Declaration: That moreover, he, the Emperor, had offered already, that if the Elector Duke *Maurice*, did propoſe in his name any reaſonable Conditions of Peace, that did quadrate with his paſt Actions, he would not refuſe them; but that no certain nor definite Propoſition had been made, it being his drift, that as he had laid the blame of the breach of Peace at his door, ſo he would have him alſo make the firſt ſtep towards an Agreement: That moreover, he laboured to vindicate himſelf from having made a League with the *Turk*, as if it had been an aſperſion caſt upon him: But all that was no more than a Sham; for if it were needful, the *Memoirs* of the *French* Ambaſſador *d'Aremont*, written for the help of his memory at *Conſtantinople*, and ſent to the King by one Captain *la Coſte*, might be produced and ſhewn: That the intercepted Letters of the *Turks* Lieutenant in *Hungary*, written to the Princes now in League, and others, might alſo be exhibited: That it appeared manifeſtly from them, that he himſelf was the Author of the damage done by the *Turkiſh* Fleet laſt year, and did ſpur them on to have done as much this year, being heartily ſorry that they had not done more miſchief than they did: That in ſhort, it was the Deſign of him and the *Grand Signior*, utterly to ruine him and his Brother King *Ferdinand*, that they might afterwards plunge their Neighbors, and chiefly the *Germans*, into the depth of danger and diſtreſs; but that how well theſe things agreed with his fair Promiſes, and how ſafe like to prove to *Germany*, any man might eaſily underſtand; for the thing it ſelf declared plainly what mind he was of; how that the chief States of the Empire had been moſt undeſervedly harraſſed, oppreſſed, and almoſt utterly undone the ſame year: That many others had been expoſed to the worſt of dangers: That by the help of the *Germans*, who joyned with him, ſome places of the Empire had been reduced under his tyrannical Power, and were now fortified by him, the whole fault was *his*, and *his* only: That the Caſe being ſo then, he did not ſee what credit was to be given to the Lies and Forgeries of his Ambaſſadors Letter; and that it had been far better, in his Judgment, to have rejected it, than to have admitted any ſuch Anſwer: That if they carefully conſidered the Matter, he made no doubt but they would ſee what Projects he was carrying on by means of his Ambaſſador; and that ſince that Writing did not at all concern the Treaty in hand, it ſeemed not to him neceſſary to make any further Anſwer to it. *July* the Thirteenth, King *Ferdinand* ſent *Henry* of the illuſtrious *Plawen*-Family, *Burgrave* of *Miſnia*, and Chancellor of *Bohemia*,

to

to the Camp before *Franckfurt*; who coming to Duke *Maurice*, on the twenty fourth of *July*; and having for ſome time debated Matters with him, at length perſwaded him to Peace. So that on the laſt of *July*, contrary to all mens expectation, the whole Matter was concluded, as ſhall be related hereafter. Amongſt the other Arguments uſed to perſwade him, this was one; that he would conſider with himſelf, what danger he would be expoſed to if he accepted not the Conditions, both from the Emperor, who had a very ſtrong Army on foot, and alſo from his Couſin *John Frederick*, whom the Emperor had ſet at liberty, and was now upon ſending him home; and that the *Landgrave*'s Son ſhould conſider alſo into how great peril he muſt needs bring his Father in Priſon, and the whole Province too. After the Peace was made, the great Guns, which, as we ſaid before, the Elector *Palatine* was forced to furniſh, were carried into the Town, that they might not fall into the hands of the Marqueſs *Albert*. 1552.

Duke *Maurice* accepts the Peace.

In the Month of *July*, the *French* King, having taken ſome Towns in the Duchy of *Luxembourg*, as hath been ſaid before, brought his Army into *Artois*, but without any memorable Action done; to refreſh his Men, and ſave them from infection, he diſbanded them, and returned home himſelf, having fortified and gariſon'd the Places which he had taken, and given the Command of all to the Duke of *Guiſe*, a Prince of great Authority in *France*. But he commanded the Ducheſs Dowager of *Lorain*, the Emperor's Siſters Daughter, to depart out of the Kingdom. She on the Twelfth of *July* came to *Strasburg*, and ſtaid there ſeveral days, having with her her Husband's Siſter, who was alſo ſent going by the *French* King. *Wolffgang*, Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order, mentioned before, who in the Imperial Diets takes place next to the Archbiſhops, came alſo to *Strasburg*, being driven out of his own Countrey. Marqueſs *Albert*, who had joyned the Confederates on their March to *Frankfurt*, leaving them at the Siege, marched towards the *Rhine*, and there forced *Worms* and *Spire* to ſubmit, to pay him Money, and furniſh great Guns whitherſoever he went; the Prieſts were all fled before, or elſe changing their Habit, ſtaid and pretended to be of ſome other Profeſſion. And when he came near to *Franconia*, the neighbouring Biſhops, and other Prelates, all fled for their own Safety: the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* alſo, who for fear of Marqueſs *Albert*, was gone before, as hath been ſaid, on the Twenty fifth of *July* came as an Exile to *Strasburg*; where having lodged one night, he paſſed over the *Rhine*. The Biſhop of *Spire*, a very aged man, fled to *Saverne*, and not long after died there. The Biſhop of *Wormes*, by Mediation of the *Palatine*, returned home, after he had paid a Compoſition of twelve thouſand Florins. Marqueſs *Albert* having taken the Cities we mentioned, on the twenty eighth of *July* wrote to the Senate of *Strasburg*, both in his own and *French* King's Name; requiring them to give him and the Confederates acceſs into the City at all times, to receive a Gariſon when there ſhould be occaſion, and to take an Oath of Fidelity; for that this War was carried on for the common concern and relief of *Germany*; and that it would neither be honourable nor ſafe for them to ſtand out, and not joyn with the reſt, ſeeing he and his Confederates had now again muſtered all their Forces to accompliſh that Deſign. The Senate two days after wrote him back an Anſwer; That for many years paſt, it had been their chief wiſh, that the true Religion of Chriſt, and the ancient Liberty might flouriſh all over *Germany*; and that they had not only directed all their Counſels and Actions to that ſcope, but alſo contributed their Money and Goods at all times; That it was ſtill their reſolution, and they would never be backward to do all that lay in their power at any time, for the Dignity and Safety of their common Countrey; and that they knew it to be their duty ſo to do, according to the Oath of Fidelity, whereby they were bound to the Empire: That ſince it was ſo, there was no neceſſity, that they ſhould give any further Declaration of their intentions; That the King of *France* himſelf, when he was lately in *Alſatia*, had demanded no ſuch thing of them: That, moreover the Writing which he mentioned to have been publiſhed by the Confederates, concerning the Cauſe of the War, had never been ſent or ſhewn to them; and that, therefore they entreated him to be ſatisfied, and not do any injury to them or their Countrey. At the very ſame time, Marqueſs *Albert*, having received intelligence that Duke *Maurice* enclined to Peace, left a Gariſon in *Spire*, and with his Army returning before *Franckfurt*, proſecuted the Siege, which Duke *Maurice*, upon concluſion of the Peace, had now raiſed, having encamped on a higher ground on the other ſide of

The *French* King reduces his Army.

The Ducheſs of *Lorain* commanded to leave *France*.

Wolffgang, Maſter of *Pruſſia*, driven out of his Countrey.

Albert perſecutes the Biſhops on the *Rhine*.

The Biſhop of *Spire* dies.

Albert's Demands to the Senate of *Straſburg*.

The Anſwer of the Senate.

1552. of the Town, and this ſide of the River *Mayne*, from whence he might moſt commodiouſly batter the place. For he was cruelly vexed at this Pacification, and ſpoke very reproachfully of Duke *Maurice*, refuſing to be comprehended in the Treaty.

Albert beſieges *Franckfunt.*

The Heads of the Pacification at *Paſſaw.*

The Conditions of Peace were, That the Confederate Princes ſhall lay down their Arms before the Twelfth day of *Auguſt*, and disband their Forces, ſo as they may ſerve King *Ferdinand* if he pleaſe, and neither annoy the Emperor, nor *Germany*. At and before the ſame day alſo, the *Landgrave* ſhall be ſet at liberty, and ſafely conveyed to his own Caſtle of *Rhinefelſe*, which he hath upon the *Rhine*, having firſt given Security for performing the Conditions impoſed by the Emperor at *Hall* in *Saxony*: That Duke *Maurice*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and *Wolffgang* Duke of *Deux-ponts*, who were then Sureties for him, ſhall be bound and renew their Obligation for him again: That the Suit which the *Landgrave* hath with the Count of *Naſſaw*, concerning the Lordſhip of *Catzenelbogen*, ſhall be brought to a new Trial before the Princes Electors, and ſuch others as both the Plaintiff and Defendant ſhall pitch upon for that purpoſe; out of whom the Emperor ſhall afterward chuſe ſix, who ſhall finally determine the Matter; but ſo, that the Cauſe be decided within the ſpace of two years: That within ſix Months the Emperor ſhall hold a Diet of the Empire, and then it is to be deliberated, by what means chiefly the Difference about Religion may be compoſed: That, in the mean time, all ſhall live in peace, and no man be moleſted for his Religion: That what ſhall be decreed by the common Conſent of the States, and Authority of the Emperor, touching the manner of quieting the diſturbances about Religion, to wit, that the difference be taken up in an amicable, juſt and pious way, the ſame ſhall be firm and ſtable: That thoſe of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion ſhall alſo be admitted into the Imperial Chamber: That all other things that concern the Honour and Liberty of *Germany*, ſhall be handled in the Diet of the Empire: That *Otho Henry* Prince *Palatine*, ſhall have the free enjoyment and poſſeſſion of his own Country: That all, who during this War, bound themſelves by Oath to be true to the Confederate Princes, ſhall be diſcharged from all Obligation, and be their own men, as before: That they who have received hurt and damage in the tumult of War, ſhall not bring any Action for it againſt thoſe who did the ſame. However, That the Emperor and States may, in the next Diet, conſider of ſome way how their Loſſes may be repaired. As to what concerns the *French* King, ſince he hath nothing to do with the Affairs of the Empire, he may if he pleaſe, declare to Duke *Maurice* what private Demands he hath to be made to the Emperor, that ſo they may be all communicated by him to his Imperial Majeſty: That thoſe who are Outlawed, ſhall be received into favour again, provided they act nothing for the future againſt the Emperor and States of the Empire; provided alſo, that they who ſerve the *French* King, do within three Months time leave his Service, and return into *Germany*: That Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg* ſhall be comprehended in this Peace, provided he lay down Arms, and disband his Forces at & before the 12th. day of *Auguſt*: And that he who ſhall break this Peace, be reckoned an Enemy. All theſe Articles were ſigned by the Princes of the firſt Rank, who were preſent, and by the Ambaſſadors and Deputies of the reſt: For the Inſtrument of this Peace was drawn up at *Paſſaw*, and was alſo ſigned by the Emperor. Upon the Concluſion of Peace, the *French* Ambaſſador returned home; for the King was highly diſpleaſed at the Pacification: But being informed, that the *Landgrave* was in great danger, unleſs ſome Capitulation were made, he conſented to it, and ſent back the Hoſtages ſafe into *Germany*. On the Third of *Auguſt*, Duke *Maurice* and the *Landgrave's* Son, departing from *Franckfurt*, ſeparated, and took two ſeveral ways; the *Landgrave's* Son went into *Heſſe*; but Duke *Maurice* led his Forces to *Donawert*, and ſent them by Water down the *Danube* to *Hungary*, againſt the *Turk*. But the Regiment commanded by *Rifeberg*, paſt the River of *Mayne*, and went to Marqueſs *Albert*, to the great trouble of the Princes, who feared that the Emperor might take occaſion hereby to detain the *Landgrave* ſtill priſoner. Marqueſs *Albert* having lain ſome time before *Franckfurt*, where he refuſed to be comprehended in the Peace, on the Ninth of *Auguſt* departed, and paſſing over the *Rhine*, came and encamped near to *Mentz*, making the Citizens take an Oath to be true unto him. About the end of *July*, the Emperor came from *Villach* to *Inſpruck*, and from thence, taking his way through

The *French* King offended at the Pacification of *Paſſaw.*

Rifeberg joyns with *Albert.*

Who ſlighting the Peace, makes war againſt the Biſhops of *Mentz* and *Spire.*

through *Bavaria*, with the *Germans*, *Bohemians*, *Italians* and *Spaniards*, who arrived at *Genoua* about the beginning of *July*, under the Command of the Duke of *Alva*, on the Twentieth of *Auguſt* he came to *Ausburg*. When the Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz*, who had for ſome days wandered as a Fugitive up and down *Schuabia*, heard of the Emperor's coming, he went to *Ausburg* alſo. 1552.

The Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz* comes to *Auſburg*.

About this time, the People of *Siena*, at the inſtigation, and with the aid of the *French* King, caſt out their *Spaniſh* Garriſon, demoliſh a Citadel that was there begun to be built by the Emperor's Command, and declare for their former Liberty. Marqueſs *Albert*, in the mean time, demands vaſt Sums of Money of the Church-men, eſpecially of *Mentz* and *Spire*; but when the Money could not be raiſed, ſince moſt of them were fled, he robbed the Churches of both Cities, and began to take the Lead off of the Cathedral of *Spire*; but at the interceſſion of the Senate, he deſiſted: At *Mentz* beſides, he burnt not only the Biſhop's Caſtle ſtanding upon the *Rhine*, his own Quarters, but alſo five Churches, and all the Veſſels on the River, even thoſe that were laden with Wine and Wheat. The ſame he did at *Spire*, with a purpoſe to incommode the Emperor's Paſſage; and having called out the Souldiers whom he had placed in Garriſon there, he marched into the Countrey about *Treves*.

The *Sieneſe* revolt from the Emperor.

Marqueſs *Albert* robs the Churches of *Mentz* & *Spire*.

On the Thirteenth of *Auguſt*, *Herman* Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, now very aged, ended his Life in his own Native Countrey, and had ſuch an End as he deſired; for many times he had wiſhed, that he might either be permitted to propagate the Goſpel, and reform the Church within his Territories, or elſe to lead a private Life; and being ſometimes admoniſhed by his Friends, that he expoſed himſelf to great hatred and malice by that changing of his Religion; he uſed to anſwer, That nothing could ſurprize him, and that he was long ago prepared againſt the worſt that could befal him. He was deſcended of the Noble Family of the Counts of *Weden*.

The Death of *Herman* Archbiſhop of *Cologne*.

The *Landgrave* being ſet at Liberty, as it was agreed upon, and returning home, when he came to *Maeſtricht*, by the Command of the Governeſs Queen *Mary*, who was there then, he was ſtopt again, and committed to the Cuſtody of the ſame *Spaniards* who had kept him Priſoner five whole years before. Now the reaſon of it was, becauſe *Rifeberg*, who had ſerved under the *Landgrave's* Son, went over to Marqueſs *Albert* with all his Men, as we ſaid before; by which Action the Queen alledged the Peace was broken, and that therefore ſhe could not let him go before ſhe knew the Emperor's Pleaſure. Duke *Maurice* being, as hath been ſaid, advanced to the *Danube*, *Auguſt* the two and Twentieth, ſent his Army before, the Foot down the River, but the Horſe over Land; whilſt he himſelf made a ſtart home about ſome private Affairs, with deſign ſuddenly to come back to them again.

The *Landgrave* ſet at liberty, is ſtopt again.

Duke *Maurice* ſends his Forces into *Hungary*.

When Marqueſs *Albert* was upon his March to *Treves*, *George* Count of *Holen*, one of the Emperor's Commanders, came to the Defence of the City with ten Companies of Foot; but being kept out by the Towns-People, who refuſed a Garriſon, he marched back again with his Men into *Luxembourg*. Marqueſs *Albert*; in the mean time, *Auguſt* the Twenty ſeventh, ſummoned the Place to ſurrender; and being next day received, he quartered his Souldiers in the Town, and the places about. The Biſhop all this while was in the Caſtle; which, as we ſaid, ſtands at the meeting of the *Rhine* and *Moſelle*. And now the Emperor having ſtaid ſome days at *Ausburg*, turned out the Senate which the Confederate Princes had lately eſtabliſhed, aboliſhing, at the ſame time, all the Companies and Fraternities, and reſtored the former Government and Senate which he himſelf had appointed. Of the Miniſters, he turned out three, ſuffering the reſt to preach and act according to the Form of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion; which being declared from the Pulpit, cauſed great Joy amongſt the People. This happened on the Twenty fifth of *Auguſt*; when about the ſame day, the year before, they had been turned out, as we related in the two and twentieth Book. Departing from thence, on the firſt of *September* after, he left a Garriſon of ſix Companies of Foot in the Town, and two days after came to *Ulm*; but the Army marched another way, till they came to the Confines of *Wirtemberg*: which was done for the ſake of the People of *Ulm*, that the Countrey of thoſe who had been ſo faithful to the Emperor, might receive no dammage. The ſame day the Emperor departed from *Ausburg*, he diſmiſſed *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, with moſt kind expreſſions, and large Promiſes of Favour; and he next day ſet out alſo upon his Journey homewards. The

Thoſe of *Treves* refuſe a Gariſon.

And receive *Albert*.

The Emperor again changes the Senate of *Ausburg*, and reſtores the Miniſters of the Church.

The Duke of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* return home.

1552. *Landgrave* in like manner, being releaſed, *September* the fourth, returned home ſix days after.

Melanchthon congratulates the return of the Duke of *Saxony*.

About the ſame time was publiſhed the fourth Tome of *Luther's* Works. *Melanchthon* in his Preface to it, largely congratulated the liberty and return of the Duke of *Saxony*, and highly extolled the Conſtancy that he had ſhewn in the worſt of Times. All the while Marqueſs *Albert* was at *Treves*, the Churches were ſhut: having ſtaid then, eight days there, and Burnt ſome Monaſteries and Religious Houſes, with a Caſtle of the Biſhops ſtanding not far from the Town, he left a Garriſon of twelve Companies of Foot in the Place.

Marqueſs *Albert*'s March into the Country of *Luxembourg*.

Afterwards Marching to *Kirchen*, a Town of the Duchy of *Lorrain*, lying half way betwixt *Treves* and *Metz*, on the thirteenth of *September*, he there croſſed the *Moſelle*, and entred firſt into the Duchy of *Luxembourg*, and then *Lorrain*, doing great Damage every where; and there ſtayed to know what Conditions the *French* King would propoſe unto him. How ſadly he had afflicted the Biſhops of *Franconia*, we told you before; but they having made their Application to the Emperor, upon his approach towards them, he reſcinded the Capitulations they had made, charging them not to ſtand to them, but to endeavour to recover their own. The ſame thing he permitted to thoſe of *Norimberg*, and after, adviſed them to make a League for the defence of their Country. To the ſame purpoſe, he wrote to thoſe of *Schuabia*; to the Borderers on the *Rhine*, and others, as well Princes as free Cities. Wherefore, the Biſhops we mentioned, and *Norimbergers* entred into a League together; and whilſt Marqueſs *Albert*, upon the Emperor's coming, was gone into *Lorrain*, thoſe of *Bamberg*, about the end of *Auguſt*, and in the Month of *September*, recovered *Forcheim*, and moſt of the other Towns.

The Emperor charges the *Franconians* to recover what *Albert* had taken from them.

The Emperor marches with his Army to *Lorrain*.

The Deputies of *Strasburg* deſires of the Emperor.

The Emperor being come out of the Country of *Wirtemberg*, directed his March towards *Spire*: but when he came to *Bretta*, a Town belonging to the Prince Palatine, changing his Mind, he ſtruck off to the Left, and Marched towards *Straſburg*. When he was come within ſix Miles of the City, he was met by the Deputies, *James Sturmey*, *Frederick Gotteſſeim*, and *Lowis Grempen*, who came from the Senate, to beg of his Imperial Majeſty, that he would ſpare their Country, by ſending part of his Army another way, and that he would not enter the Town with too many Men, nor change any thing in the Government. The Emperor having received them very graciouſly, told them, that

His Anſwer.

he knew very well, and was ſenſible, how nobly and bravely they of the City had lately behaved themſelves, and how great a Kindneſs they had done to him and the Empire; a thing he ſhould never forget, and would upon occaſion, make it manifeſt, how much he was obliged to them upon that Account. He afterwards made an ample Excuſe for his ſudden coming; partly, becauſe of the Veſſels that were burnt, by Marqueſs *Albert*, partly, becauſe of the News he had, of the *French* making Incurſions into *Alſatia*, and partly, becauſe of the Seaſon of the Year, which required Expedition, that he might, as ſoon as poſſible, come up with the Enemy: That therefore, he would March his Army by the City, and none ſhould enter but he himſelf, and his Servants, to Dine only, but not to ſtay all Night. So then, being on the fifteenth of *September* come to a certain Village, a Mile from the City, he diſperſed his Forces up and down in the Country about, and ſtayed there five Days: Then, at length, all the Carriages and Baggage, being got over the *Rhine*, with no ſmall Difficulty, and the Army ordered to March forward by Break of Day, he himſelf with no great Retinue, made his Entry into the Town, a place he had never ſeen before, about Noon, and was Kindly, and Honourably received by the Senate. He chanced to paſs by the Cathedral Church, where he alighted, and being introduced by the Prieſts, ſtayed a little to perform his Devotions, and then went ſtraight to Dinner. Then the Senate, according to the Cuſtom of the City, brought his Majeſty a Preſent, and prayed him to accept it. He made them anſwer, that he took it very kindly; and repeated what ſome Days before he told them, of his Good-will towards them, for the ſtout Service they had done the Publick, in a very doubtful and dangerous time; aſſuring them, that he was ſorry for the Damage that had been done by the Soldiers, to the Orchards and Farms without the City: but that ſince all Inconveniences could not be prevented, where ſo great a multitude of Men was got together, he prayed them to bear with it patiently, eſpecially, ſince the War it ſelf was carried on for the ſake of the Empire. To-

The Emperor makes his Entry into *Strasburg*.

Where the Senate makes him a Preſent.

wards

wards the Evening he departed, taking his way to *Haguenaw*, and lodged all Night in the next Village. When he was at *Strasburg*, on his March to *Metz*, he ordered the Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes, who followed his Court, to go and ſtay at *Spire*. *Richard Moriſon* was then Ambaſſador from *Edward* VI. of *England*, a Man of great Reputation amongſt the Learned; as *Marco Antonio*, *Amulio* was from the Republick of *Venice*, a Perſon of much Learning too, and a great Friend to the Ingenious. 1552.

Foreign Ambaſſadors, with the Emperor. *Richard Moriſon* from *England*, and *Marco Antonio Amulio* from *Venice*.

In the few Days time that the Emperor ſtayed by *Strasburg*, it is not to be believed, what Damage the Soldiers did in the Country about, and it was a very ſad Spectacle to ſee the poor Boors, with their Wives and Children, come running into the City, ſtript of all they had. The Senate made complaint of it, indeed, to the Duke of *Alva*; but though he profeſſed to be much troubled thereat, and that he would take Care to prevent ſuch Abuſes for the Future; yet nothing could avail, and whereſoever they went, they Plundered all, according to their Cuſtom. The Duke of *Alva* was General of the Army, and all Complaints of that nature were brought to him, no Man being admitted to Audience of the Emperor, who was thought to have any ſuch thing to ſay.

The Rapine of the Soldiers. Which the Duke of *Alva* did not, or could not repreſs.

In the mean time, the *French*, under the Command of the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſtrongly fortified *Metz* and *Nancy*, and had conveyed thither all the Corn and Forage out of the Country. In the Emperor's Service, were, *John* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, *Alphonſus*, Duke of *Holſtein*, the King of *Denmark*'s Brother, and *Philebert*, Son to the Duke of *Savoy*. The proſcribed Perſons we named before, rejected the Peace, and remained in *France*. The Dutcheſs Dowager of *Lorrain*, baniſhed her Country, met her Uncle the Emperor, at *Strasburg*, and then went into the Low-Countries. On the ſeventeenth of *October*, *Caſpar Hedio*, the chief Miniſter at that time in *Strasburg*, died; and the very ſame Day *Andrew Oſiander* Died at *Conningsberg*, a Sea-Port Town in *Pruſia*. The Emperor went from *Haguenaw* to *Landaw*, and having ſpent ſixteen Days and more there, in moſt excellent Weather, at which all Men wondred, at length began his March towards *Metz*, and on the two and Twentieth of *October*, laid down Siege before the Town. Moſt of the Citizens and Senators had Leave from the *French* King, and departed, ſome to *Lorrain*, and ſome to *Strasburg*. Marqueſs *Albret* was then at *Pont à mouſſon*, a Town on the Frontiers of *Lorrain*, with fifty Companies of Foot, and a conſiderable Body of Cavalry: But ſince the *French* King and he could not agree about the Pay of his Men, both for the time paſt, and to come, by the Mediation of ſome, he made his Peace with the Emperor, who both pardoned him for all his former Offences, and alſo diſcharged any Perſon from ſueing or moleſting him for Damages done in the War; confirming alſo the Tranſaction that he made with the Biſhops of *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg*, excuſing him from the War in *Hungary*, and for his ſake, pardoning the Count of *Oetingen*, Father and Son, of whoſe Fortune, mention hath been made before: as alſo, *Albert*, Count *Mansfield*, and his Sons. This being known, the Duke *D'aumale*, Brother to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who had been ſent by the King into *Lorrain*, with a great Body of Horſe, reſolved to fall upon Marqueſs *Albert*, of whom they had ſuſpition, leſt he might do ſome Miſchief, for the *French* had ſliely drawn over one Regiment from him already, which was commanded by *Rifeberg*; for he went over to the King's Party: They tampered beſides with the reſt of the Army alſo, with deſign, that being forſaken, and left naked by his Men, for want of Pay, they might rout him with Diſgrace. *D'Aumale* had the Biſhop of *Bayonne* to adviſe him; and he inciting him to action, he Charged with all his Force: The Foot refuſed to Fight, for want of Pay; ſo that his ſafety depended wholly on the Horſe, whom Marqueſs *Albert* encouraging with Promiſes and fair Language, boldly gave the Charge, and was ſeconded by Fortune; for breaking through the main Body of his Enemies, he ſcattered, and put them to Flight, though they far exceeded him in Number, many, and thoſe of Quality too, being ſlain; the Biſhop of *Bayonne* made his Eſcape by Flight: but *D'Aumale* having received three Wounds, was made Priſoner; and this happened on the fourth of *November*. *Albert* having obtained this Victory, came before *Metz*, with *D'Aumale* his Priſoner, and Encamped by the *Moſelle*, where his Priſoner being cured of his Wounds, he ſent him to be kept in Cuſtody in *Germany*. *George* of the noble Family of *Lichtemberg*, was his Lieutenant General, as he had alſo been, during the Proteſtant War. Afterward he adverti ſed the Biſhop of *Bamberg* of his

The outlawed Perſons ſlight the Peace, and ſtay in *France*.

Hedio and *Oſiander* Dye.

The Emperor beſieges *Metz*.

Marqueſs *Albert* makes his Peace with the Emperor.

Rifeberg goes over to the *French* King.

A Fight betwixt *Albert* and the *French* at *Pont à Mouſſon*.

The Biſhop of *Bayonne* eſcapes and *D'Aumale* is taken.

George Lichtemberg.

1552. Peace made with the Emperor, who had confirmed their Tranſactions, and admoniſhed him to keep his Promiſe, and reſtore to him his Towns: charging his Officers and Governours of Places, to retake them by Force, if he did not Obey.

The Imperialiſts take *Heſdin*.

At the ſame time, the Emperor's Army in the Netherlands, invaded *France*, and took *Heſdin*, the ſtrongeſt Fort in thoſe Parts, which ſome time after the *French* King regained, who wrote to the Emperor in *Germany*, a very ſharp Letter, adviſing him to continue in Amity with him, and not forget the Kindneſs he had done him, and the Liberty, which by his means he had recovered. Much about this time, the Judges of the Imperial Chamber, who fled, as we ſaid before, return to *Spire*. The Emperor, who hitherto had ſtayed at *Dedehove*, a Town upon the *Moſell*, four Miles below *Metz*, on the twentieth of *November* came into the Camp. Then chiefly began the Town to be furiouſly Battered, ſo that the Guns were heard not only at *Strasburg*, but alſo four Miles beyond the *Rhine*; and *Strasburg* is eighteen long Miles diſtant from *Metz*. Duke *Maurice*, who, as I ſaid, went with his Army into *Hungary*, for the ſervice of King *Ferdinand*, returned Home about this time: and now was *Volrate* Count *Mansfield*, the Son of Count *Albert*, engaged in War with *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and had almoſt driven him quite out of his Country. Duke *Henry* therefore, came to the Emperor in the Camp before *Metz*, and there having bewailed his bad Fortune, begged Aſſiſtance; but that proved to be at an unſeaſonable time. Now *Mansfield* ſerved under Marqueſs *Albert*, whilſt he was ſtill on the *French* ſide. Whilſt the Emperor beſieged *Metz*, *Wolffgang*, Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order, took the Town of *Elwang*: There is a very rich Colledge there, which for many Months he coveted after; and ſeeing they of the Houſe have the right of chuſing their Superiour, whom they call Provoſt; and that they had choſen one of a Noble Family, in Excluſion of him, he for Grief and Anger at the Diſappointment, came, and ſuddenly ſurpriſed the Place. This coming to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*'s Ears, whoſe Aſſiſtance was implored by the Fellows, as being the Protector of their Rights and Liberties, he quickly got together his Men, and coming in the Winter time, eaſily regained it, taking a Town or two beſides from him, which he reſolved to keep in his Hands, until he ſhould be repayed the Charges of the War. The *French*, who were beſieged, made many Sallies, eſpecially upon Marqueſs *Albert*'s Quarters, and amongſt others, *Lichtemberg*, whom I named before, was grievouſly Wounded. The Winter was very Cold, with much Froſt and Snow: and, though the Emperor had a vaſt Army, yet he abſtained from ſtorming the Place, and carried on the Siege by Mines: but that was a vain Attempt, when both the time of the Year was a great hindrance to it, and the Enemy alſo had Intelligence thereof by Spies. The Officers who defended the Town, were Gentlemen of noble Families, all pickt and choſen; but the chief Governour was the Duke of *Guiſe*. When Marqueſs *Albert*'s Officers were bringing together their Forces by his Command, the Biſhop of *Bamberg* made his Complaint of it to the Imperial Chamber, and on the nine and twentieth of *December*, procured an Order from that Court, commanding the *Albertines* to deſiſt from Hoſtility. The People of *Ulm* having retaken the Caſtle of *Helfeſtein*, out of which they forced the Garriſon, which Marqueſs *Albert* left there, razed it to the Ground. The Emperor being forced by the Severity of the Winters Cold, and deſpairing of taking the Town, about the end of *December* raiſed the Siege, and drew off to *Dedehove*: From thence returning into the Netherlands, he ordered ſome Regiments to Winter in the Country about *Treves*, amongſt whom alſo was Marqueſs *Albert*; but the Army, what by Sickneſs, and what through the exceſs of Cold, was leſſened by a third Part. On the two and twentieth of *January*, the *French* had *Te Deum* ſung in the Churches of *Metz*, for their good Succeſs in maintaining the Town. Next day after, ſearch was made in the Houſes of the Inhabitants, for *Lutheran* Books, which were publickly Burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman: and then the Duke of *Guiſe* having left a Deputy there, returned into *France*. The ſame Month, Marqueſs *Albert*'s Officers took many Places from the Biſhop of *Bamberg*: and when, after the Siege of *Metz* was raiſed, *Albert* having for ſome time held his Winter-Quarters at *Treves*, and received from the Emperor, Pay for his Soldiers, was in the Month of *February*, upon his return into *Germany*, the Biſhop of *Bamberg* on the ſeventeenth of *February*, obtained two new Decrees from the Imperial Chamber, the one

The Duke of *Wirtemberg* regains *Elwang*.

The Siege of *Metz*.

The Duke of *Brunſwick* again driven out of his Country by Count *Mansfield*.

The Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order takes *Elwang*.

The People of *Ulm* demoliſh *Helfeſtein*.

The Emperor raiſes the Siege of *Metz*.

1553.

Lutheran Books burnt by the Hangman at *Metz*.

renewing

renewing the former Command; and the other enjoyning the Nobility and Gentry in *Franconia*, and State of *Norimberg*; as alſo the Prince Palatine, and *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, as being next Neighbours, to come in to his Aſſiſtance. 1553.

The Imperial Chamber order War to be made againſt Marqueſs *Albert*.

About the end of *February*, the *French* King, whoſe Courage was raiſed by the Defence of *Metz*, publiſhed a Printed Declaration to the States of the Empire, which ſharply galled and reflected upon the Emperor; for the deſign of it was to render him both odious and contemptible, to wit, that he was no more to be feared now, ſince his Power was broken, and the Arts he had uſed for many Years detected: and ſince he was become ſo crazy and valetudinary, that he could ſcarce fetch his Breath: but that his Inclinations would ſtill be the ſame towards them, that's to ſay, Honourable and Free, and though ſome, whom he had obliged by great Favours, were not ſo grateful as might have been expected, yet he would not for all that, abandon the Friendſhip of the reſt. When Marqueſs *Albert* had notice of the Orders iſſued out from the Imperial Chamber, he wrote many Letters to the Biſhop of *Arras*, the Duke of *Alva*, and to the Emperor himſelf, acquainting them with the Attempts of the Biſhops, and how they violated their Compacts, and that ſince his Imperial Majeſty had confirmed the Tranſactions which they made with him, he deſired that they might be threatned, and commanded to Obey. Next, he ſent an Agent to the Imperial Chamber at *Spire*, to repreſent to the Judges that the Biſhops tranſgreſſed, not only their Covenants, but alſo the Emperor's Commands; and therefore to deſire them, that they would not move any Proceſs againſt him, but recal the Decrees which they had made. To theſe deſires, they made anſwer, that it was their Duty to do Juſtice to all Men; and that they could not deny the ſame to the Biſhops, who ſued for it. He on the other Hand, having made a long Refutation of what they had alledged, inſiſted upon the ſame Demand as before: For that otherwiſe, ſaid he, if he received any Damage, he would have a juſt Title to demand reparation from them. *March* the twenty third, the Emperor wrote an Anſwer to Marqueſs *Albert*'s Letter; that he denied not, but that Tranſaction had been confirmed by him: That he had alſo liberally given him his Pay, much to his own Detriment, when at the ſame time the reſt had had nothing: That it would have been very grateful to him, indeed, if the Biſhops had been quiet; having ſent an Ambaſſador to them to perſwade them thereunto: But that, ſince they refuſed, and had appealed to him, to the Princes Electors, and Imperial Chamber, he himſelf might ſee, that he could not deny them that, eſpecially ſince ſome States had conceived Suſpicions of him, and given out various Reports: So that if now, he ſhould condeſcend to his Deſires, and command them to perform their Compacts, it would both be ſaid, that he did unjuſtly, and alſo encreaſe thoſe Suſpicions: That it was his Duty to adminiſter Juſtice equally to all Men, and to diſcharge all proceeding by Force and Violence: that the only way then, was to agree the matter amicably, and that he doubted not, but if he did prudently weigh with himſelf all things, he would take that Courſe: In the mean time, that the Affair might be the more eaſily managed, and with greater Advantage, he would recommend it to the Care of his own Kinſmen, the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Wirtemberg* to interpoſe their Mediation: That the Biſhops had by ſeveral Letters made heavy Complaints to him; but nevertheleſs, he was confident, they would not refuſe a Treaty: That he had referred it to *John* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, to make an end of the difference betwixt *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and his Nobility: and that he had appointed the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Wirtemberg* alſo, to take up the matter betwixt the Counts of *Oetingen*, Father and Son.

The *French* Declaration to the States of the Empire.

Marqueſs *Albert*'s Complaint of the *Franconian* Biſhops.

His Deputation alſo to the Imperial Chamber.

The Chambers Anſwer.

The Emperor writes to Marqueſs *Albert*.

Much about this time, both Count *Mansfield*'s Army was diſperſed, and the Commiſſioners of *John Frederick* and Duke *Maurice* met, to make them Friends. For the former, in all his publick Letters, and the Money he Coyned, took to himſelf the title of Elector, and gave the two croſs Swords, which are the Arms and Cognizance of the Electoral Dignity, as alſo by the Emperor's Permiſſion, he again fortified the Caſtle of *Gothen*. Now Duke *Maurice* took that heinouſly, and complained of it to his own States. They were all unanimouſly of Opinion, that a Peaceable Courſe ſhould be taken, to adjuſt all Controverſies betwixt them: and therefore Commiſſioners were ſent, as we ſaid, but in vain. At this time alſo, the Biſhop of *Metz*, *Robert* Cardinal *Lenoncourt*,

The Commiſſioners of the Dukes of *Saxony*, *John Frederick*, and *Maurice* meet to make them Friends.

1553. *Lenoncourt*, wholly addicted to the *French* King, came to *Metz*, where he challenged all the Juriſdiction to himſelf, as being a Prince of the Empire, and appointed a new Senate, into which ſome Churchmen were admitted; nay, beſides, he fortified *Marſey*, a Town upon the Frontiers of *Germany*, and put a *French* Garriſon into it. Letters of his had been intercepted before, wherein he deſired of the King, that he would allow him the Juriſdiction, which the Biſhops, his Predeceſſors, had enjoyed: For that it was his purpoſe, to eſtabliſh a new Senate, and to admit no Man into it, but he that was wholly at his Majeſties Devotion; that otherwiſe thoſe of the Emperor's Faction would remain there, and the others remove, which would prove very diſadvantageous to his Intereſt: For that unleſs all ſuſpected Perſons were turned out, he needed not Promiſe to himſelf the quiet Poſſeſſion of that Town: That it was his great deſire, to give him ſome Proof of his Inclinations to gratifie him: ſince it had been his chief End in removing into thoſe Parts, and accepting of that Biſhoprick, that he might do him ſome ſignal piece of Service. At that time, Marqueſs *Albert* was at *Heidelberg*, with the Elector Palatine, and had ſent the Letters we mentioned, to the Imperial Chamber from thence. Then came alſo the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Wirtemberg* by the Emperor's Command to *Heidelberg*, upon the account of Pacification; the Duke of *Cleve* came thither alſo. There the matter was long debated, but when the Biſhops had offered vaſt ſums of Money, and eſpecially *Bamberg*, that he might quietly poſſeſs his own Towns, and the Mediators had approved the Condition; Marqueſs *Albert*, who would have no leſs than the Performance of their Compacts, which the Emperor had ratified, who had Officers at the ſame time, raiſing Horſe in *Saxony*, and was now aſſured of aſſiſtance from other Hands, departed without any Concluſion made, to the great offence of the Mediators. He thereupon preſently betook himſelf to Arms, and by a Declaration of the twenty ſeventh of *March*, gave a full relation of the matter, wherein he heavily complains of his Adverſaries, for their Breach of Articles, refutes the Argument alledged by the Biſhops, that it was not lawful for them to alienate any Church Lands, and declares that he was neceſſarily obliged to maintain his Right by Force of Arms. The Duke of *Wirtemberg* was perſonally preſent, and the Biſhop of *Bamberg* had ſent his Deputies. The Controverſie that the Duke of *Wirtemberg* had with the Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order, was by the Mediation of the Princes accommodated, and the Maſter, for the recovery of his Towns, was to pay thirty Thouſand Florins. On the ſecond of *April*, being *Eaſter*-Day, Duke *Maurice* came alſo to *Heidelberg* to meet the Princes, having made great haſte in coming, but three days after, he haſtened as faſt home again. The Mediators we named, entred into a mutual League to defend themſelves from Injuries, wherein the Archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Treves* were alſo Comprehended. When Marqueſs *Albert*, having rejected the Conditions propoſed to him at *Heidelberg*, was bringing together an Army; the Biſhops of *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg* obtained an Order from the Imperial Chamber, directed to them, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the Prince *Palatine*, Duke *Maurice*, the Maſter of *Pruſia*, *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the *Landgrave*, the State of *Norimberg*, and all the Neighbours, commanding them to aid and aſſiſt them; and this was on the ſecond of *May*. Duke *Maurice*, who otherwiſe entertained Jealouſies of Marqueſs *Albert*, and thought himſelf alſo obliquely aimed at by that War, for his own Security, made a League with the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and promiſed Aſſiſtance to the Biſhops, and the City of *Norimberg*. In the mean time, Marqueſs *Albert* having muſtered his Forces, Advances, Plunders, and Burns where-ever he came in the Territories of *Norimberg*, and the Biſhops, takes *Bamberg*, the Capital City of the Province, declares War againſt the Nobility of *Franconia*, if they did not comply with him, and takes *Schweinfurt*, an Imperial City, into which he put a Garriſon. The *Norimbergers*, who held ſome Towns and Farms, in Fee of the Crown of *Bohemia*, Prayed King *Ferdinand*, that for the defence of thoſe Places they might have leave to raiſe Horſe in his Territories; the King condeſcended and permitted them to raiſe five Hundred. But theſe were intercepted by Marqueſs *Albert* upon their March, who ſeiſed alſo ſome of thoſe Farms and Towns we mentioned. On the other ſide, *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, who had taken on a great part of Count *Mansfield's* Army, ſent his Son *Philip* to make War upon his Neighbours, who having ravaged the

The Ambition of Cardinal *Lenoncourt*.

Marſey garriſoned by *French*.

Princes meet at *Heidelberg* to make Peace betwixt Marqueſs *Albert*, and the Biſhops of *Franconia*.

Marqueſs *Albert* ſlighting Peace, betakes himſelf to Arms, and publiſhes a Declaration.

The Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order are reconciled.

The Decree of the Imperial Chamber againſt Marqueſs *Albert*; and who were enjoyned to put it in Execution.

Duke *Maurice* makes a League with the Duke of *Brunſwick*.

Albert Burns and Plunders. He takes *Bamberg*.

The *Norimbergers* raiſe *Bohemian* Horſe.

the Countries of the Biſhops of *Munſter* and *Winden*, of Duke *Erick*, his Kinſman, and the State of *Bremen*, extorted a vaſt Sum of Money from them. At the ſame time, the Controverſie which the Duke of *Cleve* had with the Elector of *Cologne* about Juriſdiction, was compoſed by the Mediation of the Electors *Palatine*, and *Treves*. Not long after, the Electors *Palatine* and *Mentz*, and the Ambaſſadors of the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Wirtemberg*, by orders from the Emperor, met at *Franckfurt*, upon occaſion of the War of *Franconia*. The Emperor's Ambaſſadors there, were *Lowis*, Count *Connigſtein*, *Renard* Count *Solmes*, and *Henry Haſen*; ſome were alſo there from King *Ferdinand*. And when then the Biſhops urged the Emperor's Abolition, but Marqueſs *Albert*, his Confirmation, the Electors adviſed the Emperor's Ambaſſadors to write to their Maſter, to know from his Majeſty, which of the two he would ſtand by. The Emperor on the ſeventeenth of *June*, made anſwer to this purpoſe: When the Year before he had heard of the Tranſaction, made betwixt Marqueſs *Albert* and the Biſhops, he had at the deſire of ſome reſcinded it, and charged the Biſhops not to obſerve it, as being a bad Preſident, that any Man ſhould be forced to truckle under another, for doing their Duty to him and the Empire: But that then again, when Marqueſs *Albert* would not Capitulate with him, unleſs theſe Compacts were Confirmed, to avoid greater Inconveniences, which then threatned all *Germany*, he had complied with the Times, and that becauſe he had a good Army on Foot, that Count *Mansfield* raiſed Forces for him alſo in *Saxony*, and that he being engaged in the *French* War, could not reſtrain him, there being none in *Germany*, that could reſiſt him, ſo much as one day, he had made Peace with him, in Confidence that he might afterward pleaſe him; eſpecially if the Princes, who were his Kinſmen, would interpoſe their Mediation, and that truly, if it had pleaſed God to have given him Succeſs before *Metz*, he was ſure of a way how to have ſatisfied him: For that he had done him ſingular good Service in that War, which made him deſirous to gratifie him: That when afterwards the Siege did not ſucceed, he had eſſayed to make an Agreement by their means: but that he was much troubled, that he ſhould have rejected the Conditions propoſed, and again fallen to War, wherefore he had appointed this other Meeting at *Franckfurt*: That now he had Information, that he was making War, not only againſt the Biſhops, but others alſo; which both vexed him, and was alſo contrary to his Articles: for that, when he was received into Favour, he had promiſed to be faithful and true in all things, both to him and the Empire, for the time to come: That if he would now be but Conformable and Obedient, he would forget all that was paſt: but that, ſince he himſelf was ſuſpected by ſome, of being Partial; they ſhould endeavour all they could, to bring matters to a Pacification, and expect no farther Declaration from him: That by ſo doing, they would very much gratifie him, who was reſolved for the future, to act nothing without their Counſel and Conſent.

1553.

The Duke of *Brunſwick* plagues his Neighbours.

Cleve and *Cologne* made Friends.

A convention of the Princes at *Franckfurt*.

The Emperor's Anſwer to his Ambaſſadors Letters.

But after all, there was nothing concluded at *Franckfurt*. Much about the ſame time, the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Wirtemberg*, met by the Emperor's Order at *Laugingen*, to make Peace betwixt the Counts of *Oetingen*, Father and Son. For ever ſince the time of the *Smalealdick* War to the Siege of *Metz*, *Lowis* Father and Son, had wandered up and down without any certain Habitation, becauſe they had been in Arms againſt the Emperor. However, his Sons, *Frederick* and *Woffgang*, who differed from him in Religion, poſſeſſed all his Lands and Eſtate. When the matter was brought to a Treaty, the Father accuſed them of the higheſt Ingratitude; and though the Princes took extraordinary Pains to ſet things to rights, yet nothing could be effected.

The Counts of *Oetingen* force a good Father into Baniſhment.

The End of the Twenty fourth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK XXV.

The CONTENTS.

Whilſt the War goes on in Piedmont *and* Tuſcany, Maurice *Duke of* Saxony, *and* Albert *Marqueſs of* Brandenburg, *declared a War againſt each other; and a Battel is fought betwixt them, in which* Maurice *is ſhot in the Belly by an Hand-Gun, and dies two days after; but* Albert *was beaten.* Auguſtus *the Brother of* Albert *ſucceeds him; from whom* John Frederick *demands Reſtitution of his Patrimony. Nine* Proteſtants *burnt at* Loyons. Edward *the Sixth, King of* England's *Sickneſs, Death and Character.* Jane *Ducheſs of* Suffolk, *proclaimed; but* Mary *prevails; She reſtores the* Roman Catholick *Biſhops, and holds a Parliament.* Hesdin *deſtroyed*, Cambray *aſſaulted*, Albert *beaten in a ſecond Battel, by* Henry *of* Brunſwick; *He retires to* Hoff, *and is Outlaw'd.* Jane Gray *and her Father, the Duke of* Suffolk, *and many others executed on the Account of* Wiat's *Rebellion.* John Frederick *and his Lady end their Days in great Piety and Peace.* Albert *Outlaw'd again. A ſecond Parliament, and the Marriage of Queen* Mary *and King* Philip. Pool *reconciles* England *to the See of* Rome. *A Diet at* Ausburg. *The Tranſactions of* England, *and the Condemnations of ſome of the* Proteſtant *Biſhops and others. The Opening of the Diet at* Ausburg, *and the Speech made by* Ferdinand *on that Occaſion. The Thoughts of men inſinuated.*

1553. *Terovanne* beſieged and taken.

IN order to the appeaſing theſe Commotions and Wars in *Germany*, the Emperor ſummoned a Diet in *May*, to meet the Thirteenth of *Auguſt*; and, having towards the latter end of *April*, beſieged *Terovanne*, a ſtrong City of *Artois*, but then in the hands of the *French*: The Twenty firſt of *June* he took it, and expoſed it abſolutely to the Will of his Army, who plundered, burnt and diſmantled it. *Francis*, the Son of the Conſtable of *France*, who was Governor of the City, was alſo taken Priſoner. The *Engliſh* had ſent ſome Months before a ſplendid Embaſſy, and ſollicited a Peace; which was alſo laboured by the Pope's *Nuncio*, but with no Succeſs. In *May*, *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, who after the Execution of the Protector, the Uncle of *Edward* the Sixth, was become the firſt Miniſter of State in *England*, marries *Guilford Dudley* his Fourth Son, to *Jane*, the Eldeſt Daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Grand-child of *Mary*, younger Siſter of *Henry* the Eighth; King *Edward* being then in great danger of Death, by reaſon of a Sickneſs. There was at the ſame time a War in *Piedmont* and *Tuſcany*; the Emperor being intent upon the recovery of *Siena*, and to that purpoſe having ordered *Peter* Duke of *Toledo*, then Vice-Roy of *Naples*, to proſecute this Deſign, with the Forces of that Kingdom; but he dying, and the *Turkiſh* Fleet, which had on Board the Prince of *Salerno*, who was ſent from *France*, on that occaſion, to facilitate the *Turkiſh* Deſigns upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, being then expected

Engliſh Affairs.

in

in *Italy*, the Army return'd to defend that Kingdom againſt this approaching and nearer danger. 1553.

Albert carrying on the War in *Franconia*, *Maurice* and his Allies ſent an Army thither: Whereupon *Albert* putting Garriſons into *Schweinfurt* and ſome other places, when he had levied great Sums of Money, and carried away many of the Inhabitants of *Norimberg* and *Bamberg* as Hoſtages, turn'd ſuddenly towards *Saxony*. At *Arnſtad* the Ambaſſadors of *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, met him, and deſired that he would not damnifie the Territories of their Maſter; which he readily promiſed, and faithfully performed. Entring therefore into the Territory of *Erford*, he plundered many of its Villages. This ſudden Invaſion gave *Maurice* a great diſturbance, his Forces being then ſent away into *Franconia*; whereupon he ſummoned, firſt the Nobility, and then the Commons to take up Arms, and gathered together what Forces he could hire againſt him: On the other ſide, *Albert* paſſed through his Territories without doing any Injury till he came to *Halberſtad*; the Gates of which City he ſurprized, and forced the Clergy of it to pay him a conſiderable Sum of Money: From thence, he paſſed into the Territories of *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, which with the Aſſiſtance of *Erick*, and the Nobility of that Dukedom, he burnt and waſted. In the interim, the Forces of *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, which, as we have related above, were ſent into *Franconia*, under the Command of *Philip* his Son, having without ſucceſs attempted *Schweinfurt*, and now ſeeing the War carried to their own doors, returned into *Saxony*; the Forces belonging to *Maurice*, did the ſame; and under the Command of *Hedeck*, joyned *Maurice* at *Northauſen*. *Maurice* being thus reinforced, and ſeeing *Albert* had invaded the Territories of *Minden*, a City of *Weſtphalia*, conjecturing by this, that *Albert* deſigned to paſs by *Haſſia* into *Franconia* again, he thereupon left *Northauſen*, and with his Army marched to *Eimbeck*, to prevent him in this Deſign. At laſt, all the Confederate Forces met at *Oſterode*, the firſt of *July*. From hence, not only *Maurice*, but *Henry Plaw*, Chancellor of *Bohemia*, in the Name of *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*, ſent a Declaration of War to *Albert*; affirming, 'That whereas the Emperor by the common conſent of the Princes 'and States of the Empire, had determined that Peace ſhould be preſerved in 'the Empire, and command that none of the Princes ſhould uſe any force, but 'proſecute their Pretences in the Imperial Chamber, where they ſhould have 'Juſtice done them according to the Laws; which was then ſo abſolutely neceſ-'ſary for the preſervation of the Empire, *Germany*, after ſo many Civil Wars, 'being very much weakned, and ſtanding in need of a Peace: That therefore 'when lately a War had ariſen in the Empire, *Ferdinand*, with the aſſiſtance 'of ſome of the other Princes, had very much ſollicited the reſtitution of the 'Peace, and had at length obtained the Conſent of the contending Princes and 'Generals, and with the Conſent of the Emperor had made a Peace. By the 'Articles of which, it was agreed, That not only the ſaid Treaty ſhould be 'obſerved; but alſo, that if any Infraction was made, Succours ſhould be ſent 'to any of the Princes that was invaded.

The War in *Germany*.

The Declaration againſt *Albert*.

'But you (ſay they) have not only refuſed to ſubmit to this Decree or 'Treaty, but have alſo preſumed to write openly to ſome of the Electors, 'That *it tended to the Diſhonour and Damage of* Germany, *and was to be eſteem'd no 'other than a betraying of the Empire*; by which words you have ſufficiently diſco-'vered your diſpoſition towards your Countrey. After therefore you had was 'ſted with Fire and Sword the Banks of the *Rhine*, and that your Affairs in '*France* did not ſucceed, the Emperor having then alſo an Army in the Field, 'you deſired to be received into the Treaty of *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg*, which 'you at laſt obtained of the Emperor, by the interceſſion of others. You had 'no ſooner obtain'd this Favour of the Emperor, (who allowed you no uſe of 'Force) but you immediately abuſed it, and by your Servants frequently 'threatned the two Biſhops, that you would compel them by the Forces of '*Mansfeld* and *Oldenburg*, to perform the Articles; as may be proved by the Let-'ters of your Miniſters. In order to this, you commanded thoſe Souldiers 'you diſmiſſed after the Siege of *Metz*, to return to their Arms again in the 'beginning of *April*: And although thoſe Prelates ſubmitted the Controver-'ſies then depending, to the Arbiterment of the Emperor, his Brother *Ferdi-'nand*, and the Princes of the Empire, or to the determination of the Laws, 'and the Imperial Chamber; and eſpecially at *Heidelburg*, offered ſuch Terms 'as

1553. ‘as were approved not only by the mediating Princes, but by the Emperor alſo, as appears by his Letter; yet at laſt, you rejecting all theſe Offers, entred their Territories, and taking ſome of their Towns, you ſhew no favour ‘even to the Women of the Nobility you found there; you have not only plundered and put under contribution the Territories of thoſe two Prelates, but ‘you have executed the ſame injuries upon them of *Norimberg*, who according ‘to the Laws of the Empire, and the late Treaties, came into the aſſiſtance of ‘theſe Prelates, you have burnt many Forts, Towns, and Villages, and together with theſe Buildings, you have in ſome places cruelly burnt the Inhabitants too. After this, in many places you took the more ancient of the Citizens and Townſmen as Hoſtages for the Money you had impoſed upon them, ‘and when they were not able to pay it, you carried them with you into the lower *Saxony*, and with great inhumanity and tyranny led them about with you as ‘priſoners whitherſoever you went: You have, againſt all Juſtice, declared a ‘War againſt the Nobility of *Franconia*, and injuriouſly ſeized and garriſon'd ‘*Schweinfurt*, which is an *Imperial City*. By all which Actions of yours you have ‘diſturbed and terrified your Neighbours, and given *Germany* a new and unheard of Example. To all this I may add, that you have not ſhewn the reſpect you ought to *Ferdinand* the King of the *Romans*, though you are one of ‘his Homagers, and by an ancient League obliged to him; yet notwithſtanding you have preſumed to make inroads not only into his Kingdom of *Bohemia*, but alſo you have treated the Inhabitants of thoſe Territories which he ‘had granted to the City of *Norimberg*, with more than ordinary cruelty, and ‘have ſlain ſome, and impoveriſhed others of the beſt Families belonging to ‘them. You fell upon thoſe Troops which they of *Norimberg* had raiſed by ‘his permiſſion in *Bohemia*, not to the intent they ſhould injure any body; ‘but only that they might preſerve the Territories of that City from force, ‘and having reduced them under your power, you diſarm'd them, and ſo forced them to return home. Beſides, you have entertain'd ſome that are Traytors to that Prince, and declared Rebels by him. And you have greatly ‘threatned, and injuriouſly treated the King and Kingdom of *Bohemia*, though ‘that Prince has done nothing to incenſe you againſt him; but on the contrary, has on all occaſions promoted your Intereſts as far as he could: And although it is now above a year ſince, in an hoſtile way you entred his Countrey, yet you know how friendly he lately wrote to you, that you ſhould make ‘ſatisfaction for the wrong you have done, and for the future be more careful.

‘And now, as to what concerns my ſelf (ſaid *Maurice*) though in all my ‘Life I never gave you the leaſt cauſe of Offence, but have rather beſtowed ‘many Benefits upon you, yet the laſt year, when after the Peace, I went from ‘*Franckfurt*, and levied and led ſome Forces into *Hungary*, for the Service of ‘my Countrey, and for the ſake of *Ferdinand*, againſt the *Turks*; you may ‘eaſily remember what Arts you employed to ſeduce my Souldiers from me; ‘and how injuriouſly you ſpoke of me to your own Souldiers, and to others, ‘when ſpeaking of the *Pacification* of *Paſſaw*, you call'd it *a betraying of* Germany, reflecting more particularly upon Me and *Plaw* the Chancellor of *Bohemia*, my good Friend. Nor am I ignorant of what you attempted the laſt ‘Winter, when I was in *Hungary*, to ruine me and my Countries by the Forces of ‘the Earl of *Mansfield*, which then quartered in the Dukedom of *Brunſwick*. ‘And after you were reconciled to the Emperor, it is well known to thoſe who ‘were preſent in the Camp, how frequently, ſharply and injuriouſly, and ‘ſometimes how threatningly you ſpoke of me and my Provinces, during the ‘Siege of *Metz*: And when that Siege was ended, and you were returned home, ‘being deſired by me, in a Letter to acquaint me with the Truth of theſe things, ‘and to let me know how you were affected towards me, you proudly replied, That *you well remembred what you had ſpoken of me or others, and would not deny it*; and as to your Affections, your Anſwer was ſuch, as I could not certainly tell what you meant. And after that, writing to me from *Heidelberg*, ‘and diſſembling my former Enquiry, you ſuggeſted ſome things concerning ‘ſome of the Nobility, which I ſuppoſe was done that you might bring me to ‘ſuſpect and diſtruſt them: But on the other ſide, I took no great notice of theſe ‘things, but adviſed and perſwaded you not to break the Peace, and deſired ‘you to let me know what I muſt expect from you. But then, in your Letters

'ters to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, though you ſpoke with ſome Moderation of 1553.
'me, yet where you mentioned the Pacification of *Paſſaw*, you did not obſcurely
'hint how you ſtood affected to me; and within a ſhort time after, you more
'plainly declared your Mind; for in ſome of your latter Letters, you deſired I
'would recal thoſe Forces, which I had in *Franconia*, in the Service of my Allies,
'or otherwiſe, you ſhould have juſt cauſe of a War againſt me. And after this,
'you paſſed through mine, and my Brother's Territories, when you had not
'before acquainted us with it, which is directly contrary to the ancient and
'received Cuſtom of *Germany*. You pretend indeed, that you did me no Inju-
'ry in this Paſſage, but I have received other accounts from my Subjects; and
'yet if this were true, I ſhould not attribute it ſo much to your good Diſpoſiti-
'on towards me, as to the neceſſity of your Affairs. It is well known how
'faſt you Marched, and how weary your Soldiers were: nor were you igno-
'rant how eaſy it was for me, in caſe you had uſed any Force againſt my Coun-
'try, to reſiſt it, conſidering the wearineſs and weakneſs of your Men, and
'the nearneſs of my Forces, which were then in *Franconia*, and might in a
'ſhort time have been recalled; no, your Intentions were, to fall upon me in
'your Return, nor did your Soldiers diſſemble it. And in your March through
'*Thuringe*, you Plundered ſome Villages belonging to *Erfurdt*, which City is
'under our Protection, and this you could not deny in your Letters to me from
'*Brunſwick*. And in your March through my Brothers Territories, your Sol-
'diers ſlew ſome of his Subjects, near *Bickling*; and beat and took Priſon-
'ers two Gentlemen, who appealed to me.

'Yet all theſe Injuries could not provoke me to take Arms againſt you, but
'I rather choſe to write to you, and to exhort you to Peace, which was then to
'be Treated of at *Franckfurt* by Mediators, deſiring alſo, you would inform
'me, how you ſtood affected towards me, and my Allies. But then how In-
'juriouſly and Paſſionately you replied, may be ſeen by your Letter; for you
'would neither diſcover your Intentions as to the one; and as to the other, you
'pretended to ſuſpect the Treaty of *Franckfurt*, ſo that all that I could gather
'from that Letter, was, that you were reſolved to proſecute the War in *Fran-
'conia*, and that I and my Allies were to expect no great Favour from you, as
'occaſion ſerved, which appeared more clearly in the Treatment thoſe of *Er-
'furt* and others received from you. For you levied great Sums of Money on
'the Biſhoprick of *Halberſtad*, and over, and beſides, you plundered their Col-
'leges in the open Country, and damnified them otherwiſe, though you
'knew that *Dioceſs* was put under my Protection by the Emperor. You did
'the ſame by the *Archbiſhoprick of Magdeburg*, and you extorted Money alſo
'from the Cities of *Northauſen*, and *Mulhauſen*, which are under my Protecti-
'on. You Proſecuted alſo *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* with Fire and Sword, ſo
'ſoon as ever you knew there was a League between him and me, though it
'was very juſt and agreeable to the Treaty of *Paſſaw*, and after the ſame man-
'ner have you Treated all my other Allies; which actions are very contrary to
'the Tenor of your late Letters.

'Now therefore, tho' King *Ferdinand*, I, and my Allies do earneſtly deſire
'to preſerve the Peace of *Germany*, and ever ſince the Treaty of *Paſſaw* have
'made it our greateſt Care to keep the Empire in Tranquillity, and eſpecial-
'ly this Part of it, which many of the Nobility of *Brunſwick*, who are now
'in your Camp, can teſtifie: yet ſeeing you have brought the War into theſe
'Parts, and by your Invading, my Allies have not obſcurely diſcovered your
'Intentions toward me, and foraſmuch, as there is a common Fame, that you
'are raiſing greater Forces under hand, and in anothers Name, which you
'can never maintain, except you ſuffer them to Rob, Spoil, and commit all
'manner of Injuſtice, ſo that not only *Franconia*, but the reſt of the Neighbour
'Provinces are in danger of being ruin'd by you, which you have not been able
'to diſſemble neither, but have given out Words, that *your Condition ſhould not
'be inferiour to that of others*; for theſe Cauſes I ſay, and for that you have left
'us no other way open of preſerving the Peace, King *Ferdinand*, I, and my
'Allies being near Neighbours to the Danger, are reſolved to take up Arms
'for our defence, to the Intent, we may repel your Force, and unjuſt Violence
'offered to us, defend our Country, and reſtore the publick Peace. For this is
'not only allowed, but commanded by the Laws of *Germany*; and we are alſo
'enjoyned by the Supream Authority of the Imperial Chamber, to aſſiſt and

1553. 'defend our Neighbours in *Franconia*. And although now you are Levying 'Forces, you pretend to do it in the Name of the Emperor, and give out, that 'you have his Order for it, yet we are certain, this is a meer empty Pretence: 'for the Emperor has not discovered his Mind to you only, but to us and others 'also; and in a short time, you shall have a further Account of it. And where-'as our Enterprise tends to the Publick Good, and therefore we were not strict-'ly obliged to make any Previous *Declaration* of our Intentions, yet lest you 'should pretend Ignorance, we have thought fit to let you know, that we are 'resolved to put a stop to your Lawless and Tyrannical Cruelty, as the necessi-'ty of Affairs requires we should: and we, And our Allies do further declare 'to you and yours, that you ought to be responsable for all the Calamities 'which shall ensue in this War, you having refused to submit to any just 'and equal Conditions of Peace. And we do not doubt but that Almighty God 'will rather assist us, who seek nothing but the Preservation of our Country, 'than you, who have committed great Injuries in, and began an unjust War 'against it.

Albert's Answer. When this *Declaration* was delivered to *Albert*, the Ambassadors of the Elector of *Brandenburg* were in his Camp, who were come to perswade him to a Peace. And he having read it, called his Commanders together, and asked them if they would try their Fortunes with him, which they promised him they would; and thereupon he called the young Gentleman, who brought him the Letter, and speaking to him said; *Your Prince has already thrice broke his Faith with me, and done ill by me, and this is his fourth Action of the same Nature: Let him come, and I will try what he can do; and this tell him from me.* And thereupon, having according to the Custom given him some Crowns, he sent him away. Whereupon the Ambassadors, who were come to Mediate a Peace, addressed themselves to him, and said, What, *then Sir, shall we do nothing? No,* (said he) *you may go Home.*

But having a little more closely reflected on the Consequences of the War, the third of *July*, he sent *Erick* of *Brunswick* to the Emperor to inform him, 'That by the Cunning of some Men, many Enemies were stirred up against 'him, to the End, that not only the Pacts that had been made with him, might 'not be performed; but also that he might be driven out of his Country, and 'deprived of his Possessions, that there was no doubt, but if Fortune favoured 'their Designs, they would soon declare for the *French* Interest. For in truth, '*France* had invited them with the Proffer of great Advantages, to enter into 'a new Conspiracy, as he could prove. And that some of the *Electors* and 'great Princes had already conspired to set up a new Emperor: That the Im-'perial Chamber was the only Promoter of the Designs of the two Bishops a-'gainst him, and therefore he desired the Emperor, his Majesty would not take 'it ill, that he had been compelled to make use of Force against them. *He fur-'ther insisted*, That his Enemies, in order to excite the publick Envy against 'him, had spread abroad a Report, as if he had Combined with the Emperor, 'to oppress the Liberty of *Germany*; and that some of the Princes had object-'ed this to him; and he said, there were Letters to the same purpose spread a-'bout *Germany*, which were pretended to be written from *Arras*, that he Le-'vied Forces to assist the Emperor in this Design. For that the Emperor intend-'ed to send his Son, the Prince of *Spain*, and the Duke *De Alva* to the next 'Diet, that he might there be declared, Successor of the Empire: That King '*Ferdinand* was so fully perswaded of the Truth of this, that he had entred in-'to a League with his Enemies; and has (saith he) declared a War against 'me: he said he had excused this very carefully, and to many, but yet the su-'spition got strength every Day, and that in truth, all the Dangers and Diffi-'culties to which he was exposed, arose from no other cause, than his adher-'ing to the Emperor. Therefore he did most humbly supplicate his Majesty 'to confirm his Treaty with the Bishops, and to undertake the Protection of 'him and his; in Consideration of which, he promised he would bring nine 'Thousand Horse, and one Hundred Foot Companies into the Emperors Ser-'vice, when-ever his Majesty should require them.

Albert's Territories Invaded. In the mean time, the Forces of the City of *Norimberg*, and the two Bishops in the Absence of *Albert* invaded his Territories. 'Whereupon he 'put out a Declaration against the City of *Norimberg*, accusing them of 'breaking their Faith and Promises to him, and insinuating, that by joyning in

'a League

'a League with thoſe two Perfidious Biſhops,(as he called them)they ſeem'd well 1553.
'diſpoſed to re-imbrace the Roman-Catholick Religion. They on the other ſide Printed and Publiſhed an Anſwer ſoon after, relating all things in the order they had happened, and beginning with the Actions of the former Year, they ſhew how cruel a War he had begun, what Pacts they had made with him, how with the Conſent of the Emperor they had entred into a League with their Neighbour Biſhops. How *Albert* had rejected the moſt equal Terms the Biſhops had offered to him, and had nevertheleſs begun a War upon them, how he had lately again Invaded the Territories belonging to this City,only becauſe, purſuant to their League, and in obedience to the Commands of the *Imperial Chamber*, they had ſent Succours to their Allies. Amongſt other ill things which they charged him with, they mention this as an Inſtance of Cruelty, which had never been practiſed by any Man before him, That when he had made himſelf Maſter of *Altorfe* and *Lawffe*, two Towns in their Territories, he ſhut up in them, not only the Inhabitants of theſe Towns, but a great number of Men, which he had brought together out of the Neighbouring Country, together with their Cattel, and then had Fired the ſaid Towns in many places, at the ſame time, and eſpecially at the Gates, deſigning apparently to burn all theſe People with the Towns, and that in this Fire, many Women and Children, and Aged and Sick Perſons, who could not make their way either through, or over the City Walls, were miſerably burnt to Death. And as to what he alledged, concerning their changing their Religion, they ſhew that Pretence was vain; for that the League was only entred to the Intent, to preſerve themſelves and theirs from unjuſt Force: And as for *Albert*, they ſaid it was well known, how little he regarded any Religion, as they could ſhew by many Inſtances,which they would certainly have inſerted here,but out of Reverence to the noble Houſe, of which he was deſcended, and ſome other Princes that were his near Relations, they would forbear doing it.

Sigiſmond King of *Poland*.

The fifth day of *July*, *Sigiſmond*, King of *Poland* Married *Catherine*, one of the Daughters of *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, which Lady had before been the Wife of the Duke of *Mantoua*, *Sigismond* had before this in the Year 1535, Married *Elizabeth*, another of the Daughters of *Ferdinand*, and Siſter of *Catherine*, as I have related above, in the fifteenth Book of this Hiſtory.

Edward VI. Dies.

Edward the ſixth, King of *England*, a Prince of great and unqueſtioned Vertue and Hope, died the ſixth day of *July*, as was commonly given out, of a Conſumption, being about ſixteen years of Age; to the great Grief of all Pious Men. There followed in *England* after his Death, great Changes, as I ſhall relate hereafter. There was ſoon after, a report ſpread abroad, that he was Poyſoned.

However it is certain, *Europe* has not in many Ages produced a Prince of ſo great Expectation. From his Infancy he was well inſtructed in Religion, and Literature, and he did not only underſtand the *Latin*, but the *Greek* and *French* Tongues, and very much loved the Reformed Religion; he alſo Entertained and Protected the Learned Men of *Germany*, *Italy*, *France*, *Scotland*, *Spain*, and *Poland*.

A Battel in which *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony* is Slain.

Albert having paſſed the *Weſer*, and the two Armies lying near together in *Saxony*, the ninth day of *July*, in the Afternoon, they Engaged, and after a ſharp Fight, *Maurice*, who was ſtrongeſt in Horſe, gained the Victory; but then being ſhot through the Belly with a Dagg, he died two days after of the Wound. *Albert* however, eſcaped to *Hanover* without any Hurt. There was about four Thouſand ſlain, the greateſt part of which were Horſemen, but then the number of the Priſoners was very great. *Henry* Duke of *Bunſwick* loſt *Charles* and *Philip*, two of his Sons, in this Battel. The day after the Fight, five Hundred *Bohemian* Horſe, which were ſent by *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, came into the Camp. The *Lantgrave* of *Haſſia* had alſo ſent to *Maurice* his Aſſiſtance, about ſeven Hundred Horſe. Thus by a wonderful Change of Affairs, the *Lantgrave*, *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and the Biſhops, ſent their Forces to *Maurice*: And *Erick* of *Brunſwick*, who had Married the Siſter of *Maurice*, ſent his to *Albert*. It was alſo the Opinion of many, that as *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, openly eſpouſed the Intereſt of *Maurice*, and ſent his Forces againſt *Albert*, ſo the Emperor under-hand encouraged *Albert*, and encreaſed his Numbers, but then the Letter which the Emperor wrote afterwards (which I ſhall give the Reader in due time) takes no notice of this. It is alſo reported, that the

1553.. the King of *France* had then entered into ſome new deſigns with *Maurice*, and that he was very much afflicted for his Death.

Maurice Duke of *Saxony* dies.

Maurice being carried into his Tent, ſent that Night, a Letter to the Biſhop of *Wurtzburg*, one of his Allies: and in it deſired him to ſhut up the Paſſages, and endeavour to take *Albert* in his Flight, or at leaſt to intercept his Retreat that way. He ſaid, whatever the event of his Preſent Condition were, he enjoyed the comfort of a good Conſcience; for he had entered into this War for no other ends, but to repel that Deſtroyer, and to reſtore the Peace of *Germany*; he died in the three and Thirtieth Year of his Age, and was buried the fourteenth day after the Fight, at *Fridberg*, a Town of *Miſnia*, by *Henry* his Father, and *Albert*, an Infant of his own. His Preſence is thought to have contributed very much to the Victory, many of his own Horſe having fled in the Fight, and that nothing elſe deprived *Albert* of it. There were fifty Foot, and fourteen Horſe Colours taken from the Enemy in this Battel, and preſented to *Maurice* that Evening. Thus *Maurice*, Duke of *Saxony* loſt his Life, but then he very much weakened the Forces of *Albert*, he never afterbeing able to bring a conſiderable Army into the Field.

Prodigies which ſeemed to foretel his Death.

When the Body of *Maurice* was carried through *Leypſick* to be Buried, *Joachimus Camerarius* made a Funeral Oration in Commendation of him; enumerating alſo the Prodigies which preceded his Death, obſerving, that drops of Blood were found upon the Leaves of ſome Trees, that the Dogs howled more than was uſual, and that ſome Dogs had torn others, the neighing of Horſes, the claſhing of Armour, and many other ſuch noiſes, which were very dreadful: That his Tent was blown down by a Whirlwind, when none of the reſt were: And laſtly, ſome ominous Words which fell from the Duke, and ſeemed to preſage his Death. And in truth, as to what concerns the drops of Blood, they were obſerved in many Places; (and amongſt the reſt, at *Strasburg*) to be found frequently in the beginning of *July* fallen upon Herbs, the Leaves of Trees, Stones, and the Tiles of Houſes. There was then a vaſt flight of Butterflies, and there were ſome that were of Opinion, that theſe drops of Blood proceeded from them, but then, others thought they were Preſages of ſomething that was to happen. *Maurice* and *Albert* being Princes of an equal Degree and Honour, had till then, lived in the greateſt Friendſhip and Conjunction. They had ſerved the Emperor together, in the *French*, *Smalcaldick*, and *Magdeburgian* Wars. And they were in the beginning of this fourth War, united againſt the Emperor: But ſome differences ariſing between them, as I have ſaid elſewhere, their Friendſhip ended in this dreadful manner. When *Maurice* died, *Auguſtus* his Brother, was with his Wife in *Denmark*, with his Father-in-Law, the King, and therefore the Nobility, and States of *Saxony*, retained with them a part of the Army for the ſecurity of the Province, that is, about twelve Companies of Foot, and five Troops of Horſe, the reſt were diſmiſſed, and for the moſt part, after the Funeral returned Home.

The eighteenth of *July*, *Albert* ſent a Letter to the Subjects of *Maurice*, wherein he inſinuated, that when he paſſed through their Country, into *Saxony*, he did not commit the leaſt act of Hoſtility; becauſe he had not any anger againſt them: That on the contrary, *Maurice* had not only injured his Subjects, but that he might gratifie ſome wicked and perfidious Biſhops, had without cauſe or example broke the ancient League, which had been ſo long between the Houſes of *Brandenburg* and *Saxony*, and made a War upon him: And therefore ſeeing they had aſſiſted their Prince contrary to the Commands of the Emperor, who had ſigned his Treaty with the Biſhops, he was now to conſider how he might retrieve his Loſs, and recover his Damages, and to that end, he in his turn did now renounce all thoſe terms of Friendſhip, which till then, had been between him and them.

Heſdin taken.

The Emperor's Army having taken and deſtroyed *Terovanne*, marched from thence to *Artois*, and took the Caſtle of *Heſdin* in the Month of *July* by Storm. In this Action *Horatius*, a Son-in-Law of the King of *France* was ſlain, and many of the Nobility of *France* were taken Priſoners, and amongſt them, *Marchiane*, one of the Marſhals of *France*, and an Inhabitant of the Forreſt of *Ardenne*.

The Emperor's Advice to the Princes of *Germany*.

The account of the Battel of *Saxony* was brought in a very few days to the Emperor; who the Twenty ſecond of *July* anſwered *Erick* of *Brunſwick*, who had been ſent to him by *Albert*, as I have above related; That he was very ſorry the differences had been carried ſo far, that he had much wiſhed the Quarrel might

might have been compos'd, and that he feared if it were not here ended, it would have ill effects upon the Empire, and especially upon *Albert*; considering the great number of the Princes of great Note which were leagued against him, & concerned in it. That therefore it was his Desire and Command that they should lay down their Arms, and consider of the Means of procuring a Peace: That if *Albert* were so content, he would take care to perswade those of the other Party to acquiesce in this his Opinion: He desired very earnestly that *Albert* would not deny him this, because otherwise in the present state of Affairs, he (the Emperor) could not make use of *Albert's* Service, without increasing the suspition which was then in *Germany*: That this would be a very great affliction to him who desired nothing more than the Peace and Tranquillity of the Empire. 1553.

In the beginning of *August*, *Augustus* the Brother of *Maurice*, returned out of *Denmark*; a few days after, having consulted with his Council, he caused his Subjects, and amongst them, those of *Wirtemberg*, to take an Oath of Allegiance to himself and his Heirs-Male, and that if he had no Male-Issue, that then they should return under the Subjection of *John Frederick* and his Sons, if he were obedient to the Emperor, and observ'd the Treaties made some years since: but if he did otherwise, then they were to admit the *Landgrave*. This being thus done, he was proclaimed *Electoral Prince*, and summoned a Diet of his States to meet the Twentieth of *August*. The Seventeenth Day of *August* there was a very great Earthquake at *Meissen* in *Misnia*. *Augustus* Brother of *Maurice*, succeeds.

At the Day appointed the States assembled, and a numerous Diet was opened at *Leypsick*; *Augustus* proposed to their consideration in the first place, Whether they would enter into his late Brother's League with King *Ferdinand*, the Princes and Bishops, and prosecute the War against *Albert*. Secondly, What should be done in order to a Peace with *John Frederick*, the late Elector; because in the absence of *Augustus*, that Prince had sent Ambassadors to the Great Men, and demanded to be restored to the Electoral Dignity, and to his Possessions which had been taken from him by the Emperor, and conferred upon *Maurice*? The Diet of *Saxony*.

After Deliberation, the States gave Answer, That they were of Opinion, that he should make a Peace with both Parties, and that *Albert* the Elector of *Brandenburg* should be induced to enter into a Treaty of Peace, and to that purpose there passed an Act of State, though *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*, very diligently sollicited them by *Henry Plaw* his Chancellor, to continue in the late League. To this Convention *John Frederick* sent another Ambassy, and demanded to be restored to his Inheritance, with some sharpness of Words; and it was seconded also by those which were his Subjects, in this Assembly; but it had no effect, *Augustus* pretending, that he was not obliged to a Restitution and adhering to the Articles and Agreements made by *John Frederick* with the Emperor when he was taken Prisoner; yet he said, he would consent to a Continuance of the Claim, and not reject all Treaty thereupon. During this Convention of the States, *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick* desired the Aid of *Augustus* Duke of *Saxony* against *Albert*, who was then levying new Forces.

So soon as ever *John Frederick* heard of the Death of *Maurice*, he sent *John William*, one of his Sons, to the Emperor, into the *Low Countries*, to sollicite his Restitution; and almost at the same time the Nobility and States, in the absence of *Augustus*, sent Ambassadors to recommend him to the Emperor. *John Frederick* at the same time also sent Ambassadors to *Ferdinand*, and to the King of *Denmark* about the same Affair. In the mean time, the Bishop of *Wurtzburg* besieged *Schweinfurt*, which had been Garrison'd by *Albert*, as I have said above, and the Forces of the Bishop of *Bamberg*, and of the City of *Norimberg*, when they had sometime besieged *Collebach*, levied the Siege, and joyned with the Count of *Plaw*, who then lay before *Hofie*, a Town belonging to the Elector of *Brandenburg*.

In this Month Nine Persons were condemned to be burnt at *Lyons*; some of them having been imprison'd above a year. There were Questions proposed to them one by one, concerning the Presence of Christ's Body in the *Eucharist*, Purgatory, the Mass, Auricular Confession, the Ceremonies of the Church, Invocation of the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints, the Primacy of the Pope of *Rome*, Free-Will, Justification by Works, concerning the Church, the Power of the Bishops, the Monastick Vows, the Choice of Meats, Extream Unction, Confirmation Nine Persons burnt at *Lyons* in *France*.

1553. firmation and Images. They all of them ſeverally made the ſame Anſwers to every one of theſe Queſtions with great conſtancy; alledging for what they ſaid, the Teſtimony of the Scriptures. Whilſt they were yet in Priſon, they comforted one another by their Letters, and they ſent others to their Friends, and to the Neighbour-Churches, wherein they gave an Account of what had happened. One of theſe Priſoners, *Lewis Marſac*, a Souldier, reciting ſeveral Paſſages out of the Sacred Scriptures, the *Inquiſitors* who examin'd him, asked him if it were fit for him to read the Scriptures, and how he knew theſe things were in the Goſpels? The King's Lieutenant alſo ſaid there 'were only two Evangeliſts, *Matthew* and *John*, the other two and *Paul* pick'd up 'a few Scraps or ends of the Story, and patch'd them together: He ſaid alſo, 'That if the Doctors of the Church had not given Authority to the Writings 'of St. *Paul*, he ſhould not have regarded his Epiſtles more than he did *Æſop*'s 'Fables. When on the other ſide, *Marſac* replied, That 'there were very excel-'lent Teſtimonies in the Scriptures concerning the Vocation and Apoſtleſhip of 'St. *Paul*, eſpecially in the 1ſt. Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*: He replied, 'That is nothing to the purpoſe; for he bears witneſs to himſelf. The Executio-ner had order to put an halter about the Neck of each of the Priſoners when they were carried to Execution; but *Marſac* having ſerved the Crown as a Souldier, the Judges had ordered he ſhould be led without that Mark of Diſgrace: But *Marſac* turning to the principal Judge, ſaid, 'Is their Cauſe better than mine? 'I Pray Sir, why do you not beſtow the ſame Chain upon me? Why ſhould 'not I too be admitted into the Fellowſhip of this Noble and Illuſtrious Order 'of Knights? Alluding to the Cuſtom uſed by Princes, who to honour and exalt their particular Friends, admit them into their Order (as they call it) and give them a Chain or Collar of Gold, as an honourable Badge of it. Five of theſe, who were *Frenchmen*, had been Students in the Univerſity of *Lauſanne*, where they had been maintained by the Canton of *Bern*, in which that City ſtands; and when they heard theſe Students were taken up, and in great danger, the Canton ſent a Memorial to the King, and deſired theſe Students might be returned to them: But the King diſappointed them in this, pretending, that by Law he could not do ſo. It is thought the Cardinal of *Tournon* blew the Coles in this Affair.

Engliſh Affairs. We have already ſpoken of the Death of that Illuſtrious Prince *Edward* the Sixth King of *England*. He had before been conſumptive, and in the beginning of *January* he fell ſick. His Diſeaſe increaſing, he became very ſollicitous for his Kingdom and the State of Religion, and began to conſult his more intimate Friends, *Who was the fitteſt Perſon to ſucceed him?* For though his Father had by his laſt Teſtament made *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, his two Siſters, his Heirs, as we have above related; yet becauſe now he was come to ſomewhat a more advanced Age, he thought it belonged to him to appoint his Succeſſor, and the rather, becauſe there was a general and common Diſpute concerning their Legitimacy, and *Mary* did alſo profeſs the *Roman Catholick Religion*; and if ſhe ſhould ſucceed, he had reaſon to fear the Religion which was then eſtabliſhed would be ſubverted, and the Nation be endangered to be brought under the Dominion of a Foreigner: He reſolved therefore after great deliberation to chuſe *Jane*, Ducheſs of *Suffolk*, Grand-child to *Mary*, the younger Siſter of *Henry* the *8th*, for his Succeſſor. This Reſolution being approved by his Council and Nobility, and the Mayor of *London*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Primate of all *England*, was ſent for to Court to ſign it: But he refuſed to do it till he had ſpoken with the King; being accordingly admitted into the King's Chamber, and having with great freedom diſcourſed this Buſineſs with him, at laſt he conſented upon the King's extream importunity. The King died (as I have ſaid) the 6th. of *July*, and the fourth Day after *Jane* was proclaimed Queen of *England*; and the Inſtrument was read at the ſame time; reciting how King *Edward*, for great and weighty Cauſes, had, with the Conſent of his Peers, diſinherited *Mary* and *Elizabeth* his Siſters, and tranſmitted the Succeſſion of the Kingdom to *Jane* his Couſin. The Nobility and People of *England* were much diſpleaſed with this, not ſo much out of affection to the Princeſs *Mary*, as out of hatred to the Duke of *Northumberland*; there being very few or none who did not look upon him as the Author of this Project, that he might bring the Crown into his own Family.

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe things were thus in agitation, the Princeſs *Mary* fled to the Caſtle of *Framingham* in † *Suffolk*, and aſſuming the Authority of a Queen, implored the aſſiſtance of her Subjects. This being known at *London*, *Northumberland* levied Forces, and with the conſent of the Council, marched out of the City with an Army to take the Queen: But in the Interim, that part of the Council which continued in *London*, ſeeing the diſſatisfaction of the People, and that great Forces came in to the Aſſiſtance of the Queen in *Suffolk*, they thereupon changed their Minds, and proclaimed *Mary* Queen, and detained *Jane* a Priſoner in the Tower. Aſſoon as the News of this change came to the Camp; the Army, which neither willingly embraced the Cauſe, nor loved the General, revolted alſo, and upon the Receipt of a Letter to that purpoſe, ſeized the Duke of *Northumberland* at *Cambridge*, and brought him the 25th. day of *July* a Priſoner into *London*. It is incredible with what Reproaches the People entertain'd him: Some call'd him *Traytor*, others *Parricide*, and others, *the Murtherer of a moſt innocent Prince.* For his attempting to ſet his Daughter-in-Law upon the Throne, had cauſed a mighty Jealouſie, that he had a long time been forming this Project, and in concluſion, had haſted the King's Death. Afterwards his Children and his Brother were taken into Cuſtody, and ſome other Noblemen, and Sir *John Cheek*, the King's Tutor, a Perſon of great Learning and Virtue; but this laſt was ſoon after diſmiſſed, when they had ſtripp'd him of almoſt all he had. 1553. † *Sleidan* has *Norfolk.*

The Third of *Auguſt*, Queen *Mary* entred *London*, and going to the Tower, ſhe immediately releaſed the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been almoſt ſeven years a Priſoner there; *Tonſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and ſome others, who being of the *Roman Catholick Religion*, had been removed from their Sees; whom ſhe alſo reſtored to their Places again. And as for *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, though he had in a Printed Book defended the Divorce made by *Henry* the Eighth, of *Catherine*, the Mother of Queen *Mary*, as I have ſet forth in the Ninth Book of this Hiſtory; yet ſhe notwithſtanding made him *Lord Chancellor* of *England*, which is an Office of the greateſt Dignity and Power in that Kingdom. When Queen *Catherine* urged in her Defence the Bull of Pope *Julius* the Second, in Approbation of her Marriage, the King on the other ſide, ſaid it was invalid, and ſent *Gardiner*, who was not then advanced to the Dignity of a Biſhop, to Pope *Clement*, to procure that Bull to be by him declared void. He coming to *Rome* in *February*, in the Year 1529. earneſtly preſſed his Errand on the Pope. *Clement*, according to the Proverb, had then *got a Wolf by the Ears*, and though he was very deſirous to pleaſe the King, yet fearing to offend the Emperor, he only ſaid he would write to the Emperor to produce the true Bull. *Gardiner* conſented to this, but deſired it might be done in two Months; and when that time was elapſed, that if the Bull were not then produced, it might be declared falſe. The Pope thought this way of Proceeding was contrary to the Cuſtom, and unjuſt, and endeavoured to appeaſe and quiet the King by good words: But *Gardiner* ſaid on the other ſide, that if what the King deſired, were not done, it would bring great Miſchief on the See of *Rome*. The Emperor and *Ferdinand* his Brother, the 27th. of *April*, by their Ambaſſadors expreſs'd their diſcontent at this, and expoſtulated with the Pope, as too much inclin'd to favour the King, and for that he had permitted the Caſe to be heard in *England*; and at the ſame time they appointed Proctors to proſecute the Suit in their Names at *Rome*, with large Commiſſions and Inſtruction. Thereupon the Pope commanded Cardinal *Campeio* to return back to *Rome*; to which he was induced by a Letter which he had received from *Wolſey* Archbiſhop of *York*, wherein he had given the Pope an Accouut of a new Love the King had entertained, as I have ſet forth in the ſaid Eleventh Book. Queen *Mary* entreth *London.* The Story of *Gardiner.*

The Twenty ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, having before been tried, and found guilty of High Treaſon, and received Sentence of Death, was brought upon a Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he made a Speech to the People, and amongſt other things, exhorted them, That *they ſhould continue ſtedfaſt in that Religion which they had received from their Anceſtors*; affirming, *that he thought all the Calamities which had befallen the* Engliſh, *eſpecially ſince the Death of* Henry *the 8th, proceeded from nothing but their having ſeparated themſelves from the reſt of Chriſtendom.* He had for ſome years before pretended to be of a contrary Opinion, and had openly renounced the *Roman Catholick* Religion; and it was *Northumberland* beheaded.

1553. ſaid he had been prevailed upon to diſcourſe thus, upon Promiſes of a Pardon. And although he ended his Speech with a Proteſtation, that what he had ſaid, came from his heart, yet ſome thought he repented it, when he had look'd about him, and ſaw there was no refuge to be expected, and that he had been impos'd upon by flattering Promiſes. Sir *Thomas Palmer* Knight, who was beheaded at the ſame time, profeſſed the *Proteſtant Religion* with great conſtancy. *Northumberland* was (as I have ſaid) convicted of Treaſon and Rebellion; and altho, there were great Suſpicions that he had poyſon'd the late King, yet this, at his Trial, was never, or very little at moſt, urged againſt him; and in the Sentence or Judgment pronounced againſt him, it was never mentioned.

Peter Martyr. We have ſaid above how *Peter Martyr* the *Florentine*, about ſix years ſince was ſent for into *England* by the late King *Edward*, and upon his Arrival, made Profeſſor of Divinity at *Oxford*. He was much honoured and eſteemed, both for his ſignal Virtue and Learning; but then there were others who did no leſs envy and hate him. Upon the Death of the King, he was commanded not to depart, or carry away what he had, without the leave of the Magiſtrates, and ſeverely threatned if he did any thing to the contrary; he readily obeyed this Order at firſt; but when he perceived Delays were made uſe of, he wrote to the Council, and acquainted them with the Condition he was in, and deſired, that if any thing were laid to his Charge, he and his Accuſers might be heard face to face before the Council. When, by this means, he had obtain'd their leave to be gone, he went to *London*: There he found the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, his good Patron and Friend, who, by the Preachers, was (at the inſtigation of the *Roman Catholick* Biſhops) repreſented as one that was unſteady; that the *Maſs* was reſtored at *Canterbury* by his Order; that he himſelf was to ſay *Maſs* at the King's Funeral, and that he had promiſed the Queen he would do ſo. And at the ſame time, there was a great noiſe of a Diſputation that was ſoon after to be. So ſoon as the Archbiſhop heard this, he put out a Paper to vindicate himſelf; wherein he confeſſeth, 'That a certain Prieſt, with-
One *Thornton* Suffragan at *Dover*.
'out his knowledge or conſent, had ſaid *Maſs* at *Canterbury*. The other Re-
'port, concerning the King's Funeral, he denied; adding, that if the Queen
'would grant him her Leave, he would prove, that the Communion-Service,
'and the Articles of Religion ſet out and eſtabliſhed by King *Edward*, con-
'cerning the Lord's Supper and ſeveral other things, were conſonant and agree-
'able to the Holy Scriptures: but on the contrary, the Papal Maſs was contra-
'ry to the Inſtitution of Chriſt. To the proof of which Aſſertion, he did
'not need the Aid and Aſſiſtance of many, but only deſired that *Peter Martyr*
† Four or five. 'and a few † others might be permitted to be his Companions and Seconds in
'this Affair. And whereas they of the Church of *Rome* made great Boaſts of
'the Antiquity of their Religion, and pretended it had ſtood above Fifteen
'Hundred years, he ſaid, they could never prove this; but he undertook to
'ſhew that the Religion which was ſetled here under *Edward* the Sixth, and
'which was yet the eſtabliſhed Religion of *England* was the genuine and truly ancient Religion which was delivered to us by Chriſt and his Apoſtles. This
† This *Manifeſto* is extant at large in Dr. *Burnet's* Hiſtory of the Reformation.
† *Manifeſto* being by him made publick at *London* about the Fifth Day of *September*, *Peter Martyr* came about the ſame time from *Oxford* to him, and being by the Archbiſhop acquainted with this Paper, he commended it, and ſaid he would not decline any labour or danger that could befal him in the defence of it. Whilſt they were expecting a Diſputation, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, and ſome others, were for their Religion, and for ſome Sermons they were ſaid to have Preached againſt the
The Biſhop impriſoned.
Queen, by the Order of the Council, before ſhe was proclaimed Queen, ſent to the Tower, the Fourteenth of *September*. *Hugh Latimer* was alſo taken up, whom King *Edward* had delivered out of Priſon, his Father having confined him on the account of his Doctrine. In the mean time, though *Peter Martyr* ſaw clearly the danger he was in, yet having done nothing contrary to the Laws of *England*, he relied upon his Innocence, and would not depart without a Paſsport or publick Diſmiſſion. When therefore he had obtained this, Signed by the Queens own Hand, he arrived firſt at *Antwerp*, and from thence went to *Cologne*, and ſo to *Strasburg*; from which place he went when he was ſent for into *England*, and here he found *Bernard Ochin*, who was come thither not long before him.

It

It was reported in *Germany*, that the Emperor had adviſed Queen *Mary*, his Couſin, that ſhe ſhould govern her People with great Clemency, and not change the Religion ſhe found ſetled, nor marry a Stranger, he himſelf having learn'd by ſad experience the great dangers which attended a Change in Religion. Whether this were ſo or not, I cannot affirm; but the Event ſeems to prove the contrary; for ſhe having commanded all the Proteſtants which were Foreigners, to depart the Kingdom, and impriſoned many of the Natives, quickly reſetled the *Roman Catholick Religion*, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter: the firſt of *October* the Queen was Crowned, and the Tenth of the ſame Month a Parliament began. 1553. The Religion changed in *England.*

The Emperor had ſummoned a Diet to meet the Thirteenth of *Auguſt*, as I have ſaid in the beginning of this Book, which was firſt Prorogued to the Firſt of *October*, and afterwards to the Month of *January*. After the Battel in which *Maurice* of *Saxony* was ſlain, *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and *Albert* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, began each of them to recollect their ſcattered Forces, and to levy more; the Biſhops and *Norimbergers* ſupplied *Henry* with Money for that purpoſe: But then all men wondred from whence *Albert* had theſe Nerves of War: And there was a Report, that *Mary*, the Emperor's Siſter, furniſhed him with Treaſures; which was again denied by the *Imperialiſts*, and they pretended too to wonder that men ſhould be ſo ſilly to think ſo. But the Moneys coming in ſomewhat ſlowly to *Henry*, and this being known to *Albert*, he reduced him to great danger, by ſolliciting his Souldiers to a defection, who bore the delay of their Pay with great impatience; but the Tenth day of *September*, in the very moment of time when the Soldiery was in their Ferment, and juſt entring into a Mutiny, the Remedy came, and all that Tempeſt was quieted. And *Henry*, for the better ſupporting his Intereſt, made a Peace with *Erick* his Kinſman, who had till then ſerved under *Albert*, againſt him. The King of *Denmark* ſome time before this, had ſent Ambaſſadors into *Saxony*, to promote the Intereſts of *Auguſtus* his Son-in-Law, and they being aſſiſted by the Ambaſſadors of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, made a Reconciliation between *Albert* and *Auguſtus*. The Conditions were, That *Auguſtus* ſhould not proſecute the War begun by his late Brother, nor ſend Succors to the Enemies of *Albert*: And *Albert* promiſed the ſame for his part; and that if the neceſſity of the War enforced him to march his Forces near the Territories of *Auguſtus*, he would do him no dammage. *Auguſtus* was to take great care that none of his Souldiers when they were disbanded, ſhould enter the Service of *Albert's* Enemies; and laſtly, That the ancient League between the Houſes of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* ſhould be renewed aſſoon as could be. The next Day, which was the Twelfth of *September*, *Albert* marched his Army out of *Brunſwick*, and falling upon the Enemy, which was then near the City, he was beaten: *Henry* had greater numbers of Men, and in them about 20 Foot-Companies; but *Albert* had no Foot; yet he made ſo vigorous a Defence, that *Henry* found it a Bloody Victory. And *Albert* retreated again into *Brunſwick*. In the mean time, thoſe who were beſieged in *Hoffe*, were in great ſtreights, Count *Plaw* and his Allies having battered the Town extreamly with his Cannon; and *Albert* being beaten, ſo that no Relief being to be expected, the Place was ſurrendred, and *Plaw* took an Oath of Fidelity to himſelf and his Children, and left one Foot-Company and ſome Cannon, to keep it for him. *German* Affairs. *Albert* defeated again. *Hoffe* taken.

We already mentioned the *Turkiſh* Fleet, which coming this year into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, ſome *French* Ships from *Marſeilles*, joyned them, and they entred the Iſle of *Corſica*, belonging to the States of *Genoua*, and reduced all (but a few Towns) under them. We have alſo ſaid how the Emperor took *Heſdin*, which he demoliſhed in the ſame manner as he had *Terovanne*. *Corſica* taken By the *French* and *Turks*.

In the Interim the King of *France* was gathering an Army at *Amiens*, and expected the coming of the *Swiſs*, whom he had ſent for to aſſiſt him. The Emperor having ruin'd *Heſdin*, had ſome thoughts in the latter end of *Auguſt* to ſend his Army againſt *Dourlens*: But the Conſtable of *France* having had ſome notice of this Deſign, he ſuddenly brought a great Body of Horſe, and ſome Foot into the Field; and falling ſooner than was expected, upon the *Imperialiſts*, put them to flight, and ſlew and took Priſoners many of them. And when after this, in the beginning of *September*, ten Thouſand *Swiſs* were come up, the King coaſted the *Somme* (a River which runs by the City of *Amiens*) and went up to *Corbie*, and from thence ſent ſome Troops of Horſe towards *Bapaume*, The War in *France*.

1553. *Bapaume*, as if he deſigned to beſiege that Town. The ſeventh day of *September* he ſent an *Herald* to *Cambray*, to know how the Inhabitants ſtood affected to him. It is a great City, and a Biſhops See, and belonged anciently to the Empire. In all theſe Wars between the Emperor and *France*, it had hitherto ſtood Neuter, but at this time was more inclined to the Emperor's Intereſt. The King therefore ſent to them, that if they would ſtand to their Pacts, he would do ſo too, provided they opened their Gates to him, who was the Protector of the Empire, and were ready in all things to ſhew him the ſame reſpect they did to the Emperor. When the Governour of the City had communicated this Meſſage to the Emperor, he received this Anſwer; *That ſeeing the* French *had waſted their Territories by Plunder and Fire, they ſhould make uſe of Forces againſt them.* But before this Anſwer came from the Emperor, the *French* entred into acts of Hoſtility againſt the City, and after ſome Skirmiſhes for ſome days, beſieged the City, but finding that there was no advantage gained by it, the thirteenth of *September* he raiſed the Siege, and marched within two Miles of the Emperor's Camp, which lay then by *Valenchiennes*, a City of *Hainault* upon the *Schelde*, the next day he came nearer, and it was thought a Battel muſt have followed, but the Event was this, the King coming ſo near the Emperor's Camp, and loſing many of his Soldiers, the eighteenth of *September* drew off his Army, and marched away, waſting the Countries through which he paſſed. An account of this being given by both ſides, the *French* pretended the Imperialiſts had refuſed to Fight, which they denied; but the King of *France* however ſoon after returned home and diſmiſſed the *Swiſs*. In the ſame Month, the ſix Foot Companies, which as I have ſaid in the former Book, the Emperor put into *Ausburg* as a Garriſon, were disbanded alſo.

Cambray beſieged.

Several Princes of *Germany* meet.

About the ſame time the *Elector Palatine*, the Archbiſhop of *Metz*, and the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Wurtzburg*, met at *Hailbrun*, and the Ambaſſadors of the Elector of *Trier*, and of the Duke of *Cleave*; the Biſhop of *Paſſaw* was there alſo in the behalf of *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*. This Summer, there was a great and a raging Plague in *Paris*, and yet at the ſame time, many were burnt for *Lutheraniſm*. The King had a † Miſtreſs, who was now a Widdow, but had formerly been the Wife of a Gentleman, who had been Governor of *Normandy*. *Aumal* and *Marchian*, who, as I have ſaid above, were taken Priſoners, were her Sons-in-Law. And *Albert* demanded of *Aumal* a Hundred Thouſand Crowns, but that was more than he was able to Pay. There was at the ſame time, a ſtrong report that this Lady had ſo great an Intereſt in the Affections of the King, that ſhe obtained from him a grant of the Eſtates and Goods of thoſe who ſhould be Convicted of *Lutheraniſm*, that from the Sale thereof, ſhe might raiſe ſo much Money as would (without his Charge) redeem her two Sons-in-Law out of their Captivity. The cuſtom of *Franœ* being ſuch, that a condemned Perſon doth not only forfeit his Life, but his Eſtate alſo to the King. When therefore this Game was once ſtarted, it is ſaid, many were endangered by it. Whether this were ſo or no, I will not affirm; but however, nothing is more certain, than that the Blood of innocent Men has in *Francee* and other Places been ſhed, not only for the Pleaſure and Satisfaction of others, but alſo for their Profit and Enriching.

† The Ducheſs *de Valentois*.

Albert retires into *France*.

Albert, as I ſaid, fled from the unfortunate Battel which he had Fought, into the City of *Brunſwick*; but underſtanding ſoon after that *Henry* intended to beſiege that place, he ordered his ſcattered Forces to Rendezvous in *Thuringe*, and there to attend his coming to them, and ſending to his Kinſmen and Relations for Succours as ſoon as they came up, the fifth of *October* he marched with great Expedition, and preventing the Expectation of all Men, arrived at *Weimar*, where he was very kindly entertained by *John Frederick*, late Duke, and Elector of *Saxony*, with whom he ſtaid two nights to refreſh his weary Forces, and then went for *France*. The Count of *Plaw*, and his Confederates then lay before a Town of his called *Birut*, but hearing of his ſudden Arrival, they raiſed the Siege, and retired to *Bamberg*. *Albert* in the mean time going out with a ſmall Party of Horſe to ſee what they were doing at *Hoffe*, the eleventh day of *October*, found the Garriſon Soldiers careleſly diverting themſelves without the Gates, and ſuſpecting nothing: Taking this opportunity, and exhorting his Men to ſecond him in it, he immediately ſet upon them, and forced them to ſhift for their Lives. The Townſmen being overjoyed at the ſight of their Prince, took Arms at the ſame time alſo, and ſallied out ſo opportunely upon

upon the Garriſon, that they were almoſt all ſlain. He found there ſome great Cannon, and ſome Field-Pieces, but without any Carriages, becauſe the Enemy had carried all that there was in the Town of that Nature, to the Siege of *Birut*; leaving therefore a Foot Company to defend *Hoffe*, he went to *Blaſſeburg*, his Principal Caſtle. 1553.

When *Albert* was retired, *Henry* with his Army ſat down before the City of *Brunſwick*, and battered it very furiouſly with his Cannon; but the Biſhops and the *Norimbergers*, who maintained his Army, ſending for him, he demanded of the Inhabitants of *Brunſwick*, about fourſcore Thouſand Crowns, they denied this at firſt, but the Garriſon within the City refuſing to bear Arms any longer for their defence without Pay, forced them at laſt to promiſe Payment of it. And *Henry* having appointed his Soldiers the day when they ſhould receive their Pay, marched away, and paſſed through *Thuringe*. This being known to *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, who till then had not been reconciled to him, he left his Lady, who was then ſick at *Weimar*, and with his three Sons went to *Gothen* to that purpoſe. But *Henry* being then on his March, wrote a Letter to the Duke to this Effect. 'Though *(ſaid he)* 'I have had a juſt 'Provocation, and not been deſtitute of an Opportunity of late Years to 're-'venge the Injuries you have done me in former times; yet becauſe then you 'were the Emperor's Priſoner, I never attempted any thing againſt either your 'Children or Subjects, but committed my wrongs to the Determination and 'Judgment of the Laws. But you Sir, were ſo far from acknowledging your 'former Injuries that you have lately entertained, comforted, aided, and with 'your Council aſſiſted the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, the deſtroyer of *Germany*, 'and my particular Enemy; and although you did this very privately, yet I 'was well acquainted with it. If therefore my Army has in its March done 'any dammage in your Territories, you have no reaſon to complain, becauſe 'you began your ſelf. *Henry* had in truth reſolved to waſte the Territories of *Albert* and *Volrate*, Earls of *Mansfield*, upon the account of the War the laſt Year; but *Auguſtus* Duke of *Saxony* had interpoſed his Mediation at their Requeſt, and put an end to that difference; upon the receipt of this Letter, *John Frederick* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry*, and endeavoured to allay his anger, ſo that *Henry* came to *Weimar* with two Troops of Horſe, and two Foot Companies, and quartered the reſt of his Army in the neighbouring Country: And here he was met by *Minquice*, the Duke's Chancellor, and having entred into a Treaty with him, at length he diſpoſed him to terms of Amity. And whereas *Henry* had before demanded great Sums of Money, he perſwaded him to remit a great part of it, and after two days ſtay in that City without doing any dammage, he friendly and quietly marched away. *Brunſwick* Beſieged.

The eighteenth day of *October* there was a Conference or diſpute began in *London*, by the command of the Queen concerning *the Preſence of Chriſt* (as they call it) *in the Sacrament of the Altar*. It was continued ſix days, though not without ſome heats, and ill Language. One † *Weſton* a Roman-Catholick Divine, who was the principal Mannager of the Diſpute, behaving himſelf very Intemperately. What was the Iſſue of this Diſpute, we ſhall ſet forth together with the Laws which paſſed in this Seſſion of Parliament.

† He was Prolocutor of the lower Houſe of Convocation, and Dean of *Weſtminſter*; but the Diſpute began the twenty third of *October*, tho' it was propoſed the eighteenth in the Convocation.

About the end of *October*, one *Michael Servetus* a *Spaniard* was burnt at *Geneva*. He had many years ſince Printed ſeveral ſmall Books, in which amongſt other things, he had diſcourſed concerning the *Trinity*, contrary to the Senſe of the whole Church: And coming this year to *Geneva*, the Senate being informed of his being there, commanded him to be apprehended, and ordered *Calvin* (who had before written againſt his Doctrines) and the other Miniſters of their Church, that they ſhould enter into a Conference with him. There was a long, and a ſharp diſpute between them, *Servetus* without any Modeſty, often giving *Calvin* the Lye. In the Interim, the Senate being very deſirous to proceed with great deliberation in a thing of this weight, conſulted the Doctors of *Berne*, *Zurich*, *Baſil*, and *Schafhouſe*; who all ſaid, that theſe Doctrines were very Blaſphemous and Injurious to the Majeſty of God: But *Servetus* not only ſtood to his Opinion, but defended it with ill Language and Reproaches, and was thereupon ſentenced to Death. When he came to the place of Execution, *William Farel* exhorted him to call upon *Jeſus Chriſt* the Eternal Son of God, but he refuſed ſo to do, nor did he expreſs the leaſt ſign of Repentance, yet becauſe he did not defend his Doctrine before the People, it brought *Servetus* a *Spaniard* burnt.

1553. brought a very great Envy upon *Calvin*: whereupon he set forth a Book, wherein he gives an account of his Doctrine, and of whatever else had passed in this Affair, and teacheth that the Sword may be lawfully imployed against Hereticks.

Sturmius dies. The thirtieth of *October*, *James Sturmius*, a Man of great Prudence and Integrity, and on the account of his rare natural endowments and extraordinary Learning, esteemed the Glory of the *German* Nobility, died at *Strasburg*, having been for two Months afflicted by a Quartane Ague; he lived something above Sixty three Years.

Cardinal *Pool* detained in *Germany*. About this time *Reginald Pool*, one of the Cardinals, who was sent from *Rome* through *Germany* to the Emperor; when he was now arrived at *Dillingben*, a Town upon the *Danube*, in the Borders of the Palatinate, belonging to the Bishop of *Ausburg*, was ordered by the Emperor (who sent *James Mendoza* on that Errand to him) to stay there till the Emperor should give him leave to come to him.

The War against *Albert* Prosecuted. *Henry* of *Brunswick* left *Weimar*, and the seventh day of *November* arrived in the Camp of the Confederates, which was then at *Lichtefelse*, a Town in the Bishoprick of *Bamberg*; they had shut up in this Town nine Companies of Foot, which were put into it by *Albert*, which were the same that had before been at *Birute*, and the Count of *Plaw* had some time before sate down before the Place with his own, and the Forces belonging to the Confederates, to which those under the Duke of *Brunswick* being now added, and some Cannon being sent from *Norimberg* to batter the Town, the tenth day of *November* they yielded themselves at discretion: Some of the Captains being taken thereupon into Custody, the rest disarmed and sent home without Colours. This being done, they Marched to *Culembach*, a Town in the Territories of *Albert*, and with their Cannon furiously battered it; when therefore the Inhabitants saw they could not defend it, they removed their Goods into the Castle of *Blasseburg*, and having set Fire to their Houses, retreated thither themselves; upon this the Enemy rushing in, put some few they found in the Town, to the Sword, and putting out the Fire, took what was left. Count *Plaw* having thus taken *Lichteberg* a Castle, *Hoffe* and *Birute*, two small Towns and dismantled them, sate down before *Basseburg* the strongest place belonging to *Albert*, and then very well Garrison'd.

About this time the *French* suddenly marching out of *Piedmont*, surprized *Verceile*, a Town belonging to *Savoy*, and then in the Hands of the *Spaniards*: But then considering that by reason of its vicinity to the Dukedom of *Milan*, and being informed also that *Gonzaga* the Emperor's Lieutenant was marching towards them with his Forces, and that it would be very difficult to defend it, they Plundered the Place, and in good time marched away, laden with the Spoils of it.

Not long after this, an account was given from *Venice*, and other places, that *Solyman*, Emperor of the *Turks*, had caused *Mustapha* his eldest Son to be Strangled upon a suspition of Treason and Disloyalty towards him. The report was very strong, that a second Wife of *Solyman's* had put him upon this Murther, in order to the advancement of her own Son, which she desired might succeed his Father in the Empire.

English Affairs. I have already given an account of the Commitment of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; he and the Lady *Jane*, with three Sons of the Duke of *Northumberland* were brought to Tryal in the Month of *November* for Rebellion and Treason, and found Guilty: But according to the custom of that Kingdom, they were remanded to Prison, and upon the Intercession of some on their behalf, they were reprieved. *Sebastian Schertilingen*, whom I have often mentioned, upon whose Head and Life the Emperor had set a Price, as I have said in my twenty fourth Book, was about this time reconciled to the Emperor and *Ferdinand* his Brother, and recovered his Estate again. At the Sollicitation of the Bishops and their Confederates, the Judges of the Imperial Chamber in the usual form † Proscribed *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, the first of *December*, as a disturber of the publick Peace, and of the Empire, and sending their Letters to all Parts to be publickly affixed, exposed his Life and Fortunes to the will of any Man that would make a Prey of them.

† Outlawed.

In the Interim, *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick* having left Count *Plaw* to carry on the Siege of *Blasseburg*; he marched the sixth of *December* with his Forces to *Schueinfurt*.

Schweinfurt, which is a City of *Franconia*, ſeated upon the *Mayn*, which *Albert* then held with a ſtrong Garriſon. The Forerunners of *Henry*'s Army was a reinforcement of Soldiers, ſent from *Norimberg* and *Forcheim*: But *Albert* foreſeeing this Siege, had before-hand carried into the City whatever Victuals could be found in the Neighbourhood, and then had burnt down all Houſes near it, that he might make it impoſſible to carry on a Siege againſt it in that dead time of the Year. So not being able to effect any thing, and having alſo loſt ſome of his Men in a Sally, which *Albert* made out of the City, this General was ſoon forced to retire, and marching with a ſmall Retinue, he paſſed through the Territories of *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, without doing him any Dammage in his return Home. When *Albert* heard that he was † Proſcribed, he appealed to the Emperor, and beſeeched him to reverſe the Sentence: But the Emperor ſaid, he ought not to hinder the Execution or Adminiſtration of Juſtice. Whereupon *Albert* refuſed to ſubmit to their Judgment, pretending it was obtained by Purchaſe and Bribery, and ſoon after publiſhed a Proteſtation or Remonſtrance againſt it. The Chamber in the mean time, commanded the neighbouring Provinces of the Empire to put this Decree in Execution. 1553.

† Outlawed.

The tenth of *October*, a Parliament was begun in *England*, which ſate till the ſixth of *December*, and then was diſſolved, in which all the Laws of *Edward* the ſixth, concerning the Lord's Supper, the Ceremonies of the Church, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, the Marriage of the Clergy, the Election of Biſhops, the Ordination of Miniſters, and the publick Liturgy, and all other things of that Nature were repeal'd; and all things pertaining to Religion were reduced to the ſame State they were left in when King *Henry* the eighth died. That no diſturbance ſhould be given to thoſe Prieſts and Miniſters of the Church, which ſhould hereafter be Licenſed, & the Divorce of *Catherine* the Mother of Queen *Mary*, was declared Illegal. There was alſo a Propoſition of the Marriage of the Queen to Prince *Philip*, the eldeſt Son of the Emperor, made to the Lords of the upper Houſe, for the obtaining their Approbation. There had before been a Fame ſpread, that he was to Marry his Couſin-German, the Daughter of *Emmanuel*, King of *Portugal*, and of *Elenora* his Queen. This Marriage with Queen *Mary* of *England* being at laſt agreed (*after the riſing of the Parliament which oppoſed it*) the Emperor ſent for *Cardinal Pool* to him out of *Germany*, where, till then he he had detained him, as I ſaid before. This Procedure cauſed a Report, That *Pool* being deſcended of the Royal Family, and much eſteemed by the *Engliſh* Nation. It was ſuſpected he might have poſſibly put ſome ſtop to this Marriage. There were alſo other Biſhops ordained in the Sees of thoſe whom I have mentioned to be Impriſoned about this † time. The Emperor alſo ſent a very ſplendid Embaſſie into *England*, for the Solemnization of the Marriage between Prince *Philip* who was abſent, and Queen *Mary*, the principal Perſon, in which was Count *Egmondt*: They arriving in *London* in the beginning of *January*, after a Treaty of ſome few days Continuance, concluded this Affair. The People were much enraged againſt this Match, and ſome of the Nobility having Communicated their Counſels to each other, broke out into a Rebellion, the Principal Leader in which was one Sir *Thomas Wiat*, he raiſing an Inſurrection in *Kent*, cauſed grievous and ſharp Sermons to be Preached againſt the Queen and her Council, as deſigning by this forreign Match, to involve *England* in a perpetual and moſt wretched Slavery, † and alſo that ſhe had extinguiſhed the true Religion, and reſtored the Roman-Catholick again. *Kent* is one of the moſt *Eaſtern* Counties of *England*, ennobled by the City of *Canterbury*, and lying upon the Streights of *Calais*, over againſt *France*. The report of this Commotion coming to *London* the twenty fifth day of *January*, there came ſoon after News, that *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk* was raiſing Men in *Devonſhire*; whereupon the Queen levied what Forces ſhe could get together, and made *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, whom ſhe had lately diſcharged out of the Tower, her General; who marching towards *Rocheſter* Bridge, was deſerted by his Soldiers, who went over to *Wiat*, ſo that he got back to *London* with great Difficulty.

† This was not done till *March* of the next Year.

1554.

† In this our Author ſeems to be miſinformed, for he ſaid nothing of Religion in Publick.

For the appeaſing theſe Tumults, and avoiding of the Dangers that threatned them, the Emperor's Ambaſſadors took Ship in the beginning of *February*, and returned into *Flanders*. The ſame day the Queen went into the City of *London*, and in the *Guild-Hall* made a ſharp Speech againſt *Wiat*, ſaying ſhe knew all his Projects; and expreſſing the tender Love ſhe bore to her Peo-

ple,

1554. ple, and ſaying ſhe had done nothing in it without the Advice of her Council: That ſhe had now lived a conſiderable part of her Life in Virginity, and that even now it was none of her Deſires to Marry; but would willingly have continued Single, if the States had thought it convenient. That ſhe was very much afflicted to ſee her Kingdom endangered, and filled with Slaughter and Bloodſhed on the Account of her Marriage: She deſired therefore that they would perſiſt in their Allegiance, and aſſiſt her in revenging the Perfidy of thoſe wicked Men who were in Rebellion againſt her, whom they had in Parliament, freely declared to be the lawful Heir of her Father. When ſhe had thus calmed their Minds, ſhe appointed ſome to defend the City, and ordered the Earl of *Pembroke* to take care of the Suburbs. She had before this, Proclaimed *Wiat* a Traytor and an Enemy to the Nation, and had ordered ſome Propoſitions he had ſent her, to be openly read to the People at the ſame time, which are ſaid to be, That the Queen ſhould put her ſelf into his Cuſtody: That he ſhould have the diſpoſal of her Marriage, and the determination what Privy-Counſellors ſhould be continued or diſmiſſed. Three days after, a Pardon was tendered to the Multitude, upon Condition they deſerted the Authors of this Sedition, and a vaſt reward was promiſed to whoever could take *Wiat*. The Duke of *Suffolk* was at the ſame time Proclaimed Traytor. That day the Rebels came up to the City, and the Queen ordered the Draw-Bridge to be broken down, that none out of the City might joyn with them. The next day they took *Southwark*, believing that the Citizens of *London* would riſe and joyn with them, but they were kept in awe by the Queens Forces. In the mean time, the Duke of *Suffolk* was taken in another part of the Nation, by the Earl of *Huntington*, who was ſent with ſome Horſe by the Queen on that Errand. The Rebels having ſpent two days in attempting in vain to paſs the River at *Southwark*, they marched to *Kingſton*, about eight Miles above the City, and there paſſed the *Thames*, and bore directly down upon the City, where *Wiat* was at laſt taken by the Forces under the Earl of *Pembroke*, and ſent to Priſon, and all his Forces were diſperſed.

The next day, which was the ſeventh of *February*, there was a Proclamation put out, that it ſhould be Death for any Man to harbour any of the Rebels, and not forthwith diſcover and produce him. A few days after, the Duke of *Suffolk* was brought a Priſoner into the City. The twelfth day of *February*, *Guilford Dudley*, Son of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Lady *Jane* his Wife, the eldeſt Daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, who had been declared Queen by *Edward* VI. as I have ſaid, were publickly Beheaded upon a Scaffold raiſed in the Tower of *London* for her Principally; *becauſe they had aſpired to the Crown, contrary to the Laws of the Succeſſion.* Though her death was hid from the Eyes of the People to prevent or abate their Compaſſion; yet the greateſt part of them heartily lamented the hard Fate of the Lady *Jane*: She was thought a moſt innocent young Lady, brought up like a Princeſs, very Learned, and was now involved in this Calamity, not becauſe ſhe ſought, but for that ſhe did not refuſe a Crown that was offered her. She made a Pious and Modeſt Speech to thoſe that were preſent at her Execution, and having implored the Mercy of God through *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſhe cauſed her Maids that waited upon her, to cover her Eyes and Face with a piece of Holland, and then ſubmitted her Neck to the Executioner. The ſame day *Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, who after many Years Impriſonment, had lately been diſcharged out of the Tower, was again taken into Cuſtody upon ſuſpition of having been concerned in this Rebellion. After this in *London* and *Weſtminſter* where the Queen then was, many were hurried to Execution, and amongſt them ſome of the Nobility. And ſome alſo eſcaped, the Principal of which was Sir *Peter Carew*, who found refuge in the Court of *France*. The Duke of *Suffolk* was Tried, and found Guilty the ſeventeenth day of *February*, and Executed the twenty firſt of this Month.

The Lady *Jane* Beheaded.

The Deaths of the Duke and Ducheſs of *Saxony*.

Whilſt things went thus in *England*, *Sybilla* of *Cleve*, Wife of *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, died the ſame twenty firſt day of *February* at *Weimar*, and the eleventh day after, the Duke followed her himſelf, having been ſick ſome time before. They both died in the true Knowledge of God, and it was obſerved, that when he gave order where his Lady ſhould be Buried, he commanded them to reſerve a place for himſelf by her ſide, becauſe it would not be long e're he ſhould follow her, nor was he deceived in his Expectation. The third day of *March*

March following, having heard a Sermon as he lay in his Bed, implored the Divine Mercy, and commended his Spirit into the Hands of God, he departed out of this Miſerable and wretched Life to enter into his heavenly Countrey. 1554.

The differences between him and *Auguſtus.*

There was before his Death a Treaty concluded between him and *Auguſtus* Duke of *Saxony*. In order to this, the King of *Denmark* ſent ſome time ſince an Embaſſy, which after a Debate of ſix Months continuance, a little before his death brought their Diſſentions to a final Concluſion on theſe Terms. *John Frederick* departed from his Right in the Electorate *Miſnia*, and the Mine-Towns, upon condition, that if *Auguſtus* ſhould die without Iſſue-Male, the ſame ſhould return to *John Frederick* and his Iſſue-Male: That in the Interim the ſaid *John* and his Iſſue ſhould enjoy and uſe the Title of Elector, and the Arms of the Family of *Saxony*, both in ſealing and ſtamping Moneys: *Auguſtus* on the other ſide, granted to him and his Children certain Governments, or Baylywicks and Towns, and in lieu of certain Debts due to him from *Maurice*, and in Arrears at the time of the Death of the ſaid *Maurice*, *Auguſtus* was to pay the ſum of one hundred thouſand Crowns: He was alſo to redeem the Town and Caſtle of *Koningſperg* in *Franconia*, which was mortgaged to the Biſhop of *Wurtsburg* for forty Thouſand Crowns, and to reſtore the ſame to *John Frederick* and his Children. Laſtly, That the Hereditary League of the Houſe of *Saxony*, which of late years had been ſo much violated, ſhould be renewed and confirmed. This Agreement was ſigned and confirmed by *John Frederick* in his laſt Sickneſs not long before his Death; and he commanded his Children alſo to ſubſcribe and ſeal it. Thus having with great conſtancy ſurmounted all thoſe Calamities and Miſeries which fell upon him, he joyfully and peaceably ended his Days, by the illuſtrious Goodneſs of God, not under the cuſtody of Foreign Souldiers, as ſome had deſigned, but in his own Houſe, after he was reſtored to his Liberty, to his Children, and to the Freedom of his Religion, and that when he had ſetled his Children and People in Peace. His Lady alſo had her moſt earneſt Wiſh fulfilled before ſhe left the World. For ſhe had often ſaid, *ſhe ſhould die with extream ſatisfaction, if ſhe might but live to ſee her Husband ſafe and at liberty*: which ſhe often begg'd of God with Sighs and Tears. The ſame day ſhe died, *Alexander* the Son of *Auguſtus*, was born.

The Strangers leave *England.*

Much about the ſame time, all the Strangers which then remain'd in *England*, and with them many of the Natives of that Kingdom, ſeeing the great change that was made in the Publick Religion, and the Laws, betook themſelves to *Germany*, ſome to *Weſel*, and others to *Franckfort* and *Strasburg*. *John Alaſco*, a *Polander*, of Noble Birth and great Learning, who was the Brother of *Jerome*, before this Winter began, went thence to *Denmark*; but being not ſo kindly entertained there, on the account of his differing from them in the Point of the *Euchariſt*, and being denied an Habitation on the ſame ſcore in the Lower *Saxony*; at length he went to *Emden*, a City of *Friſeland*, and there he ſetled. The Fourth Day of *March*, the Queen put out a Book of *Articles* or *Injunctions*, wherein ſhe commanded the Biſhops and their Vicars not to admit any man into Holy Orders who was ſuſpected of Hereſie: That they ſhould extirpate Hereſies, ſuppreſs and deſtroy hurtful and peſtilent Books: That they ſhould preſcribe certain Rules to all School-Maſters and Preachers, and ſuppreſs thoſe who did not conform: That they ſhould deprive all Married Prieſts, and puniſh them as their wickedneſs deſerved, but that thoſe who with the conſent of their Wives ſhould promiſe to divorce themſelves, and to abſtain for the future, ſhould be treated with more gentleneſs, and that they ſhould reſtore all thoſe that would do Penance for this Offence, to their Livings again: That all Publick Prayers ſhould be in the *Latine Tongue*, and according to the ancient Forms: That all the ancient Holy-days, Faſts and Ceremonies ſhould be again obſerved: That all Children already Baptized, when they grew up, ſhould be brought to the Biſhop to be confirmed; And that they ſhould be taught in the Schools how they are to miniſter to the Prieſt in the Maſs at the Altar. When *Henry* the Eighth aboliſhed the Papal Supremacy in *England*, as I have obſerved in the Ninth Book of this Hiſtory, he paſſed an Act of Parliament, that no man ſhould be admitted to any Eccleſiaſtical Function or Dignity, unleſs he had firſt taken an Oath, in which he acknowledg'd him and his Succeſſors Supream Head of the Church of *England*: and that the Pope had no Authority over the Church, nor was better than a Biſhop of *Rome*,

1554. with whom they would have nothing to do. This Oath the Queen even now remitted, and commanded the Biſhops not to exact it of any man, and thereby did tacitly reſtare the Pope's Supremacy. That which concerns the Publick Prayers, went thus; *Henry* the Eighth had commanded them to be ſaid in the vulgar Tongue; and in them, amongſt other things, they prayed that God would deliver them from the Seditions, Conſpiracies and Tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*; and this Printed Form of Prayer was by this Order of the Queen aboliſhed.

The Princeſs *Elizab.* committed to the Tower.

Soon after this, *Elizabeth*, the Queens Siſter, a Lady of great Learning, was committed to the Tower, becauſe ſhe was ſuſpected to have had an hand in *Wiat*'s Rebellion. In the End of *March*, the Enemies of *Albert*, Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, returned to the Siege of *Schweinfurt*. In *April* there came over into *Germany* Sir *Richard Moriſon* Knight, whoſe Embaſſie I have mentioned in the Book before this, Sir *Anthony Cook*, and Sir *John Cheeke*, Knights, both the King's Schoolmaſters, and Men of great Learning, and theſe all afterwards travelled into *Italy*. And ſoon after Dr. *John Poinet* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* came over alſo; who, together with many other Biſhops, was about this time diſplaced by reaſon of this Change of Religion.

The Siege of *Siena*.

The Forces of the Duke of *Florence*, and the Pope beſieging *Siena* about this time, *Peter Strozza*, who defended that City in the Name of the King of *France*, learning ſomething of their ſtate by his Spies, on a ſudden made a Sally upon them, and ſlew a great number of their Souldiers; but they recruited their Army, and continued the Siege for all that Loſs; whereupon the King of *France* levied Three Thouſand *Swiſs* for the relief of that Place. The Duke of *Florence* alſo marries his Daughter to *Aſcanio* the Pope's Nephew; and the Methods of advancing his Fortunes by this Marriage, were taken into conſideration. About this time alſo *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, Governor of the Duchy of *Milan*, came into *Flanders* to the Emperor: *Baptiſta Caſtaldus*, whom the Emperor had ſent ſome years ſince into *Hungary* (as I have ſaid) came alſo about this time to him.

Sir *Tho. Wiat* executed.

About the middle of *April* Sir *Thomas Wiat* was executed at *London*. He declared, that neither the Lady *Elizabeth*, nor *Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, were acquainted with the Rebellion. About the ſame time, *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Hugh Latimer* Biſhop of *London*, were removed firſt to *Windſor*, and then to *Oxford*; and a Diſputation being managed againſt them by the Students both of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, the 16th. 17th. and 18th. of *April*, concerning *Tranſubſtantiation* and the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the *Maſs*, and they continuing ſtedfaſt in their Former Opinion, they were again committed to Priſon.

A Parliament.

At the ſame time there was a Parliament ſate in *England*, wherein the Queen eſpecially recommended to the States her Marriage, and the reſtitution of the Pope's Supremacy. The firſt of theſe ſhe carried upon certain Conditions; but the latter was ſo vigorouſly oppoſed by the Upper Houſe, that ſhe could not then bring it about. In the mean time, Cardinal *Poole*, having ſpent ſome time with the Emperor in *Flanders*, went to the King of *France*, and endeavoured to bring theſe Princes to make a Peace; but his Mediation had no good ſucceſs. In the end of *April*, *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, having received 60000 Crowns, ſet *Aumale* his Priſoner at Liberty. A little before this time, *Holanſperg*, another of his ſtrong Places, was taken from him by the Confederates. Not long after this, the Emperor being then at *Bruſſels*, by his Letters confirmed the Outlawry decreed the laſt Winter in the Imperial Chamber of *Spire*, againſt the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*; in which, having complained, that the Marqueſs had with impunity committed ſuch Ravages, and made ſuch Deva-ſtations in the Empire, he in the next place ſeverely commands all the Princes and States, and eſpecially thoſe that lay next him, to execute the ſaid Sentence againſt the Marqueſs. There had before this been two Meetings at *Rotenburg*, a City of *Franconia*, upon the River *Tauber*, in order to the putting an end to this War; but they being both fruſtrated, the Emperor put out this Decree againſt him; which was ſet up in all places: and ſoon after, there was a *Diet* of the Circle of the *Rhine*, holden at *Worms* concerning this Buſineſs.

The Diet of *Germany*.

I have often mentioned the General Diet which was ſummoned in *Auguſt*; but the Emperor being hindred from being preſent in it both by Sickneſs and Wars, *Ferdinand* his Brother, at his Requeſt, undertook the management of it,

it, and ſollicited the Princes to meet, who excuſed their Appearance there, on the account of the troubled ſtate of *Germany*. The Emperor had already ſent thither ſome of his Council, and amongſt them the Cardinal of *Ausburg*; but none of the Princes coming thither, for the Cauſes aforeſaid, it was deferred to a fitter opportunity. *Albert* had publiſhed a Remonſtrance againſt the City of *Norimberg*, written with great ſpight and bitterneſs; inſinuating, that in the late War, they had under-hand joyn'd with the *French* King and his Confederates, and furniſhed them with Money: That they and the Biſhops, their Confederates, ſuſpected the Emperor, and had ſaid many things of him, which diſcovered their adhering rather to the *French* King, than the Emperor. That they had ſtirred up this War againſt himſelf, and laboured for nothing more than that the Biſhops might not keep their Pacts and Promiſes to him: That they of *Norimberg* were the Aggreſſors in this War, and had forced him to defend himſelf: That they deſigned to ruine all the Nobility and Princes of *Germany*; That they had violated that Faith which they had given under their Hands and Seals: That they had made a wicked, and a cruel War upon his Subjects: That they had brib'd the Imperial Chamber againſt him: Laſtly, he ſpred Pamphlets in *Germany*, in which he call'd them Traytors. This being known to the *Norimbergers*, who in the Sack of *Holanſperg*, found ſome of theſe Papers, the 18th. of *May*, they publiſhed a large Anſwer, addreſſed to all the States of *Germany*; in which they refuted all his Accuſations in order; retorting the greateſt part of them upon himſelf: They ſhewed upon what Conditions they had furniſhed *Maurice* with Moneys, and ſhewed who was the Author of the preſent War: 'For (ſay they) at the very time when the 'Princes who were the Mediators, met at *Heidelburg*, he, by his Emiſſaries, 'under-hand levied what Forces he could in *Saxony*, which may be proved 'upon him by the Letters which *William Grumpach*, one of his Couriers or 'Meſſengers ſent to him, Dated the 29th. of *March*, and by ſeveral others. 'That if King *Ferdinand*, *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunſ-* 'wick had not oppoſed all their Forces, and hazarded their Lives againſt him, 'he had certainly cauſed an horrible Deſolation throughout *Germany*. He had 'indeed neceſſitated the Biſhops of *Franconia* to ſubmit to moſt unjuſt and un- 'reaſonable Terms; but then the Emperor had cancell'd that Treaty, and had 'permitted them to recover what was their own. That the Biſhop of *Bam-* 'berg had recovered ſome Towns and Bayliwicks out of his Hands before he 'was reconciled to the Emperor; and then, when being involved in the guilt 'of Treaſon, not only his Eſtate, but his Life might lawfully have been ta- 'ken from him. As for us (ſay they) by the Command of the Emperor we 'entred into a League for the defence of our own Territories, as others have 'alſo done. After this, he was indeed reconciled to the Emperor, and ob- 'tained a confirmation of this Treaty; but it was upon condition that he ſhould 'be faithful to him and the Empire. But then he (ſay they) though the Em- 'peror had not allowed him the uſe of any force, from the Camp before *Metz*, 'wrote to his Subjects, That *they ſhould terrifie the Biſhops, and if they did not preſent-* '*ly reſtore what they had taken from him, that they ſhould take it by force.* Where- 'upon his Subjects in the Month of *January* falling ſuddenly upon the Biſhops; 'in a ſhort time, by Force and Arms, recovered all the Places they had retaken 'before from him. Whereupon the Biſhop of *Bamberg* ſent an Account to his 'Allies, and deſired them to ſend him Succors according to the League; yet 'we (ſay they) being deſirous that nothing might raſhly be done, ſent 'Letters and Envoys more than once to exhort and perſwade the Mar- 'queſs to preſerve the Peace; but he on the other ſide, with great pride 'and contempt, ſaid, That the more Enemies he had, the more Glory they 'would bring him. He ſaid this in the beginning of *March*, and a ſhort time 'after the Treaty of *Heidelburg* was began. And when there were very advanta- 'geous Terms offered to him, and rejected by him, though ſome of his near Re- 'lations and Kinſmen, who were the Mediators, perſwaded him to Peace; 'when he returned home from that place, and was raiſing an Army; we be- 'ing again (ſay they) ſollicited and called upon by the Biſhops, did then firſt 'profeſs our ſelves Enemies to him; which was in the beginning of *April* of the 'laſt Year; And whereas he has made a bloody and cruel War in *Germany*, be- 'yond the Example of all Stories, he now endeavours to lay this Crime upon 'us: But in truth what he ſays is falſe; and there has been no complaint of our 'Army

1554.

The *Norimbergers* Anſwer to *Albert*.

1554. ‘Army brought to us by any Perſon beſides he: But then his Souldiers have ‘omitted no ſort of Cruelty; and they have ſometimes in our Sight, hung up ‘the poor Plowmen they caſually found in the field at Work, old and young; ‘they forced the Women they found alive, and digged up the Graves of thoſe that ‘were dead. One *Nicholas Eglofſtein*, a Nobleman of *Franconia* in the Month ‘of *May*, laſt year, being forced to ſurrender his Caſtle of *Conrut*, the ſaid ‘Marqueſs not only burnt it, but alſo commanded forty Countrymen which ‘he found in it, together with a Miniſter, to be Hanged in the Garden, near ‘the Caſtle, and carried his Wife and Mother Priſoners away with him. It is ‘true, he endeavoured to excuſe this Action afterwards to the Nobility of ‘*Franconia*, but to ſmall purpoſe. How he treated thoſe he made Priſoners, ‘during the War, is well known to both our own, and the *Bamberg* Hoſtages, ‘who were ſhut up every where in his Goals. He was not contented to demand ‘great Ranſoms of thoſe he took, but he alſo cruelly tormented them, and ‘ſtarved ſome of them to death with Hunger and Cold, and others were forced ‘to cut off their frozen Limbs to ſave their Lives. And ſome of them having ‘nothing to redeem themſelves with, or to buy them Bread, he forbad any ‘Victuals ſhould be given them. And if the Garriſon Soldiers had not been melt-‘ed by their Lamentations and miſerable Crys, and had not caſt them ſome dry, ‘mouldy fragments of Bread, which no Beaſt or Vermin would have eaten or ‘touched, but in the extremities of Hunger, theſe had all Periſhed to a Man. ‘And when ſome of them had from their Friends obtained ſome Money for ‘their ſubſiſtence, they were hardly able to get Water and Straw. Thus many ‘of them were deſtroyed with Hunger and Thirſt in the horrible, naſty, ſtink-‘ing receſſes of his Priſons, in which there was nothing but Worms, creeping ‘things, and filthineſs. And when they were thus dead, their Carkaſſes were ‘not drawn out and removed, but were left amongſt the Living and the Sick. On ‘the other ſide, how well we treated thoſe Soldiers of his which we took Pri-‘ſoners, and amongſt them thoſe very Leaders and Captains which deſerved ‘the worſt of us, though they yielded themſelves into our Hands at diſcretion; ‘he may know if he pleaſe from themſelves. How averſe he is to Peace will ‘eaſily appear by the two Treaties at *Rotenburg*, which is known to *thoſe Illu-*‘ſtrious Princes, who were there in Perſon, or by their Ambaſſadors. For ‘though we have been grievouſly injured by him: And though alſo the Out-‘lawry was then publiſhed againſt him: yet in the firſt of thoſe Meetings we ‘offered, that if he would lay down his Arms, and commit the caſe to the Deter-‘mination of the Law, with good Security; we alſo would lay down our Arms, ‘and ſubmit our Cauſe to the Arbitriment of the mediating Princes, or to the ‘Judgment of the Emperor and the States: and the ſame Condition was ten-‘dered by the Biſhops alſo, by the Advice and Command of the Ambaſſadors ‘of King *Ferdinand*. The Council of the mediating Princes, out of a deſire of ‘Peace, propoſed, that if the Confederates in the Circle of *Franconia* would ‘promiſe to reſtore him his Territories, as they then were, *both ſides ſhould lay* ‘down their Arms, and take new Securities for the future, that then the Pro-‘ſcription ſhould as to that part be void, and the whole Controverſy ſhould be ‘committed to a friendly and a legal Treaty.

‘But he in Contempt and Scorn, called the Intereceſſors, his Enemies *Broakers*, ‘and ſaid he would not ſuffer himſelf to be reduced into ſuch Streights, that ‘he did not deſire, the Outlawry ſhould be reverſed, that he would hazard ‘the loſs of what was left, and many other ſuch like things, uſing light and ‘ſcurrilous Reflections, mixed with Threats againſt all the Princes and States, ‘as may be ſhewn in his Letters Printed at *Holanſperg*. And in the next Congreſs, ‘though we offered him more advantageous terms, yet he was never the more ‘inclined to a Peace; no, his whole deſign then was to prevail againſt us by ‘Frauds and Ambuſhes, which deſerved no great Commendation, and are very ‘unworthy of a Prince. For at the requeſt of the Mediators, he promiſed ‘to lay down his Arms, and to referr the whole Caſe to the Emperor and ſome ‘Princes. This Compromiſe was accordingly confirmed by the Emperor's Letters ‘of the fourth of *April* from *Bruſſells*, wherein he commanded the States of ‘*Franconia* to lay down their Arms, and to commit the Affair to his Diligence and ‘Faith; but the cloſe deſign which *Albert* had in this was (as it appears by what ‘followed) to ſtop the Emperor's Proceedings for a time, that the Execution ‘of the Outlawry might not be committed to the other Provinces of the Em-

pire

'pire alſo, that in the mean time he might bring that Army he was then under- 1554.
'hand Levying, into the Field, and oppreſs us before were aware. But by
'the Bleſſing of God this Project was diſcovered, his Letters about that time,
'which he ſent to his Captains, who were diſperſed here and there, being In-
'tercepted: In which he ſaid, that he had ſubmitted to the terms Propoſed
'at *Rotenburg*, that he might gain time, and ſurprize his Enemies, that if the
'Interceeding Princes ſhould require them to disband, they ſhould not comply
'with them in it, but ſhould continue in a Body, and upon no terms be ſepa-
'rated: and that by way of Excuſe they ſhould alledge, there were many
'Months Pay due to them, and that they could not disband till they had that
'Money; but that they would remain where they were, without doing any
'Injury, till their Arrears were Payed. To the ſame purpoſe alſo are his Let-
'ters to his Commanders, *to fall promiſcuouſly, and without diſtinction upon whomſoe-*
'*ver they could.*" When therefore his ſecret Treachery was thus diſcovered, and
'his Ambaſſadors at *Rotenburg* would give ours no poſitive and certain Anſwer,
'whether he would ſtand to the Arbitriment of the Emperor or no; by the
'advice of the Ambaſſadors of *Ferdinand*, we were forced (as we ſay in our
'Letters ſent then to the Emperor) to commit our Cauſe to God, the Emperor
'and Empire. This being the true ſtate of things, any Man will hereby be able
'eaſily to underſtand, that we are loaded with ſo many Reproaches, Slanders,
'and Miſeries, only becauſe in Obedience to the Emperor, and the Imperial
'Chamber, which is our Supream Court, we have endeavoured to repreſs his
'Violence and Fury: And therefore we earneſtly deſire all thoſe who love
'Vertue and Juſtice, and hate Force and Injury, that they would conſider, that
'if the Sentence given againſt him by the Imperial Chamber be not put in Exe-
'cution, and his Inſolence humbled, not only we, but they too will thereby be e-
'qually in danger. Let no Man therefore give him any Aſſiſtance, Refuge, or Pro-
'tection, but as it becomes Princes, and the Lovers of their Country, let
'them not only not hinder the Execution of the Decree, but with all their
'might, promote the Execution of it, and in all things act ſo, that others may
'by this Example be deterred. And we beſeech them not to give any Credit to
'his defamatory and ſlanderous Libels againſt us, and that if he ſhall again
'enter into any Deſigns againſt us, that then they would lend us their Help
'and Advice.

Albert goes into *Saxony*.

In the Month of *May*, *Albert*, having received the Money above-mentioned, for the Ranſom of *Aumale*, went into *Saxony*, and getting ſome forces together, marched by unfrequented ways toward *Schweinfurt*, and the tenth of *June*, he entred the Town on that ſide it was not Beſieged, with eight hundred Horſe, and ſeven Foot Companies. But finding the Town very much Impoveriſhed, the third day after he entred it, he Plundered it, and in the Night time drew out all the Soldiers, as well Horſe as Foot, to the number of eighteen Companies, together with the Cannon, and leaving no Guards to ſecure the Gates, he marched in the dead time of the Night to *Kitzingen*, a Town ſeated a little lower upon the *Mayn*. When the day broke, and the Beſiegers ſaw the Gates of the City without any to defend them, they gave the Alarm in the Camp, and began to prepare to follow him; but in the Interim, many of the Soldiers, and eſpecially thoſe that ſerved under *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, ruſhed into the Town, and took and deſtroyed what the other had left. So that the Princes and Commanders were forced to ſet Fire to the Town in ſeveral Places, to compel their Soldiers to return to the Camp, that *Albert* might not have time to eſcape whilſt they were Plundering the Town. Though *Albert* had the advantage of ſome hours in his March, yet being retarded by the Cannon, and other heavy Carriages, he was eaſily overtaken, and forced by the Van-Guard to make a ſtand to defend himſelf, but the reſt of the Army ſoon coming up, when he ſaw that he was not able to defend himſelf againſt ſo great a Number, adviſing his to ſhift for themſelves as well as they could; he with a few Horſemen took his Flight, and Swimming over the *Mayn*, arrived ſafely at *Kitzingen*, with the loſs of all his Baggage and Cannon. The eighth day after, his principal Fortreſs called *Blaſſeburg*, was ſurrendred, and fell into the Hands of *Ferdinand*, King of *Bohemia*. *Henry Plaw*, Chancellor of *Bohemia*, the indefatigable Enemy of this Place died before it, ſome few days before it was yielded. Thus *Albert*, Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* was driven out of all his Territories.

Whilſt

1554. Whilſt things went thus in *Franconia*, *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* demanded Money of moſt of the Princes, Nobility and Cities in the *Lower Saxony*, and forced them of *Meckelburg*, *Lunenburg*, *Anhalt*, and *Mansfeld* to pay it. Another part of his and the Biſhop's Forces having beat *Albert*, and taken *Schweinfurt*, as I have ſaid, they Treated *Rotenburg* an Imperial City, and the County of *Henneburg* very ſeverely, and ſeemed reſolved that if they did not contribute to the Expences of this War (which they pretend did belong to all) they would levy it by Force, but by the Interpoſition of others, this difference was Compoſed, and no Force was made uſe of.

The Duke of *Savoy* dies. About this time, *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, who, as I have related above, was ſtript of the greateſt part of his Territories, died, leaving as his Heir *Philibert* his Son, who had ſerved many Years as a Soldier under the Emperor.

The Edict of King *Ferdinand* concerning Religion. *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, publiſhed an Edict, commanding his Subjects not to change any thing in the Celebration of the Sacrament of the Euchariſt; and that according to the old Cuſtom, they that received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, ſhould content themſelves with one of the *Species*, the Bread only: But the Princes, the Nobility, and Cities, having often before Petitioned him in this Buſineſs, did now by a Letter very humbly deſire, that, according to Chriſt's Command and Inſtitution, and the cuſtom of the ancient Church, which they backed alſo with many Reaſons, they might be allowed the partaking of the whole and entire Euchariſt. The King anſwering this Letter the twenty third of *June* from *Vienna*, ſaid, he did not in the leaſt ſuppoſe, when he publiſhed that Edict, that it ſhould be made by them the Subject of a Diſpute and Cavil. For (ſaid he) my only deſign was, that the People in my Dominions ſhould remain in the ancient and true Religion, and in the Obedience of the Catholick Church, out of the Communion of which none can be Saved, and that they might receive this moſt excellent Sacrament, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Church, and that they might not be perverted from that duty they owe, both to the Civil Magiſtrate, and the Church; either by the perverſe Opinions of ſome Men, or by a certain over great Curioſity or Pride. *He ſaid*, this was the only intention and deſign of that Edict; and that he had not in it commanded any new thing, but had required only the continuance of an ancient Inſtitution, which has been brought down to me from hand to hand, by my Anceſtors the Emperors, Kings, and Dukes of *Auſtria*, and which has to this Day been diligently obſerved by me, as becomes a Chriſtian Prince, and which I have heretofore frequently commanded my Subjects to continue in. And therefore I did not in the leaſt ſuſpect, that you would attempt any thing againſt the tenor of this Edict; who ſo earneſtly contend that in all other things no change may be made, and that you may enjoy your Laws and Rights without Violation. For certainly this is a new thing, and of late taken up by you upon ſome Opinion, which you argue ſo largely for; as if it befitted you to judge of my Commands, who am your principal and higheſt Magiſtrate, and as if that ought of right to be allowed you, which ſome of you of late years have of their own Authority privately aſſumed to themſelves and uſurped, contrary to the Canons of the Church, and againſt my Will. But then it being, as you ſay, a grave and difficult queſtion, as you your ſelves aver, I will think further of it, and in due time I will return ſuch an anſwer to it, as ſhall ſhew that I am very much concern'd for the Salvation of my People. But in the mean time I expect all manner of ſubmiſſion from you, and that you ſhould not in the leaſt act any thing contrary to my Edict.

To this Letter the States made a reply in Writing alſo, to this Effect, What we have ſo often ſaid (moſt ſerene Prince) concerning the Command of our Saviour, we now again repeat; for he inſtituted his Supper in clear and perſpicuous Words, that it might be received by all in the ſelf ſame manner as he preſcribed: And it is not lawful for any mortal Man to change or alter his Inſtitution and Preſcription: This was alſo the ancient cuſtom of the Church, and that which is now uſed, crept in by inſenſible degrees, as we can demonſtrate. For the Council of *Conſtance* confeſſeth that it was ſo inſtituted by Chriſt. Seeing therefore this pertains to the Salvation of our Souls, certainly neither Curioſity nor Pride have put us upon it. And upon this very ſcore, we the rather hope that you will direct your future deliberation by the Commands of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and the practice of the ancient Church, and in no wiſe oppreſs

our

our Conſciences; which juſt requeſt we make to your Majeſty by all that is ſacred, by the Glory of God, and by the Salvation of our Souls. We acknowledge that by the Will of God you are our Supream Magiſtrate, and we do this with the utmoſt willingneſs, and we ſay, that there is nothing which you may not, or ought not to expect from us, but in this one thing we deſire you would ſpare us. 1554.

In the Dioceſs of *Wurtzburg* in *Franconia*, there is a Monaſtery, called *Neuſtadt*, the Abbot of which *John Friſius*, falling into the ſuſpicion of *Lutheraniſm*, was cited the fifth day of *May* to appear within ſix days after at *Wurtzburg*, and anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be then enquired of him. The Interrogatories then adminiſtred to him, were; Whether it be lawful to Swear; Whether a Man is bound by his Vow; Whether it be lawful to make a Vow of Poverty, Chaſtity, and Obedience; Whether ſuch Vows oblige; Whether Matrimony or Celibacy doth beſt become the Miniſters of the Church; Whether there is one true and Apoſtolical Church; Whether ſhe is perpetually governed as the Spouſe of Chriſt, by the Holy-Ghoſt; Whether ſhe does always decree what is true and Salutary; Whether the Church is to be deſerted for the Vices and Errors of ſome Men in it; Whether ſhe, upon the account of the Head, the Vicar of Chriſt may rightly be called the Roman-Church; Whether all the Books of both Teſtaments which the Canon has, are lawful and true; Whether the Sacred Scriptures are to be interpreted according to the Sentence of the Holy Fathers, the Doctors of the Church and the Councils, or according to that of *Luther*, and ſuch others; Whether beſides the ſacred Scriptures, there be not need of other Traditions, ſuch as thoſe of the Apoſtles, and others of the ſame Nature; Whether the ſame Faith, Authority, and Obedience, is due to theſe Traditions, which is due to the ſacred Scriptures; Whether the civil Magiſtrate is to be obeyed in Politick or Civil Affairs, and the Eccleſiaſtick in Sacred or Holy things; Whether the Sacraments of the Church are Seven; Whether Children are to be Baptized; Whether Baptiſm ought to be adminiſtred in the Latin Tongue; Whether Salt, Oil, Water, Characters and Exorciſms ought to be made uſe of in Baptiſm; Whether original Sin is altogether obliterated in Baptiſm, ſo that the Concupiſcence which remains after Baptiſm, loſeth the name of Sin; Whether the Bread be changed and Conſecrated into the Body of Chriſt, and the Wine into his Blood, by virtue of the words which the Prieſt ſpeaks; and whether it continues ſuch, though it is not preſently received; Whether an Euchariſt ſo Conſecrated, is to be worſhipped; Whether it be carried about in honour of Chriſt, or carried to the Sick, or reſerved ſhut up; Whether Chriſt is to be adored under the Species of Bread and Wine; Whether whole Chriſt be under each of the Species; Whether confeſſion of Sins prepares a Man to the worthy receiving of the Euchariſt; Whether the Maſs is a true and perpetual Sacrifice; Whether both the Canons of the Maſs are to be retained; Whether the Sacrament of Confirmation is to be Exerciſed; Whether there be three Parts in Pennance, Contrition, Confeſſion, and Satisfaction; Whether the Prieſt can forgive a Man thoſe Sins, who has not Confeſſed them before; Whether none but Prieſts have the Power of the Keys; Whether the Souls of Holy Men have not Charity for us; Whether they interceed with God on our behalf; Whether the Saints are to be Invocated; Whether the Holy-days conſecrated to the Saints, are rightly Celebrated; Whether the Reliques of the Saints are to be worſhipped; Whether the Souls of the Pious which are not throughly purged are relieved by Maſſes, Prayers, Faſts, and Alms; Whether there is a place of Purgation; Whether Lent, and the other Faſts inſtituted by the Church, ought to be obſerved; Whether Men are to abſtain from eating Fleſh on the days it is forbidden by the Church; Whether the People is to be incited to Religion by Ceremonies; What Ceremonies are Pious, and what not, or leſs Pious. To all theſe queſtions he anſwered the twenty ſeventh of *May* at large; but though he confirmed his Anſwers, not only by the Teſtimony of Scripture, but alſo by thoſe of the Fathers; yet the twenty fifth day of *June* he was condemned and removed from all his Offices or Functions. Papal Queries.

Towards the end of *June*, the King of *France* marched with his Army out of *Champagne*, and paſſing down by the *Maes*, in the Provinces belonging to the Emperor, he took *Bovines* and *Dinant* amongſt many others, and having plundered and diſmantled them, he took *Marienbourg*, and Fortified and Garriſoned The *French* War in the Low-Countries.

1554. foned it. The Emperor with his Forces leaving *Bruſſels*, marched to *Namur*, which ſtands upon the *Sambre*, and the *Maes*, five Miles below *Dinant*. The King ſeem'd inclined to come to a Battel; but when he ſaw the Emperor delayed it, he turned off into *Hainault*, and took the Town of *Binche*; and a Caſtle which *Mary* Queen of *Hungary* extreamly loved, being ſurrendred into his Hands, he plundered and burnt it, and with Fire and Rapines waſted all that Province. Then entring *Artois*, he ſate down before *Renty*, a Town upon the River *Aa*. But the Emperor coming up, his Forces being all by this time come up to him, the King of *France* raiſed his Seige, after which, there happened only ſome light Skirmiſhes between the Armies.

In *Italy*. In the ſame Month of *Auguſt*, the *French* Army in *Tuſcany*, under the Command of *Peter Strozza*, was ſurprized and defeated by the Imperial Forces, under the Marqueſs *di Marignano*. In this Battel, the greateſt part of the *Swiſs*, which I mentioned above to be ſent thither by the *French* King, were cut off.

Prince *Philip* arrives in *England*. In the mean time, Prince *Philip*, the Emperor's Son, arrived the nineteenth day of *July* with a conſiderable Fleet from *Spain*, at *Southampton* in *England*, the twentieth he Landed, and the twenty fifth he was Married to Queen *Mary*, at *Wincheſter*, by *Gardiner*, Biſhop of that City, and then Chancellor of *England*, in a vaſt concourſe of the Nobility of both Nations, amongſt which was the Duke *de Alva*. The day before his Marriage, he had a long Conference with the Queen, but the Marriage was deferred to the next day, becauſe it was the Feſtival of St. *James*, the Patron of *Spain*. The Emperor's Ambaſſador was at this Solemnity, and preſented the Bridegroom with a Reſignation of *Naples* Reſigned. the Kingdoms of *Jeruſalem* and *Naples*, in conſideration of the Marriage. After a ſhort ſtay here, the King and Queen went to *London*, into which they made a ſplendid and magnificent Entry.

In *Auguſt* there was another ſmall Diet of ſome of the States and Princes of *Germany*, at *Worms*. The Emperor urging the Execution of the Sentence given againſt *Albert*, Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*; who being driven out of his Territories in the manner I have above related, retired firſt into *Lorrain*, and from thence went to the Court of *France*, the King not denying him his Protection. There was thereupon a Jealouſie aroſe in the Mind of the Emperor, leſt this reſtleſs Prince might attempt ſomething againſt *Alſatia*, or ſome others of the *German* Territories, bordering upon *France*. To prevent this, the Circles of the *Rhine* ſent ſome Troops to the Borders of *Lorrain* about the end of *September*, to ſecure the Paſſes; but there being no occaſion for theſe Forces, they returned without having done any thing, but impoveriſhed thoſe places where they were quartered, and made ſome inroads into *Lorrain*.* In *October* there The Diet of *Frankfurt*. was another Diet held at *Franckfurt*, on the account of this, and ſome other Affairs. In this Convention, a Letter of the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*'s was read, in which he complains very much of the Militia, that was employed of late to ſecure the Borders, and eſpecially of thoſe that came from *Artois*; he reflected ſeverely amongſt others, on the Biſhops of *Trier* and *Strasburg*, and the the *Landgrave*, and ſaid this Party of Horſe were bloody Men, and that they privately deſigned his Death.

The *French* King's Letter to this Diet. The firſt of *October*, there was a Letter read in the ſame Diet, written to them in the *German* Tongue, by the King of *France*. In which, ſpeaking firſt of the ancient Union between *France* and *Germany*, he ſaid, that the adverſe Party made it their whole Buſineſs to put an end to it, and of late years they prevailed ſo far, that my Father was declared an Enemy by the Empire: yet notwithſtanding, when about two years ſince, the State of the Empire was very miſerable and diſordered, I laid aſide the memory of that Injury, and gave a clear demonſtration of my Affections to you, following in this the Example of my Anceſtors, who have in all times made the dignity and enlargement of the Empire, one of their Principal Cares. For it cannot be ſhewn that the Kings of *France* have at any time injured the Empire: But then our Enemies have endeavoured many ways to deprive you of your Liberties and Fortunes, not only by inventing various Arts of Levying Money, but alſo by inflaming the Factions in the Illuſtrious Families, as you may eaſily ſee. And though the Truth of this is clear, yet by the perſwaſion of our Enemies, ſome of the States which are next my Kingdom, have, as I hear, taken Arms againſt me, when I expected no ſuch thing, and that without any Declaration of War.

Now

Now this to me appears the more ſtrange, becauſe between me and you there is not the leaſt cauſe of offeuce. For as to the report that I ſhould ſend Succors to the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* againſt you, that is entirely falſe. But then as to the favour I have of late ſhewn to him, I have only done it upon the account of the ancient Union which I mention'd, and in compliance with the hoſpitable Cuſtom of the Crown of *France*, which has ever given entertainment and protection to all afflicted Princes, and in a more eſpecial manner to thoſe of *Germany*, in their Diſtreſſes. In truth I ſhould have been much better pleaſed to have ſeen him flouriſhing at home, and enjoying his own, than thus to ſee him ruined, driven out and deſerted: I ſay, I ſhould rather have deſired he ſhould not have fallen into this calamity, or that at leaſt, now an end might be put to it by a juſt and equal Treaty. But now that I ſee him reduced into this diſtreſs by the fault of my Adverſary, who firſt pronounced the Sentence void, and yet afterwards confirmed it, why am I ſuſpected if I compaſſionate his Fortunes? But as to the giving him any aſſiſtance againſt the Empire, that never entred into my Thoughts, and you may reſt aſſured that I will not now do it, if you do not your ſelves firſt break the League of Friendſhip. And now I have given you aſſurance that you ſhall meet with nothing but Peace and Kindneſs from me; I deſire that you would not be ſo far circumvented by the Artifices of thoſe who have as little kindneſs for you as they have for me, as to take up Arms, or to contribute Men or Moneys againſt me; for their whole Deſign is to make their own private a publick Concern. It rather befits you to continue the Amity, and to accept of the Conditions I proffer you. I deſire alſo that you would give me a clear aſſurance by him who delivers you this Letter, what you intend; and that according to the ancient Cuſtom, and the Treaty of *Paſſaw*, my Ambaſſadors who are to attend in the next Diet, may have ſufficient Paſports. 1554.

The Anſwer he received was, That as to the Troops ſent by the Borders of *Lorrain*, there was no Affront intended to his Majeſty, but it was done to the intent, that if the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* ſhould make any irruption into the Empire, his Attempts might be hindred: That as to what concerned his Ambaſſadors, and the publick Peace, they had no Commands from their Principals, but they would give an Account of his Demands to them, and they did not doubt but they would do what was juſt and fit.

About the end of *October*, the Emperor delivered up to his Son by his Ambaſſadors, according to the accuſtomed Ceremonies, the Dukedom of *Milan*. The King of *France*, ſoon after the raiſing the Siege of *Renty*, in the manner I have expreſs'd, diſmiſs'd the *Swiſs*, and put the reſt of his Forces into Quarters. And the Emperor having found a convenient place not far from the Caſtle of *Heſdin*, which he took and demoliſhed the laſt year, began the foundation of a new Town and Fort; and for the building of it with the greater ſecurity, kept his Army together, which in the Month of *November* waſted with Fire and Sword the County of *Bolonois*, and the Territory of *Amiens*. Thus the whole force of the War on both ſides fell on the miſerable and unarmed Multitude. Afterwards he diſmiſſed the greateſt part of the Army, and kept only with him one or two Regiments. About the ſame time the King of *France* ſent ſome Forces into *Italy*, and amongſt them ſome *Germans*, for the Relief of *Siena*, which was then ſharply beſieged by the Forces of the Emperor, and of the Duke of *Florence*.

Milan reſigned to King *Philip*.

The Twelfth Day of *November* a new Parliament began in *London*; thereupon Cardinal *Pool*, who was then in *Brabant*, had ſome Perſons of great note diſpatched to him, to bring him over into *England*; the Principal of which was the Lord *Paget*; the 24th. he came to *London*, and was honourably receiv'd whereſoever he came, and was † ſoon after reſtored to his former Place, Honour, Family and Eſtate, by the conſent of the States, which had been taken from him by Attainder in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth. The 27th. day of *November* he came into the Parliament, and in the Preſence of King *Philip* and the *Queen*, he diſcovered the Cauſe of his Legation, and exhorted the States to return to the Communion of the Church, and to reſtore to the moſt Holy Father the Pope of *Rome* his due Authority, who was willing to receive them with the utmoſt Clemency and Affection: He admoniſhed them alſo that they ſhould offer up their Thanks to God, who had given them ſuch a King and Queen. Then returning them his Thanks for their reſtoring him to his Inheritance

A Parliament in *England*.

† The Attainder was reverſed the 22th. of *November*.

1554. ritance and Family, which he eſteemed a very great Benefit; he ſaid he was ſo much the more obliged to reſtore them alſo to their heavenly Court and Countrey, which he wiſhed above all things. Having ſaid this, he withdrew, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (*Gardiner*) who was Lord Chancellor, having repeated his Speech, and with many words exhorted them to Union and Concord; He added, that great Thanks were due to Almighty God for his immenſe Goodneſs and Mercy, in that he had raiſed up a Prophet of their own Seed, to wit, this great Cardinal, who would wholly employ himſelf in the promoting of their Salvation. The next day, when the Upper Houſe had approved the Cardinal's Speech, there was a Bill drawn in form of a Petition, wherein the States ſupplicate the King and Queen to intercede with the Cardinal on their behalf. In it they ſay, that they earneſtly repent of the Schiſm, that they had denied the Obedience which was due to the Apoſtolick See, and that they had given their Aſſent to Acts of Parliament againſt it: That for time to come they would be in the power of their Majeſties, and do all that ever they could, that all ſuch Acts might in this Parliament be repealed: and therefore they did moſt earneſtly beſeech their Majeſties that they would interpoſe, and obtain an Abſolution of their Sin, and a Remiſſion of the Cenſures which by the Canons of the Church they had incurred: That they might be received into the boſom of the Church as penitent Children, that in the obedience of the See of *Rome* and of the Pope, they might ſerve God to the Glory of his Name, and the encreaſing their Salvation. The 29th. day, when the King, Queen and Cardinal were preſent, the Chancellor aroſe, and openly declar'd what the States had conſented to in relation to the Demands of the Pope's Legate, and thereupon he delivered to the King and Queen the Petition of the States in writing, Sign'd and Seal'd by them, and begg'd they would receive it: the King and Queen receiving and opening it, they again delivered it to the Chancellor, that it might be read; which being done, the Chancellor ask'd the States if they ratified it? Which being affirm'd by them, the King and Queen roſe up, and preſented it to the Cardinal. He having read the Petition, delivered to them the Bull of his Legation; which was alſo openly forthwith read, that all might know that the Pope had given him Power to abſolve them; after which, he made a Speech, wherein he ſhewed them how acceptable Repentance was to God, and how much the Holy Angels rejoyced in the Repentance of a Sinner; and having given them many Examples of this, he gave God great Thanks, that inſpired into them a Mind deſirous of Amendment. This being done, he aroſe, as did alſo the King and Queen; and their Majeſties kneeled down whilſt he addreſſed himſelf to God, imploring his Mercy, and beſeeching him to look mercifully upon the People, and to forgive them their ſins. And ſaying, that he was ſent as Legate from the Pope, *Chriſt's Vicar*, to abſolve them, he lifted up, and ſtretched out his Hand over them, as their manner is, bleſſing all of them, and abſolving them at the ſame time. From thence they went to the Chappel, where ſolemn Thanks were again offered up to God with much Muſick, and all the Signs of a Feſtival Joy, according to the Cuſtom of the Nation. They who were intimately acquainted with *Cardinal Pool*, and had enjoyed his Converſation, and knew his Cuſtoms, did much admire this Action, and did expect ſomething from him very different from what they found.

England reconciled to the See of *Rome*.

The Emperor's Letter to the States of *Germany*.

The 18th. of *December*, the Emperor from *Bruſſels* ſent a Letter to all the Princes and States of the Empire; the Contents of which were theſe; The great Cauſes for which *Albert* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, was about a year ſince outlaw'd by the Imperial Chamber of *Spire*, and declared guilty of High Treaſon, have been clearly ſhewn to you by the Letters of that Chamber, which were publickly ſet up, and alſo by thoſe Letters and Commands you afterwards received from us. And whereas I am informed that he ſtubbornly continues in his ſaid turbulent and ſeditious Counſels, and doth certainly deſign new Troubles, that he may yet further afflict and vex *Germany*, which is our common Countrey; and laſtly, becauſe he has made his Retreat, and found ſhelter and refuge with ſome, I think it neceſſary to renew the former Sentence, for the Welfare of our Countrey. I do this the rather, becauſe I believe there is not one amongſt you, who does not love his Countrey, and deſire that care may be taken for the preſervation of himſelf, his Territories and the People, and that the ill deſigns of the ſaid Marqueſs and his Adherents, may be hindred

and

and retarded: Wherefore, upon the Penalties heretofore propoſed, I again command, That no man preſume in any wiſe to aſſiſt him or his Adherents, with Help, Counſel, Entertainment, Money, Victual, or Ammunition and Arms: As alſo, I will that every of you make it his greateſt care, that neither he nor his Adherents may be ſuffered to gather any Forces, or liſt any Souldiers in the Territories belonging to any of you, and that every of you do to the utmoſt of his Power, hinder thoſe within his Territories from running over to the ſaid Marqueſs, and puniſh all ſuch as ſhall be found Breakers of this our Order, and diſobedient to our Commands. This Letter was Printed, and ſent into all Parts. 1554.

The Twenty Ninth Day of *December*, *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, came to *Ausburg* on the account of the Diet, I have ſo often already mentioned; but finding none of the Princes or States there, two days after he ſent Letters and Envoys to the ſeveral Princes, repreſenting to them, That ſeeing that there being many things of the greateſt moment to be tranſacted in this Aſſembly, he to his great loſs and trouble, had left his Territories, and was come thither that he might conſult with them; That they might together conſider of the neceſſary and ſafe Means of relieving the afflicted ſtate of *Germany*: He therefore earneſtly deſired that they would forthwith perſonally come thither, and not ſend their Deputies; for ſuch was the greatneſs of the Cauſe now under conſideration, that it could not be well otherwiſe diſpatched: That the Emperor his Brother, had given him a full Power; and that he would not detain them longer than was neceſſary. *Ferdinand* comes to *Ausburg*.

The Sixteenth of *January* the Parliament of *England* was diſſolved. Amongſt many other Acts paſſed in this Parliament, after the Repeal of the Act of Attainder againſt Cardinal *Pool*, the Acts made in the times of the former Kings, (*R.* 2. *H.* 4. and *H.* 5.) againſt Hereticks, and in favour of the Biſhops, were revived: The Papal Power was entirely reſtored, and whatſoever Acts of Parliament had been made againſt the See of *Rome* within Twenty years laſt paſt, were repealed. Moſt thought the Crown of *England* would in this Parliament have been given to King *Philip*; but there was nothing of that Nature done. In the beginning of *February* there were Five condemned to be burnt for perſiſting in the *Proteſtant Religion*, and refuſing to return to the *Roman Catholick Religion*; *John Hooper*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, *John Bradford*, *Lawrence Sanders*, *Rowland Taylor*, a Lawyer, and *John Rogers*, all men of eminent Learning. The laſt of theſe was burnt in *London*, where he had been a Preacher; the reſt were ſent into their reſpective Countries, *Glouceſter*, *Manchеſter*, *Coventry* and *Hadley*; who all of them ſuffered Death with great Conſtancy. The 30th. of *March*, *Ferrar*, late Biſhop of St. *Davids*, was burnt alſo at *Carmarthen*, by *Morgan* his Succeſſor in that See. There were alſo three Ambaſſadors ſent from *England* to *Rome*, to thank the Pope for his great Clemency ſhewn to them, and promiſe his Holineſs an entire Obedience and Fidelity for the future. 1555. The Parliament of *England* diſſolved. Five burnt in *England*.

The Fifth Day of *February* King *Ferdinand* opened the Diet at *Ausburg* (though few of the Princes were then arrived there) by a Speech, wherein he told them, That they very well knew for what grand and neceſſary Cauſes this Diet had been firſt appointed to be held at *Ulm* by the Emperor; who had afterwards commanded it to be opened in this City the 13th. of *November*: That he for his part, deſired to have begun it that day; purſuant to the Deſire and Command of his Brother; but that he was kept at home by the neceſſity of Affairs, that ſo he might ſecure his Countries from the Inſults of a near Enemy, in caſe any Attempt had been made upon them, and that he might ſo order his Affairs at home in this Interval, that all things might go regularly forward during his Abſence: That after this forced Delay, he arrived here the 29th. of *December*, in order to the holding this *Diet*. He ſaid, The Sum of the Emperor's Deſire was, That whatever tended to the Glory of God, and the Tranquillity of the Empire might be eſtabliſhed by the Council of all the Princes and States: That as to the Diligence, Study, Labour and Care which the Emperor, purſuant to the Love he bears to his and our Country, has in the mean time employed for the extinguiſhing of all Offences and Diſquiets, and the eſtabliſhing of Religion, that was known to all, and would be teſtified not only by all his other Actions, but alſo in a more ſignal manner, by the Edicts made in the two laſt Diets. That whatſoever he then undertook or promiſed, The Diet opened in *Germany*.

1555. ſed, he had ſince exactly performed: But then they all knew what pernicious Commotions both foreign and domeſtick, contrary to the expectation of all men, had ſince happened, by which thoſe ſalutary Edicts were not only hindered and diſturbed from having that effect which might have been expected; but they were alſo in a manner deſtroyed, to the great detriment of the Empire, ſo that it was needleſs for him to inſiſt any further or longer upon them: That the Emperor ought not in the mean time to be at all blamed, becauſe he had given no cauſe of Offence, but had acted ſincerely, and with conſtancy had ſought the Publick Good, whatever the Slanders of his Enemies might inſinuate to the contrary: He ſaid, he did not doubt but that they themſelves were of this Opinion, and would become the Emperor's Advocates. That the Emperor had aſſembled this Diet for the procuring a Remedy for all theſe Calamities, and had deſigned to have been perſonally preſent in it himſelf; but was in this prevented by Sickneſs and other Affairs; and yet being unwilling it ſhould be any longer delayed, he had commanded the Diet to be forthwith opened, that ſo this growing Miſchief might be curb'd, and he might not be wanting in any thing to his Countrey, than which nothing is dearer to him. That therefore he had appointed him (his Brother) his Lieutenant, and had given him a full and unlimited Commiſſion, and had delegated and ſent ſome others to joyn with him, to the intent that they, together with the States and Princes, might enter upon the Conſideration and Eſtabliſhment of ſuch Laws as ſhould be good and uſeful to the Empire: That Religion ſhould be their firſt and principal Concern, becauſe this laſting Diſſention in that Matter, was the Head and Fountain of all their Diſturbances and Calamities, which had not only coſt the Lives of ſo many Thouſands, but had alſo endangered the loſs of more Souls, and was a thing ſo apparent that it needed no further explication: That it was a ſad and lamentable Spectacle to ſee them who were partakers of the ſame Baptiſm, and united in the ſame Name, Empire and Language, thus divided one againſt another in the Profeſſion of that Faith which they had for ſo many Ages received by Tradition from their Anceſtors: But it was yet more to be lamented, that not only one or two, but that every day new *Sects* did ariſe, whilſt every man endeavours to defend his own private Opinion; which is injurious to the Majeſty of God, a diſſolution of the Bond of Charity, and ſo far diſturbs the Minds of the ignorant Multitude, that they know not what to do or believe. But that which is the moſt afflictive of all, is, That in this great variety of Errors, moſt men are brought up in ſuch manner by degrees, that it is poſſible perhaps to find many not only amongſt the prime Nobility, but alſo in the lower Stations, who not at all concerning themſelves for any Religion, believe none, and therefore never trouble themſelves with the Rules of Reaſon, Honeſty or Conſcience: This turns to the grievous Miſchief of our Youth. It is certainly a deplorable thing, that *Germany*, which has now for ſo many Ages poſſeſſed the deſerved Praiſes of Virtue and Piety, and has, on that account, flouriſhed above other Nations, ſhould of a ſudden ſo degenerate and ſink, that in time to come it will not bear a compariſon with the moſt prophane Nations; and even now it ought not in this to be preferr'd before the *Turks* and Barbarous Nations, or thought any wiſe better than they. Now the Reaſon why there has been no remedy found out for the ſtopping this Diſeaſe, though there has been Conventions of the States for that purpoſe, is becauſe ſo very few have made it their buſineſs, and that they, who in the firſt place ought to have promoted the Cure of it, have either connived at it, or following the bent of the times, have endeavoured to find their own private Intereſts in it: Therefore the immortal God has now for a long time afflicted *Germany* in general, and many of its States in particular, with various Calamities, inſomuch that this Region, which heretofore ſo abounded with Men, Cities and Strength, that it could eaſily repel any Force that was employed againſt it, being now torn by Contentions, and harraſſed by Civil Broyls and Foreign Wars, is reduced to the utmoſt degree of Weakneſs, and haſtes to a Diſſolution, if God doth not wonderfully ſave and preſerve it. That therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary, That every Magiſtrate ſhould in his place take the utmoſt care of Religion, and do his Duty in that part in which the Glory of God, and the Honeſty of Humane Life were ſo much concerned: That there had been various Methods propoſed in former Diets, for the compoſing this Difference in Religion, but the holding a general, free,

free, and holy Council, has been thought not only by the Emperor, but by you alſo from the firſt, the moſt effectual way; becauſe it being a Controverſie concerning the Faith, it belongs not to one ſingle Nation, but to all the Chriſtian World, and therefore all Nations were to be aſſembled, that whatſoever is any where faulty, may be reformed and taken away: That therefore the Emperor, as became his Station, and at their Requeſt, had at laſt obtained the Calling of *ſuch* a Council; which accordingly had not only been indicted, but alſo ſeveral times begun; but then what had intervened for the hindring it, and the obſtructing its good Effects, he would at preſent leave unſpoken, nor did he doubt but that the greateſt part of them who were preſent in that Council in Perſon, or by their Ambaſſadors, knew very well the Reaſon why the Commonwealth had as yet reap'd no Benefit from that Council. And if it was their deſire ſtill that the way of a Council ſhould be purſued, and have its place in their Conſiderations, which ſeem'd to be a thing they ought moſt earneſtly to ask by their Prayers of God: That then he would not only willingly conſent, but with all poſſible Study, Fidelity and Diligence procure the ſame: That in this caſe, they were to conſider how thoſe things which had hitherto hindred the good effects which were expected from the Council, might now be removed; But if by reaſon of the Wars, and that Tempeſt which then lay heavy upon the Common-wealth, it ſeemed good to them to defer it to a more quiet time; then he was pleaſed that they ſhould treat of ſome other *pious and tolerable ways*: That in the mean time, the People and States of *Germany* might live in Peace, and be under an honeſt Diſcipline, the Glory of God, and the Conſciences of men being in Safety. 1555.

A National Council of *Germany* long diſuſed.

That of late years a National Council of *Germany* had been often propos'd, as extreamly accommodated to the preſent ſtate of things; but foraſmuch as the Name, Mode and Form of it, was not (in his opinion) ſo well known, and by uſe eſtabliſhed, he therefore would not at preſent determine any thing concerning it: The third way, by Conferences and Diſputes, had been often tried, and though hitherto no good fruit had proceeded from thence, yet, many things might by this means have been diſcovered, and the principal Differences might have been determined, if they had been managed with a truly pious *Affection*, and if there had not on both ſides been too great an Attachment to their private Intereſt; which Affirmation he nevertheleſs deſired might not be extended to the injury of any man. That therefore this way was to be further conſidered: And although the faithful Council and Deſign of the Emperor was ſome years ſince miſunderſtood, and ſo became ungrateful to both the Parties; yet if they thought ſo fit, he did ſtill think that way might be uſeful, if the contending Parties would act ſincerely; and if they would lay aſide their Paſſions, and diſcharge all Obſtinacy, and ſeek nothing but the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Men, that then he would aſſiſt them in it with fidelity and induſtry: That for the preſent he could not bethink him of any other convenient and uſeful Way: But that if they could find out any one that was more fit and eaſie, they ſhould have his good leave to produce it.

The next Thing to be conſidered of, as he ſaid, was the Peace of the Empire. That the Emperor and they too thought, That the Meaſures they had then taken for the preſervation of the Publick Peace, had been ſuch as would certainly have had a good effect; but then ſince the Event has ſhewed them all, that they were miſtaken in this, becauſe they had agreed that Rebels and Seditious Perſons ſhould not be condemned or outlawed till they had firſt been cited, and convicted according to the Forms of Juſtice, which in the interim gave them time and opportunity of ruining many innocent men; It was alſo then Agreed, That if any Force were employ'd againſt any man, his Neighbors ſhould aſſiſt and defend him: But then you are now abundantly convinc'd what variety of Impediments may intervene to hinder this. That therefore they ſhould deliberate, and ſeriouſly conſider how theſe two Heads of the Laws may be amended, That unquiet men might be kept in Aw, and that thoſe who were faithful to the Empire, might be well aſſured that they ſhould not fail of Aſſiſtance in time of need. That this might now be diſpatched with ſo much the greater eaſe, becauſe the Foundations of ſuch a Regulation had been laid by the late Conventions at *Worms* and *Franckfurt*, and they ſhould do well to proſecute the Conſultation which had been begun there,

and

1555. and bring it to a good end. He deſired alſo that they would conſider of the conſtituting the Publick Juſtice, of the Publick Contributions, of the Money, and all other things relating to the Government: That they ſhould direct all their Thoughts to the finding out ways for the total aboliſhing their inteſtine Evils, Contentions, Riots, Seditions, and unjuſt Force and Violence. That in all theſe Deliberations they ſhould in the firſt place conſider the State of the Empire, and reflect upon the great Danger which now threatned *Germany*, not only from the devouring *Turk*, but alſo from ſome nearer Enemies, who ſought the Ruine of the Empire as much as the *Turks* did. That therefore they ſhould deeply conſider what great Advantages their Enemies took of theſe Offences and Civil Broyls which they craftily ſtirr'd up and nouriſhed, that in this diviſion of the States, they in the Interim might do their Wills, and when time ſerved, they might with great Forces fall upon the Empire, and enſlave it to them: That the Neighbour-Nations which had been thus conquered and circumvented by them, ought to be a Caution to *Germany*, and excite in it a mighty care to purſue thoſe Counſels, by which the Tempeſt and Ruine which now hung over her Head, and threatned her, might be averted: That the Authority and Strength of the Empire might be preſerved, and that all external Force might be no leſs valiantly reſiſted now than heretofore: That whatever Help or Counſel the Emperor or He were able to contribute, they ſhould not fail of doing it with all willingneſs, and in ſuch manner too, that all men ſhould from thence underſtand how greatly they loved their Country; and of this he deſired they would reſt certainly aſſured.

The Effect of this Speech.

When this Speech of King *Ferdinand*'s came once to be ſpred over *Germany*, it was attended with a Report, That he had baniſhed about 200 Miniſters out of *Bohemia*; and it was alſo ſaid, That the Cardinal of *Moron* would be ſent from *Rome*, to this Diet; who was to try if he could not make *Germany* follow the Example of *England*, and do what *Pool* had already done; for that the Pope and all his Party was thought to have been ſo exalted by the reduction of *England*, that they had thereupon entertain'd vaſt, but deluding Hopes: For, becauſe the Thing went as they deſired, therefore they concluded, That God was now appeaſed, and was become the Defender of their moſt juſt Cauſe, and that their Church could not be convinced of any Error; for thus at this time they boaſted more than they were wont. And when they ſend any *Legates* into *Germany* at any time, they do it not to confeſs any Offence they have committed, but as they pretend, that they may heal the Infirmities of men.

About the End of *February*, *Albert*, Duke of *Mecklenburg*, whom we have mentioned above, as an Ally to *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, and whom *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, the laſt year, whilſt he carried the War into *Saxony*, very much afflicted, married the Daughter of *Albert* Duke of *Pruſſia*. About this time alſo I received an Account out of *England*, That *Bradford*, whom I have mentioned above, to be condemned, was kept a Priſoner, and that the Minds of many were much aſtoniſhed and ſtupified with the Conſtancy of thoſe who had Sacrificed their Lives. *Bradford* was burnt in *July* following.

The End of the Twenty Fifth Book.

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THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK XXVI.

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I Have given an account how *England* returned under the obedience of the See of *Rome* in the laſt Book; when the account of this Revolution, which was ſent with the utmoſt Celerity, came to the Knowledge of that Court, there was a vaſt Joy expreſſed in the City, and extraordinary Proceſſions were made to the Churches, and the twenty fourth of *December*, the Pope publiſhed a Declaration to this purpoſe. *England* submits to the Court of *Rome*. ‘ After I had heard (ſaith he) that ‘ *England*, which has now for ſome Years been ſeparated, and torn off from ‘ the Body of the Church, was by the immenſe Mercy of God, and the extra- ‘ ordinary Diligence, Faith, Study, and Labour of King *Philip*, Queen *Mary*, ‘ and *Reginald* Cardinal (of *England*) reduced to the Communion of the Church, ‘ and the obedience of this See: My Mind was filled with a mighty Joy, and ‘ as was fit, I forthwith rendred to God as great Thanks as I could, nor have ‘ I ſince omitted any thing which might tend to the Communicating the Fruit ‘ and Benefit of this my Joy to the whole City. But then, as the Father in the Goſ- ‘ pel who received his Prodigal Son, was not ſatisfied with an inward Exulta- ‘ tion, and private Joy, but invited others to his Feaſt, that they too might re- ‘ joice with him, and make merry. So that the whole Earth may underſtand ‘ the greatneſs of my Joy, I will and Command that publick [illegible] ‘ and Prayers be made. And alſo by the Authority and Power [illegible]

1556. 'I allow every Man the Liberty to chuſe what Prieſt he likes beſt, and that having rightly confeſſed his Sins to him: I allow alſo that Prieſt a Faculty to remit all ſorts of Sins, how † abominable ſoever they be, even thoſe Sins which belong only to me to remit, and which are wont by Name to be excepted. And that he ſhall not only remit the *Guilt*, but the *Penalty* or *Pain* due to thoſe Sins which are ſo confeſſed. That he ſhall impoſe what ſatisfaction he thinks fit, and relax all Vows, except thoſe of Chaſtity, and religious Orders, and ſo as they be commuted into other works. And truſting in the Mercy of God, and the interceſſion of St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*, I grant a full and intire remiſſion of all Sins, which is only granted at the Determination of fifty years at other times, to all thoſe, who with an humble and contrite Heart, ſhall turn to God, and perfectly confeſs their Sins as ſoon as they hear of this my Bull, and ſhall twice or thrice in a Week endeavour to appeaſe God, by Faſting, Alms, and other Pious Exerciſes, and ſhall after this receive the Holy Euchariſt with Thankſgivings, beſeeching God in their Prayers, that he would illuminate thoſe that walk in the darkneſs of Error with the Light of his Countenance, that he would ſend us Peace, and incline the Hearts of Kings to Concord. And I grant the ſame Benefit to thoſe who are hindred by Age or Sickneſs, from performing what is above required. And that theſe our Letters may be every where Publiſhed, I command all Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, and the like, ſo ſoon as they receive the Copy hereof, that they forthwith divulge it throughout their ſeveral Provinces, and as it is a free Gift, that they propoſe it every where without any gain.

† *Atrocia.*

Blaſſeburg ruined

I have ſaid in the former Book, that *Blaſſeburg* was the principal Fortreſs the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* had in all his Country, and that it was ſurrendred to the Confederates: Theſe Princes conſidering, that being by one means or another recovered, it might be the occaſion of greater Miſchiefs, and about this time, entirely ruined and demoliſhed it, to the great Exaſperation of the whole Family of *Brandenburg*, and of all the Kindred of it.

Ferdinand invites the Princes to the Diet.

In the Interim, *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, both before he left his Territories, and after he arrived at *Ausburg* for the holding the Diet, did continually by his Envoys and Letters, ſollicit the Princes to haſten thither, as I ſaid in the laſt Book. His firſt and greateſt Care, was to perſwade *Auguſtus*, Elector and Duke of *Saxony*: He had before this alledged for his Abſence, the unſettled State of *Saxony*, and now again ſent his Deputies to the Diet with the ſame Excuſes, and occaſionally mentioning the *Turks*, he endeavoured to ſhew the great danger *Germany* was expoſed to, which heretofore having been Potent and formidable to her Enemies, was now almoſt exhauſted and depopulated by the many Miſchiefs and Wounds ſhe had ſuffered. He ſaid, this Calamity received a great Improvement from the diſaffection and diſtruſt which the States of the Empire laboured under. That the Emperor and his Majeſty had omitted nothing which might procure a Remedy againſt this Diſeaſe. But that hitherto all their Labour had been in vain; for that the Minds of Men were ſo Exaſperated, and ſuch ways were open to the admitting new offences, that it was not reaſonable to expect any mitigation. His Brother *Maurice* ſome years ſince (he ſaid) had commanded that ſome Ceremonies and other things of an indifferent Nature, ſhould be retained in the Churches of his Provinces; but then this Command was not only ſlighted and diſobeyed, but was attacked by many Libels and rude Reproaches, ſo that afterwards it was not in his Power to re-eſtabliſh thoſe things, unleſs he would have expoſed himſelf; and that by this means ſome other Princes had been deterred from attempting any thing of this Nature: But now thoſe who are of the other Party, and oppoſe the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, have given apparent Signs that they intend not the leaſt Pious and Legal Reformation, by the Actions of the former times, when this affair was conſidered either in Councils or Conferences. Seeing therefore after ſo many fruitleſs Labours, the loſs of many Years, and the diſappointment of many Councils, no way to an Agreement and Union could be found out, becauſe perhaps it was the Pleaſure of God thus to puniſh the Sins of Men, therefore he deſired very earneſtly that the Confeſſion of Faith, delivered in at *Ausburg*, as a Sum of the Chriſtian Religion, might not be thought by his Majeſty an impious Book, but that it was a pure and a Pious Writing, which ſhew that the Son of God was the Author of Salvation, that the Doctrine of it did exactly agree with the Primitive Church, and firſt four Councils, that it commends and teacheth thoſe

Works

Works which are truly Chriſtian, and exhorts the People to obey their Magiſtrates. So that if a firm and certain Peace may be eſtabliſhed in this Diet, there was no doubt but the Emperor and his Majeſty might obtain great Succours from the *Germans* againſt the *Turks*, but then thoſe who had imbraced the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, and for the moſt part had been brought up in it, would conſtantly perſiſt in that Faith, ſo that if there were not ſuch a Peace made, as ſhould include Religion, and confirm the Poſſeſſions of the Church Revenues where they now were, though this affair were only referred to another Diet, as has already been frequently done, and one day ſpent after another in Delays, whilſt the People were left in a miſerable uncertainty of enjoying what they had: That in this caſe, it was very doubtful whether all Men would patiently bear it; for though he and the reſt of the Princes ſhould ſit ſtill, acquieſce and do their duties, and continue in their Obedience, yet it might happen that thoſe that were mean Men, and of no regard, might cauſe Troubles by means of this uncertainty of Danger, and of this fear for Religion, eſpecially in thoſe Places which lay moſt expoſed, and afforded the greateſt opportunities for Inſurrections of this Nature: That this being a thing, in which the fortune of the Empire conſiſted, he deſired earneſtly, that his Majeſty would apply his Thoughts to it, now he had obtained a full and plenary Power from the Emperor. That beſides, this Condition was ſome years ſince propoſed by his Brother *Maurice* at *Paſſaw*, that if perhaps the differences in Religion could not be Compoſed, that yet nevertheleſs, an inviolable Peace ſhould be Eſtabliſhed till things could be intirely Compoſed: And though the Emperor would not then admit this offer, becauſe as he ſaid, all the States were concerned in it; yet ſeeing he did not neither totally reject it, and in the Treaty or Decree expreſly promiſed, *That he would take Care that things might be equitably diſcuſſed in the Diet, and there ſhould be no Arts uſed to ſuborn the Votes of Men in the buſineſs of Religion:* He was confident on this account, that in the entrance or beginning of this Diet, He would ſolicite not only thoſe States and Princes who met then at *Paſſaw*, but all the reſt of the States to imbrace a Peace. When the Deputies of the Duke of *Saxony* had made this Speech in the Diet, the fourth of *February*, the next day, the King of the *Romans* made a reference or propoſal of it to the States, in the manner I have ſet forth in the concluſion of the laſt Book. 1555.

About this time the Learned Men of *Miſnia* and *Wittemberg*, and eſpecially *Melanchthon*, ſent their Letters of Conſolation to thoſe Miniſters which were Baniſhed out of *Bohemia*, as I ſaid in the end of the laſt Book; wherein they ſhew the Craft of the adverſe Party, who alledged, that they only deſired to preſerve neceſſary Order in the Church, and that thoſe who either had no Epiſcopal Ordination, or who were Married, ought not to diſtribute the Holy Sacrament; for they only pretended this Cauſe of their Baniſhment, that they might not ſeem to intend the oppreſſion of the true Religion. But then theſe Learned Men ſufficiently proved, that it was a meer Tyranny to deprive Miniſters of their Functions, only becauſe they were Married; for that the Devil was the Author of the Prohibition of Marriage, as appears ſufficiently in the ſacred Scriptures: That Orders were not to be ſought from the Hands of the Biſhops, who were the declared Enemies of the Goſpel and defended Idolatry, but that they were to be ſought from that Church, which imbraced the true Doctrine, and therefore had the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: That it was extreamly abſurd and dangerous to ask Shepherds of the Wolves: That the Church has ever had a Right to elect fitting Miniſters, and that ſo it was decreed in the Council of *Nice*: That thoſe that were thus Elected and Tryed, were confirmed by thoſe that preſided in the Holy Churches: That this Cuſtom was ſtill retained, and therefore it was a meer ſlander, when they pretended the Proteſtants diſturbed or broke the Order of the Church. Therefore ſince this was the true ſtate of things, and for that they were Baniſhed for the Profeſſion of the true Religion, they ought to bear their Sufferings with the greater moderation of Mind, for that God in due time would take Care of them, and they, and the Neighbour Churches would afford them the beſt Hoſpitality and Charity they could. The Proteſtant Miniſters Comfort the baniſhed *Bohemians.*

The *French* having taken *Turea*, a City of *Piedmont*, upon the River *Doria*, under the Command of *Briſac*, the thirteenth day of *December*, of the laſt Year: This Year, the third day of *March*, they took *Caſale*, a City ſtanding near the *Po*, by ſurprize; though there was in it a Garriſon of *Spaniards* and *Germans*, The *French* War in *Piedmont.*

1555. *Germans*, the Caſtle held out for ſome time, and then was forced to yield too; after this they poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral other Towns, and amongſt them of *Valenza* and *Salvadera*, both which they beat down and levelled.

The Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, and other Princes League together.

The ſixth of *March*, *Auguſtus* the Elector of *Saxony*, *Joachim* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* and Elector, the Children of *John Frederick*, late Elector of *Saxony*, the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, and ſeveral of the neighbouring Princes met at *Naumburg* upon the River *Saal*, and there renewed the Hereditary League between theſe Families which I have mentioned before in my twenty fourth Book; and at the ſame time mutually agreed to ſtick to the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, and that no ſuſpition might thereupon ariſe af any under-hand Combination, the fifth day after their Meeting they gave the Emperor an account of the reaſon of this congreſs, in this manner: 'The laſt year when there was a Treaty concluded between *Auguſtus*, and *John Frederick*, Electors of *Saxony*, it was then determined that the ancient and Paternal League ſhould be renewed, which was begun above a hundred Years ſince, and afterwards confirm'd by a Law: That they were then met to renew that League, and as it had been very beneficial to their Anceſtors and their People, ſo they hoped that for the future, they ſhould reap the ſame Advantage from it, ſeeing they ſought nothing from it but the Publick Peace and Welfare, and did not deſign to offend any Perſon, and they ſaid, that purſuant to the old Cuſtom, they had excepted his Imperial Majeſty, and his Brother the King of the *Romans* out of it, and that as they deſired to live in Peace amongſt themſelves, ſo they would perform that Duty which they owed to the Publick, and which became obedient Princes of the Empire: That as to Religion, they would not exceed the terms and limits of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, but then becauſe thoſe Heads of the Chriſtian Religion which were contained in it, had not the leaſt mixture of any Seditious or Impious Doctrines, by the Bleſſing of God they would perſevere in it. That they would not fail to promote the ſafety of *Germany*, as far as it was poſſible for them by their Labours, Counſels, and Eſtates. That ſeeing in theſe unquiet times, they were neceſſitated to ſtay at home to prevent greater Inconveniences, which would have attended their Abſence; they had therefore ſent Deputies to the Diet, to whom they had given order in *all things* to promote the publick Peace, and to take Care that neither Religion, nor any Civil Cauſe whatſoever ſhould occaſion the fear of Force or Danger. For that, if a Peace were once well ſetled, all other Controverſies would ſo much the more eaſily be Adjuſted: That the preſent ſtate of the Empire was ſuch, that it was needful to joyn and unite all their Forces and Minds to prevent the nearer approaches of the *Turks* towards them. They ſaid, they knew how much his Imperial Majeſt deſired a Royal Army ſhould be raiſed to repel the Inſults of the Enemy, that if ſuch a Peace were once ſetled, there was no doubt but the States of the Empire would freely ſpend their Moneys in that War, which had hitherto been hindred by their Domeſtick Commotions and Calamities. That for their Parts, they would not be wanting in this Caſe, and they had given their Deputies order to ſay the ſame things in the Diet. The ſame day they wrote to King *Ferdinand*, and almoſt in the ſame Words as *Auguſtus* had ordered his Deputies to ſpeak in the Diet. For they inſiſted upon that Article of the *Paſſaw* Treaty, ſhewed their deſire of Peace, their Eſteem of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, perſwaded the ſetling a Peace, and deſired that no Credit might be given to thoſe who made it their Buſineſs to diſquiet the Empire.

The Letter of theſe Princes to the Emperor.

The Elector of *Mentz* dies.

The fifteenth of *March*, the Elector and Archbiſhop of *Mentz* died; he had been a Member of the Council of *Trent*, and was afterwards ſeverely Treated, and forced to ſeek his Safety in a Flight, as is ſet forth in the twenty fourth Book of this Hiſtory; *Daniel Brendel* ſucceeded this Prelate in his See.

Julius III. dies.

The twenty third day of *March*, *Julius* III. Pope of *Rome*, died of a Dropſy; becauſe, contrary to the Opinion of all Men, he had ſo eaſily reduced *England* under the Obedience of the See of *Rome*, he had taken up a vaſt hope that he ſhould recover *Germany* alſo, as was then believed: And he had ſent the Cardinal of *Morone* to the Diet at *Ausburg*, who arrived there the day after the Pope died; but hearing eight days after, the news of his Holineſs his Death, the laſt of that Month, he and *Truccefio*, Cardinal of *Ausburg*, left the Diet, and returned to *Rome*, that they might be preſent in the Election of the new Pope; but the Cardinals which were then at *Rome*, made more haſte than is uſual, and

and without expecting the Arrival of thoſe who were abroad, they choſe *Marcellus*, the ſecond of that Name, who, with the Cardinal of *Farneſe*, was ſent Legate to the Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, as I have ſaid above in my thirteenth Book. The Cardinal of *Ausburg* ſome days before he left the Diet, to go to *Rome*, ſent a Letter into the Convention, wherein he ſignified to the Princes and Deputies, *That he did by all means deſire a Peace; but he would never conſent to any advice, whereby the dignity of the Apoſtolical See, and the old Religion ſhould be violated.* 1555.

Siena taken by the Emperor's Forces.

In the Interim, the City of *Siena*, which from the time of the defeat of *Peter Strozza*, had been beſieged now eight Months by the Forces of the Emperors, and of the Duke of *Florence*, being reduced to extream want of all things, and ſeeing no poſſibility of Succour, the twenty firſt day of *April* yielded it ſelf to the Emperor, who put a Garriſon into it. *In the Year* 1558. *This City was afterwards ſold by* Philip *the Second, to the Duke of* Florence. The Emperor's Forces were Commanded in this Siege by the Marqueſs *di Marignano*, a great Soldier. About three years ſince, the Inhabitants of this City having by the aſſiſtance of the *French*, beaten the *Spaniards*, and deſtroyed their Citadel, they thereupon ſent Ambaſſadors into *France* to give the King their Thanks, and to aſſure him they would for the future commit their Fortunes to his Protection.

Marcellus II. dies. *Paul* the IV. Elected.

Marcellus the Second, who was choſen Pope, ſat but twenty two days, and died the laſt of *April*. *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*, and *Guido Ubaldo*, Duke of *Urbino*, were according to the Cuſtom, juſt then come into *Rome* to pay their Reſpects to this new Pope, who being nearer, had thereby the opportunity to come before ſome others who deſigned it too. The Cardinals being ſhut up in the Conclave, the twenty third of *May*, they Elected Cardinal *Theatino* Pope. His Name was *John Peter*, and he was a *Neapolitan* by Birth, and then Dean of the College, a Son of the Illuſtrious Family *di Caraffa*, a Man of great Age, and of more than uſual Learning. He changed his Name, and was called *Paul* IV. becauſe *Paul* III. had made him a Cardinal. This was the Man who inſtituted a Sect of Men, who are called *Jeſuites*, and have ſince neſtled, not only in *Italy*, but in *Germany* too, and ſome other Places. A ſmall time after, he made his Brother's Son a Cardinal, who was a Soldier, and had been a Captain, and for the moſt part had ſerved in the *French* Camp.

Cardinal *Pool's* Letter for a Peace.

In the former Book, I have given an account how Cardinal *Pool* went to the Emperor and King of *France*, to perſwade them to a Peace, which he endeavoured by Word and Writing, and amongſt many other Arguments he told them, that whilſt they went on with this Civil War, the *Turks* took the opportunity of enlarging their Bounds both by Sea and Land, they having in this time taken † *Belgrade* and * *Rhodes*, and opened their Paſſage to the Poſſeſſion of *Buda*, and the *Danube*: That if God had not ſtirred up a War between them and the King of *Perſia*, it is not unlikely he might have made himſelf Maſter of all Chriſtendom by this time. That from hence bad Chriſtians had alſo encreaſed to ſuch a number in many Places, to the great weakning and corruption of all Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Diſcipline, that it was not now in their Power to curb and reſtrain them; as might be ſeen by the Rebellions which were ſtirred up in all places, the neglect of the Offices of the Church, and the Hereſies and Schiſms which have ariſen and ſpread themſelves in this time. In the next place you ought to conſider, that you are the Princes of the Chriſtian Religion, and that though God has ſuffered Satan, who is the Author of all Evil, and whoſe Buſineſs is to ſift the Church of God as Wheat, to ſtir up a War between you two, who are the Principal Members of the Church, yet he has not ſuffered his wickedneſs to go further than civil and common affairs and things. For he has preſerved both of you found in Religion, of the ſame Mind, and united to the Body of the Church, *without which it would ſcarce have been poſſible to have reduced you to Concord.* And when ſo many other Princes have made a defection from the Church, and that Enemy of Mankind has invented ſuch variety of Stratagems againſt you, yet God in his divine Goodneſs has look'd upon you, and defeated the devices and attempts of the Devil. By which he has given us a certain Token, not only of his Goodneſs and Clemency towards you, but alſo of his Intentions to uſe your Services, and to unite you two to his Vicar on Earth, for the taking away theſe deſtructive Contentions, and reſtoring a general Peace, both as to Church and State. Theſe, and many other ſuch Arguments, did that Cardinal offer to the Conſideration of theſe Princes, threatning them alſo with the Wrath and Vengeance of God, if they

† In 1521.
* In 1522.

1555. did not deſiſt, and ſuffer their People, which was grievouſly Harraſſed and impoveriſhed, to recover. Now though theſe Arguments did not prevail then, yet when he went into *England*, he went on with his deſign of reconciling them, and at laſt he prevailed ſo far, as to diſpoſe both the Emperor and King of *France* to ſend their Ambaſſadors to treat of a Peace.

Queen *Mary* mediates between the Emperor and King of *France*

The Queen of *England*, who was the Mediator in this Treaty, appointed a place betwen *Calais*, *Ardee*, and *Graveling*, three Towns, belonging to theſe three Princes, in the Center of which, ſhe choſe out a dry and convenient place, in the middle of a Plain, and having moted the ſame, ſhe cauſed four houſes to be built, which though not intended for any long duration, were yet made very convenient and Beautiful. In this place the Ambaſſadors met the twenty third of *May*. There met for the Emperor amongſt others, the Biſhop of *Arras*; for the King of *France*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Conſtable; and for the *Engliſh*, as Mediators, were preſent Cardinal *Pool*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*. A Rumour ſpread it ſelf throughout Chriſtendom, which cauſed great Expectations, and various Judgments in the Minds of Men, and eſpecially in thoſe who were beſt acquainted with the Controverſies of theſe Times; for that in this Treaty, the Dukedoms of *Milan* and *Burgundy*, *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, *Corſica*, *Navarr*, *Lorrain*, and *Luxemburg*, and the Cities of *Toul*, *Verdun* and *Metz*, were to be contended for, and ſetled. The Affair being much, and long debated, and the Mediating *Engliſh* inſiſting to have ſome of theſe things referred to the determination of a Council, nothing at laſt was done, but the Treaty was broke up.

The Letter of the *German* Princes to the Emperor.

His Anſwer.

The tenth of *June*, *Ferdinand* and the States of *Germany* wrote a Letter to the Emperor, wherein they deſired him, that in this Treaty, he would particularly concern himſelf for the reſtitution of thoſe Places, which the King of *France* had taken from the Empire. When therefore the Meeting was ended without any Effect, the Emperor, the twenty fifth of *June*, wrote to the Diet, to this Purpoſe. It is very grateful to me, to ſee you thus affected with the Calamities of thoſe who have been ſo much afflicted by the publick Enemy of the Empire, and of me, and truely their Cauſe was moſt dear to me, and I accordingly, before I received your Letter, had commanded my principal Ambaſſadors, who were to attend this Treaty, that they ſhould perſiſt in the reſtitution of theſe places to their former State, with the utmoſt diligence, and they ſhould not remit any thing as to that Article. And although I for my part, having opened all the ways I could to a Peace, thought that the King of *France* would for the ſake of Peace not have been ſtubborn and refractory; yet after all, the Congreſs is for the preſent broke up without any good Effect. Yet however, that I may conſult the good of Chriſtendom, I will not refuſe to make a Peace, if any tollerable Conditions are offered, and when time ſerves, I will do my endeavour to have thoſe places reſtored to the Empire, and to put them for the future into a better Condition than they were before.

The Emperor had a little before ſent the Duke *de Alva* into *Milan*, that he might take care of the War there, as his General. *Ferdinand Gonzaga* having obtained a releaſe from that Poſt, and being about this time gone from *Flanders*, to live privately at Home. There was alſo a ſtrong Report, which prevailed much about this time, that *Mary*, Queen of *England*, was with Child.

The Perſecution in *England*.

About this time alſo the Perſecution in *England* grew ſharper. *Bradford*, who was condemned to be burnt in the manner I have ſhewn down in the end of my twenty fifth Book, and was afterwards reſpited and kept in Priſon, was burnt in *July*.

Frederick, the eldeſt Son of *John Frederick*, Duke and Elector of *Saxony*, Married *Agnes*, the Daughter of the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, and which had been the Wife of *Maurice*, the laſt Elector of *Saxony*. Many of the neighbouring Princes met on the occaſion of this Marriage, and appointed a ſecond Meeting at *Naumburg* to conſult of their affairs. About the ſame time, *Joan*, the Mother of the Emperor died, and *Ferdinand* her ſecond Son, celebrated her Obſequies at *Auſburg*.

An Inſurrection in *Geneva*.

About the ſame time there was a tumult raiſed at *Geneva* in the night time by ſome of the Senators of that City, who deſigned by this means to make themſelves and their Party, Maſters of that Commonwealth; theſe Men had alſo a great averſion for *John Calvin*, who had fled thither on the account of the Perſecutions in *France*, and now the driving him out of this City, was one of the principal Motives of this Inſurrection: In the night time, there

was a ſudden Commotion made in ſeveral parts of the City, and the Cry was, *The* French *are in Arms, and the City is betrayed.* The *French* in the mean time keeping within their Houſes, and ſo the deſign miſcarried, and many of them who were in this leud Conſpiracy, were Executed, and ſome others were forced to fly for the ſafety of their Lives. The reaſon why they would have had the *French* Baniſhed out of the City, was becauſe many of the *French* Fugitives and Sojourners in the City had been lately taken into the number of the Citizens, by which they believed their Party was weakned, and the other encreaſed. 1555.

The *Turkiſh* Fleet came this Year into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, as it had done ſeveral years before, and much terrified *Tuſcany*. That therefore there might be the leſs dammage done by this Navy, the Marqueſs *di Marignano* General of the Emperors Forces, about the thirteenth of *June*, ſuddenly ſet upon *Porto Ercole*, which was then in the Hands of the *French*, and by the Valour of his Soldiers, took the Caſtle and ſlew all the *French* that were there in Garriſon, after this, the *Turks* too beſieged *Piombino*, but receiving great Loſſes in their Attacks, and not being likely ever to take it, they left that place, and attempted the Iſland of *Elba*, belonging to the Duke of *Florence*, but to no purpoſe neither. The *Turks* Fleet. *Porto Ercole* taken.

About this time, there were ſome Civil Laws publiſhed by the King of *France*, at *Metz*, that Prince having eſtabliſhed there, a Garriſon, a Governour, and a Preſident of Juſtice; amongſt other things it was there enacted, that if any Brother, Siſter, Uncle, Tutor, or Guardian Proſtituted any Woman or Maiden that was under their Charge, he ſhould have an Iron Hoop put about his Neck, and be ſo expoſed for ſome time to the ſcorn, hatred, and reproaches of all Men, and he ſhould be beaten afterwards with Rods, and Baniſhed the City; and if any Father or Mother ſhould do the ſame, it ſhould be Death. Many Men wondred at theſe Laws, and thought it was rather in order to teach Men Crimes that were rarely or never heard of, than to reſtrain them from theſe Faults. But in truth it ſhews the Corruption of our Times.

We have often already mentioned the famous Controverſy which has been ſo many Years depending between the *Landgrave* and *William* Count of *Naſſaw*, concerning the Dominion of *Catzenellobogen*, in the *Landgravat* of *Haſſia*; that an end might be put to this Difference, and the riſe of greater Miſchiefs prevented, ſome of the Neighbour Princes interpoſed as Honorary Arbitrators. To this end, the *Elector Palatine*, *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and *William* Duke of *Cleve* met in the beginning of *July* at *Wormes*, and the *Landgrave* ſent *William* his eldeſt Son to manage this Treaty for him. There were ſome Conditions propoſed, and a Debate inſued, but at laſt they reſolved to take further time to conſider of it, and appointed another time to meet and determine it. *Catzenellobogen.*

In the mean time the *French* deſtroyed as many of the Caſtles in *Montiſferrat*, as they had in their Poſſeſſion, for fear any of them, being ſurprized by the *Spaniards*, might be imployed to hinder the ſupplying of *Caſale* with Neceſſaries. There was in this Dukedom, a ſtrong Caſtle, called *Vulpiano*, which has belonging to it, a Town of ſome moment, and was then in the poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*, and upon the reception of the Duke *de Alva*, great part of the Forces in theſe Parts being aſſembled, to welcome their new General, he took this opportunity to furniſh that Place with Proviſions; and about the ſame time the *French* re-victualled *Marienbourg*, a Town in *Hainault*, which they took the laſt year from the Emperor. About this time alſo the King of *France* publiſhed an Edict by the perſwaſion of his Friends, commanding all his Preſidents to Puniſh, without delay or any regard had to any Appeal, all thoſe who by the Eccleſiaſtical Chancellors, and the Inquiſitors ſhould be condemned for Hereticks. This Edict was by the Cardinal of *Lorrain* brought into the Parliament of *Paris*, that according to the Cuſtom of *France* they might approve, publiſh, and regiſter it. But thoſe Senators being ſurprized with the novelty of the deſign, becauſe it took away all benefit of Appeals, took time to conſider of it, and ſome time after ſent ſome of their Members to acquaint the King with their Thoughts of this Edict, as I ſhall ſet forth in due time.

There is a City in *Switzerland*, called *Lucerne*, which is the Capital of one of their Cantons, and lies not far from *Italy*.

The

1555. The Inhabitants desired they might be suffered to imbrace the Reformation, those Cantons which were of the Roman-Catholick Religion, hereupon differed amongst themselves, whilst some were for the granting this Liberty, and others opposed it, and it was thought this would have caused some intestine Commotions against them, but at last the Party prevailed, who were for maintaining the old Religion, and that those who were not for it, might have their liberty to withdraw. Whereupon a great number of the Inhabitants of that City went to *Zurich*, which City was very Hospitable towards them, and assisted them with great Liberality.

The *English* Ambassadors Return from *Rome*.

About this time, the *English* Ambassadors, who were sent to *Rome*, as I have said in the end of the last Book, returned home. The Pope much approved their Repentance and begging his Pardon: But then he would not allow of the retaining of the Church Lands. Amongst these Ambassadors, was *Thirlby*, Bishop of *Ely*. The King of *Denmark* had also sent a Fleet to the *Northward*, which caused various Discourses amongst Men, for some said it was done at the Instigation of the Emperor, who designed the putting his Son or Brother in the Possession of *Scotland*; others said, it was for the Service of the *French* King; others said it was to prevent any attempts might be made by the Emperor, or his Son, who by the accession of the Crown of *England* to his other Dominions, was become very formidable, and it was also thought, that on this Score, the *Hanse* Towns ccontributed to the Charge of this Fleet. After all these various Reports had been bandied up and down, at last they all vanished, and it was said that the Navy was designed against none but the Pirates.

The *Danish* Navy.

The State of *Rome* at this time, was also very unquiet, the Pope having some of the great Men in suspition, and thereupon having doubled the Guards, and fixed the military Stations in several places of the City, he ordered the Cardinal of *Santa Flora*, *Sfortia*, and *Camillus Colona* to be Imprisoned. Because these were Creatures of the Emperor, most Men thought the Pope design'd something further against that Prince; which distrust was yet more encreased afterwards, upon the Pope's demanding a vast sum of Money, which had been lent to *Alexander de Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, and one of the Emperor's Favourites, by the two last Popes, *Clement* VII. and *Julius* the III. during the Seige of *Siena*; but in a short time those great Men were discharged upon Bail.

About the same time, a Fleet sailed from *Spain* for *Flanders*, loaden with all sorts of Merchandize, this coming upon the Coast of *Normandy*, the *French*, who had long before heard it was coming, set upon it with great Force, and there followed an horrible Engagement, in which many of their Ships on both sides, were burnt and sunk, and great numbers of the Men perished by Fire and Sword, and drowning. but in the end the *French* took some of *Spanish* Ships, and carried them into the Port of *Dieppe*, from whence they came, this happened in the Month of *August*, in the end of which Month, King *Philip* left *England*, and went to his Father to *Brussels*, attended by great numbers of the Nobility of *England*. Some few Years† since, *Truchsius* Cardinal of *Ausburg* had opened an University at *Dilingben*, a City upon the *Danube*, in the Diocess of *Ausburg*, by the Permission and Consent of *Julius* the III. who confirmed this University by a Bull, and gave it great Immunities and Priviledges, as may be seen in this Bull, which has since been published in Print. Amongst many others, who about this time retired to this Place, was *Peter Asoto*, a *Spanish Dominican*, who had been many years the Emperor's Confessor. This Year, this Person began an Answer to the Book which contains the sum of the Christian Faith, which *Christopher* Duke of *Wirtemberg* tendered, as I have said by his Ambassadors to the Fathers assembled in the Council of *Trent*, and he dedicated his Answer with much Assurance to that Duke, whereupon *John Brentius* wrote a large Reply, and exposed all his Sophistry. This last Piece was Translated into the *Italian* Tongue, by *Vergerius*, that the *Italians* might understand it, and judge of the Controversy, and which of the sides had the concurrence of the Scriptures. About the middle of *September*, *George* Count of *Monbeliard* married *Barbaria*, a Daughter of the *Landgrave's*.

† 1549.

After the Arrival of the Duke *de Alva* in the Dukedom of *Milan*, the *French* King sent more Forces, and many expert Leaders under *Brisac* his General: They finding the Town of *Vulpiano*, which was then very strong, and well Garrison'd by the *Spaniards*, to be very troublesom to the progress of the *French* Arms in those Countries, because that Garrison was able to make Inroads

roads as far as *Turin*, and ſometimes further, That they might remove this almoſt only Obſtacle, and open a way to the Supplies they might want, beſieged this Place with all their Forces, about the end of *Auguſt*. They ſuffered much in this Siege, and acted great Things againſt the Town; but the 22. of *September* the Place was yielded to them, and they preſently diſmantled both the Town and Caſtle, and reduced it into a meer Village: Some few days after they took *Moncalno*, a Town and Caſtle between *Caſale* and *Aſte*. 1555.

That Controverſie concerning the Preſence of Chriſt's Body in the *Euchariſt*, or Lord's Supper, which had now for Thirty years together ſo much exercis'd the Pens of Learned men, about this time broke out again; the Miniſters of *Breme* and *Hamburg* publiſhing ſome Pieces againſt *Calvin* and *John à Lasko* by Name: *Calvin* anſwered with great ſharpneſs, and *Bullinger* bore his ſhare in this Controverſie; and *John à Lasko* wrote a Book, which he dedicated to the King of *Poland*, in which he complains, That this Difference was not treated of by comparing the two Opinions, and then debating them in Conferences, but they out of meer prejudice condemned his Opinion, and after the manner of the *Roman Catholicks*, would not hear of Arguments or Scriptures, but thought to bear all down that ſtood before them, by Force and Authority. About the End of *September*, *Magnus*, the Second Son of *Auguſtus* Duke of *Saxony*, was born, whoſe Godfathers were *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*.

Latimer and *Ridley* burnt at *Oxford*.

I have ſaid already how *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer*, were ſent to *Oxford*, and having there defended their Faith againſt the *Roman Catholick Divines*, they were for it condemned to be burnt; yet they were after this kept in Priſon, and the 16th of *October* this year they were both burnt at one Stake before *Baliol-College* in *Oxford*.† *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was then brought out alſo, and at the Stake openly implored the Mercy of God; but he was after this remanded to Priſon: *Hugh Latimer* was very old.

† I ſuppoſe our Author was miſ-informed as to this Particular.

The Parliament of *Paris* Anſwer to the King's Edict.

In this Month the Cardinals of *Lorain* and *Toures* went to *Rome*, and about the ſame time the Parliament of *Paris* made an Anſwer to the Edict brought them from the King by the Cardinal of *Lorain*, as I have remembred above; which was to this effect: 'Your Majeſty's Edict which was publiſhed above 'four years ſince, has reſerved to Your Majeſty and Your Judges, the ſole Cog-'nizance and Correction of the *Lutheran Hereſie*, nor is there any thing ex-'cepted, but when the Hereſie may need a Declaration, or the Sentence was to 'be pronounced againſt a man in Holy Orders; but this Edict which is now 'under conſideration, is directly contrary: For it puts the People of your 'Kingdom under the Eccleſiaſtical Jurisdiction, and the Inquiſition, and di-'miniſheth that Dignity which You now enjoy above all other Princes, and it 'gives Your People a juſt Cauſe of Diſcontent to ſee themſelves deſerted by 'Your Majeſty, and ſubjected to a foreign Jurisdiction. But there will much 'greater Miſchiefs follow, when the Lives, Fortunes, Safety and Honour of 'all Your Subjects ſhall be put into the hands of theſe men without the benefit 'of an Appeal: For in truth, Appeals are the Sanctuary and Refuge of wrong-'ed Innocency. But now if the Inquiſitors and the Biſhops Officers 'ſhall once have a Right and Power given them of judging (all Appeals be-'ing taken away) this will certainly open a Window, and plain a Way for 'the condemning of the innocent, and the ſpoiling them of their Lives and 'Eſtates: For when theſe men ſhall once ſee themſelves Maſters of this Regal 'Power, they will ſoon forget their Duty, and no longer regard any thing, 'when they ſee all Orders of Men made ſubject to them, and they have in their 'hands the Lives and Fortunes not only of Your meaner Subjects, but alſo of 'your Princes and Great Men. Your Majeſty may make uſe of this as a middle 'Way, That Your own Judges may ſtill take cognizance of theſe Cauſes, and 'hear and determine them; and if there be any Doctrine that is obſcure, it 'may be defined by the Eccleſiaſticks, and thoſe that are in Holy Orders may 'be tried only by the Clergy. And as for Appeals, let a Bull be deſired of 'the Pope, for the allowing them to your Judges. And when Judgment is 'to be paſſed upon theſe Appealers, let ſome of the Clergy, who are of 'Your Majeſty's Privy Council, be joyned with Your Judges; or if there be 'none ſuch, then let other eminent and fit men ſupply their Places. And in 'all Inquiſitions, let this Order be obſerved, That the Pope's Inquiſitor chuſe,

'and

1555. 'and ſend into the Provinces good Men, and of unſpotted Fame, and let the 'Biſhop, and not the Parties who are accuſed, bear the Charge of the Inqui- 'ſition, but ſo, that when the Caſe depending is determined, the Charge may 'then be paid by thoſe that ought to pay it. The Deſign of all theſe Provi- 'ſions is, That all Suits of this Nature, may be kept within ſome Bounds and 'Limits. Moreover, it appearing that all the Executions which have been 'made of Heretiçks, though they are neceſſary, have yet rather made the 'Crime deteſtable, than amended thoſe that were infected; and it being much 'better to prevent a Diſeaſe, than to give it time to get ſtrength, and then at- 'tempt the Cure, it will be fit Your Serene Majeſty ſhould in this follow 'the Cuſtom and Footſteps of the Ancient and Primitive Church: For ſhe was 'neither eſtabliſhed by Fire nor Sword, but the diligence of the Biſhops ſupplied 'the want of theſe, by their frequent Preaching of the Wordof God, and the 'good Examples of an holy Life, which She gave the People. The Church then 'having been thus at firſt eſtabliſhed, it may without doubt now by the ſame 'ways be preſerved; if Your Majeſty would but be pleaſed to do all that You 'lawfully may do towards it. May then Your Majeſty be pleaſed to take care 'that the Biſhops, who are the Shepherds, ſhould in perſon govern their own 'Churches, and that the ſame be done by the inferior Clergy; That they live 'piouſly, and Preach the Word of God diligently, or cauſe it to be Preached 'by fit men; and that for the future no man be admitted into theſe Functions, 'but ſuch as can teach the People themſelves, and not turn them over to be 'taught by Curates. This is the Root which Your Majeſty ought to cultivate. 'This is the Foundation on which the Church muſt be built; and then we 'may hope that in a ſhort time Hereſies will vaniſh; but if this way is neg- 'lected, there is great reaſon to fear they will encreaſe, whatſoever other Re- 'medies or Edicts are provided againſt them. The 16th. Day of *October* this Anſwer was made by the Deputies of the Parliament of *Paris*, and in a Letter.

Catzenellobogen.

About the ſame time, the Mediators in the Difference concerning the County of *Catzenellobogen*, met again, according to their former Agreement, firſt at *Bacheren*, and after at *Worms*, on the Account of the Sickneſs of the Elector *Palatine*. At laſt, this Controverſie was determined by a Sum of Money to be paid by the *Landtgrave* to the Count of *Naſſaw*, the Territories in the mean time being to remain in the poſſeſſion of the *Landtgrave*: But then when the Count of *Naſſaw* inſiſted, That this Agreement ſhould be void if the Money were not paid within the time limited and appointed; and that in this caſe his Claim ſhould be as it was before; but the *Landtgrave* (who had ſent his Son the ſecond time) refuſed to ſubmit to this, the Meeting broke up without any effect.

The *Low Countries* reſigned by the Emperor to King *Philip*.

In the ſame Month the Emperor call'd all the Nobility and States of the *Low Countries* to him to *Bruſſels*, and having amongſt other things, ſpoken of his want of Health, he ſaid, he would retire into *Spain*, and therefore laid down the Government, and conferr'd upon his Son *Philip* all the Right and Power of thoſe Countries, exhorting them to perform their Duties to him. The Fame of this flew over all Chriſtendom, and a Fleet was forthwith prepared for his Paſſage; and the 13th. of *November* was appointed for his ſetting Sail; but then this Rumor cool'd by degrees, and it was ſaid, becauſe the Winter was coming on, the Voyage was delayed till the Summer.

The Diet of *Germany*.

It is now time to ſhew what was done in the Diet which was now Sitting at *Ausburg*. *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, had, in a Speech made the 5th. of *February* (as I have ſaid in the End of the laſt Book) propoſed what was to be tranſacted in this Convention: But the Deputies and States coming ſlowly in, there was no beginning made till the 9th. of *March*; and then the Deputies of the Electoral Princes began to conſult what was firſt to be done. And although there were at firſt ſome Diſſenters, yet at laſt they all agreed to begin with the Buſineſs of Religion; and this Reſolution was approved by all the other Princes, and the Imperial Cities. After a long Debate, it was Agreed, That a Peace of Religion ſhould be granted, but then the great Controverſy was becauſe thoſe who had Imbraced the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion inſiſted to have this Peace Communicated indifferently to all, that they might all alike follow their ſeveral Doctrines, and yet enjoy the benefit of this Peace. But this was vigorouſly oppoſed by the Enemies of the Reformation, who would not ſuffer any of the free

free Cities which had received the Decree made at † *Ausburg* concerning Religion about ſeven Years ſince, and commonly called the *Interim*, nor any of the Eccleſiaſticks in any Caſe whatſoever, to be comprehended in this Peace, but they ſtood ſtifly to this: That if any Biſhop or Abbot changed his Religion, he ſhould be removed, and another put in his Place. This Point was ſharply debated, the Proteſtants ſaying, that the Promiſes of God both in the Old and New Teſtament, which concern our Salvation, belonged equally to all Mankind, and therefore it was not lawful for them to reſtrain them within any limits, or to ſtreighten them, for fear they thereby might exclude both themſelves and others out of the Kingdom of Heaven: That there was no *Turk* or *Jew* that was well affected to his Religion, but deſired all Men ſhould imbrace it; and therefore it was much more reaſonable that we ſhould labour to do it, who are Commanded by God ſo to do, upon the ſevereſt Threatnings. And therefore in this matter, all were to be left at Liberty: They ſaid alſo, that they were able from the ſacred Scriptures, and the Decrees and Canons of the Fathers and Councils, to prove, That thoſe, who, to the great diſhonour of God, aſſumed the Title of the Ancient and Catholick Religion, had done very ill things in the matters pertaining to Religion, and abuſed the Revenues of the Church: Yet for Peace ſake they were contented to ſuffer them to enjoy their Laws, Rites and Ceremonies, together with their Goods, Poſſeſſions, Tolls, Rights and Priviledges, till this difference in Religion could be Compoſed; and therefore that they could not conſent that they on the contrary ſhould impoſe ſuch Conditions on the Biſhops, becauſe the conſequence of it would be, that they muſt hereafter be obliged to oppreſs the approvers and friends of their own Religion, and by conſequence they muſt defame their own Cauſe. For this would be (ſay they) to confeſs that our Doctrine and Religion is ſuch, as it doth not deſerve the Church Revenues, and therefore thoſe which have already been given to the Miniſters of our Churches, are ill beſtowed, and we ſhall hereby ſeem to confeſs that their Doctrine which is Impious, and their Miniſtry, are founded upon the Scriptures, and that the Church Revenues are conſecrated to their impure Lives, Laws, and Ceremonies. Now who can tell how great the offence this may give, will be, if we ſhould ſeem to defend the Cauſe and Power of thoſe Men who afford the Church no uſeful or neceſſary Service? And if on the other ſide, we ſhould betray and deſert thoſe whom we ought to eſteem above all others, becauſe they profeſs the Religion we do? Thoſe of the Roman-Catholick Religion alledged on the other ſide, amongſt many other things, *that if Liberty* were granted to the Eccleſiaſticks to change their Religion, *their Biſhopricks and Colleges would be prophan'd, and by degrees be torn from the Church, and fall into the hands of the Princes*, and by them be made Temporal Inheritances; but the Proteſtants ſaid, this was no part of their Intention, but that all that they deſired, was, that being reduced to their firſt Inſtitution, they might be applied to their true uſes, and for ever continue annexed to the Church: and that there might be no place left for this Scruple, They were contented that in thoſe Biſhopricks and Colleges in which the Religion ſhould happen to be changed, nothing of the Revenues ſhould be alienated, and that after the Death or Reſignation of the Biſhop or Abbot, both the Election of the Succeſſor, and the Adminiſtration of the Revenues, ſhould be left free to the Colleges or Chapters. When therefore, after a tedious debate, they could not agree amongſt themſelves, both Parties gave their Reaſons in writing to King *Ferdinand*, and deſired him to find out ſome way. They were got but thus far the thirteenth of *June*, becauſe the Proceedings were very ſlow, and moſt Men thought that the reaſon was, becauſe they would firſt ſee the Event of the Treaty between the Emperor and the King of *France*, becauſe this would afford both Parties ſome conſiderable Advantage.

1555.

† In 1548.

The Allegations of the Roman-Catholicks.

The Roman-Catholicks at the ſame time, put in a third, and extraordinary Paper, Penn'd with great Paſſion and Bitterneſs, that they might recommend their Cauſe ſo much the more to the King. In the firſt place, ſay they, thoſe who follow the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* have propoſed five Conditions. Firſt, That the Catholicks ſhould approve that Doctrine, which many Ages ſince, and again in our times upon its firſt appearance, has ever been Condemned by the ordinary Magiſtrate. Secondly, That all the Sacriledges they have perpetrated within theſe thirty Years, ſhould be confirmed and approved, and that neither Law, nor any other of the Pious and Natural ways ſhould be left open for the

A Virulent Paper put in by the Roman-Catholicks againſt the Proteſtants.

1555. Church to recover her Revenues: *And in the interim, they would have a Peace made with them, when all Communion with them is forbidden.* Thirdly, They would be permitted to inſtitute their wicked Miniſters in the Churches and Chapters of the Archbiſhopricks, and Biſhopricks, and to Preach in theſe Churches their leud and condemned Doctrines, and aboliſhing the true Miniſtry and Ceremonies of the Church, they would ſet up in their ſtead, new and wicked Ceremonies, and maintain thoſe falſe Preachers with the Revenues of the Church, contrary to the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the Church. Fourthly, They would have it lawful, that all thoſe Eccleſiaſticks and Lay-Princes, who do yet adhere to the Roman-Catholick Religion, may freely deſert their true Religion, and paſs over to their Camp. Laſtly, They deſire that when any Biſhop or Prince makes a defection to their Party, that this ſhould not affect his Perſon only, but that it ſhould extend it ſelf to the People which are ſubject to him, and alſo to the Church Revenues, and whole ſacred Adminiſtration and Juriſdiction which belonged to him. Now (ſay they) though theſe things are contrary to all Laws, both humane and divine, and to the Oaths taken by the Emperor, the King, and the Biſhops, ſo that Catholicks cannot well receive them without violating their Faith and Oath, yet becauſe they ſtuck ſtifly to theſe Propoſals, and threatned to make uſe of Force, the Catholicks at laſt yielded in the Treaty of *Paſſaw* as far as they could, and have ſince in the Diet explained themſelves, by ſhewing *that they cannot grant a Promiſcuous Liberty to all that will, to change their Religion.* For then (ſay they) the Empire would be diſſolved, and that high Honour would be taken from the *German* Nation. For it is the Duty of the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, not only not to ſuffer any condemned Religion, but peaceably to diſſwade and affright all Biſhops and Churchmen, and all Lay-men too who are inclined to make defection, or if they will go on in the Error, then they are to repreſent them to the Roman-Catholick Church; for this Cuſtom has ever been obſerved from the times of the Apoſtles, as may be proved by many Teſtimonies out of the Councils, eſpecially from the Council of *Chalcedon*. *Nor is it fit that any Man ſhould think that thoſe who make defection, are to be left to their own Conſciences; becauſe in things pertaining to the Faith, no Man's Conſcience ſhould be free.: But whenever any Man departs from the common Conſent of the Church, he ought to be puniſhed and reſtrained.* That if he will not obey that Church, he is to be Excommunicated by the example of the four Principal Councils which condemned *Arius*, *Macedonius*, *Neſtorius*, and *Eutyches*, and that of *Chalcedon* condemned *Dioſcorides*, and removed him from his See for defending *Eutyches*. For whereas they pretend that every Man was to be left to the freedom of his own Judgment, that neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles compelled any to Believe, and which is yet more, that when many deſerted, no Man was retained againſt his Will. All theſe Pretences are without Foundation, and are abundantly refuted by St. *Auguſtine* in his two Hundredth and fourth Epiſtle. But if now the Biſhops ſhould be ſuffered to deſert the Catholick Religion, and make defection to another, they will certainly never leave their Biſhopricks, becauſe they will ſay, they cannot do it with a quiet Conſcience, but on the other ſide, they will implore the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants, for the Preſervation of their States, and People in that Religion. And if this be done, there is no doubt but they will undertake the Protection of them, and pretend it is their Duty ſo to do, for the ſecurity of their Adminiſtration, and the maintaining them in the poſſeſſion of their Lands and Goods. But then, whereas they pretend, that they ought to admit others into the Society of their Religion, and not to exclude any Man out of the Kingdom of Heaven, this does not excuſe them, becauſe there is but one Faith which all Chriſtians ought to profeſs and preſerve. And this Faith hath heretofore been approved and confirmed by the oaths of our Emperors, Kings, Princes, Governours, and the People of this Empire. This is that Catholick Faith, which we *Germans* have from the beginning followed, to this time, thoſe only excepted who have revolted from it. Therefore nothing is to be innovated, but every thing ought to be referred to this Faith, and Men ought to ſubmit their Souls to the obedience of the Catholick Church; and he that does otherwiſe, and aſſumes unto himſelf a peculiar Religion, if he does not ſubmit to the Admonition of his Superiour, is to be Excommunicated and removed from the exerciſe of his Function; *and his Goods are to be ſeized by the Civil Magiſtrate, and his Perſon is not to be endured in the Empire. For the Fathers have ever rejected the Liberty of Conſcience, and Toleration of Religion, as a*

Liberty of Conſcience contrary to Catholick Religion.

diſſipation

diſſipation of the Faith, and have made it a fixed Law of the Church, that thoſe Articles of Faith which are once defined by a Council, ſhall neither be diſputed, nor called in doubt, ſo as to eſtabliſh any thing to the contrary. For Hiſtory informs us what diſturbances followed the general toleration of all Sects, granted by *Valentinian* the Emperor; and if it be once granted that he who differs from the Catholick Religion, ſhall be excuſed by his Conſcience, than are the *Anabaptiſts*, *Zuinglians*, and *Schwinkfeldians* to be excuſed alſo on the ſame account, and to be comprehended in this Peace. They ſay, that the Promiſes of God, pertaining to Eternal Life, belong to all Men, and that they ought not to reſtrain them: as if theſe Promiſes belonged to none but thoſe of their Profeſſion, but in truth the thing is quite otherwiſe; for ſeeing they have forſaken the Communion of the Church, they are excluded out of the Kingdom of Heaven, even by their own Judgments: And ſeeing there is no Salvation out of the Church, how can the Kingdom of Heaven belong to them, who have rejected the Sacraments of the Church, and deſpiſe the Prieſthood, to whom Chriſt has given the power of Binding and Looſing? Now if there are no Prieſts ordained amongſt them, how ſhall they obtain remiſſion of Sins? and if their ſins are not remitted, how ſhall they be made Partakers of the Kingdom of Heaven? Therefore the Promiſes of the Kingdom of Heaven belong not to them alone, but they are rather to be eſteemed in the number of them, which Chriſt ſaith he doth not know. They boaſt that they can ſhew how the Catholicks have many ways abuſed Religion, and the Revenues of the Church, let us ſee then what is to be blamed in this Particular. According to the ſacred Scriptures, and the Canons of the Councils and Fathers, the Revenues of the Church are to be diſtributed to the Biſhops and the Miniſters of the Church, the Poor, and the Buildings belonging to the Church, and if need require, to the Redemption of Captives in Slavery to *Barbarians*. For above thirteen hundred Years, the Cuſtom has ever been to imploy theſe Goods in the maintenance of the Miniſters of Religion, and other ſuch Uſes, as the ſaying Maſs, the Preaching the Word of God, the repairing and building Churches, the maintaining the poor Monks and Nuns. But now do the Proteſtants diſpoſe of them: They Baniſh the Biſhops, and ſet others in their rooms, who are a ſort of meer Lay, and profane Prefects, on whom they beſtow as little of the Revenue as they can poſſibly: under him they ſet other Miniſters, who lead the miſerable Multitude into Errors, whilſt they deſpiſe the ſound Doctrine, and the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, and give the People the whole Sacrament indeed, which is nothing but unconſecrated Bread, a Creature inſtead of the Creator, and thus under the ſhew of true Religion, they exerciſe Idolatry. They ſay, that hereafter they will imploy the Revenues of the Church to no other uſe but that of Schools, and that they will take no part of them to themſelves; be it ſo: But then by this very uſe, the Catholick Religion is altogether prophaned and oppreſſed, and this is a worſe uſe of them than if they were applied to meer prophane uſes, and therefore this uſe is not to be approved by Catholicks. This Writing, as I ſaid, was compoſed privately, and without order. 1555.

The Proteſtants Anſwer.

As ſoon as the Proteſtants knew of it, they anſwered it, and firſt, they ſhew what was the true Doctrine, to wit, that which was contained in the Writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and then they ſhew how contrary to this the Doctrine of the Papiſts was, who had ſo many ways prophaned the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, who had brought in ſuch abominable Errors concerning *Purgatory*, and the Invocation of dead Men; who take away, and deny the remiſſion of Sins, by teaching Men perpetually to doubt of the Favour or Grace of God. That they had contumeliouſly treated Marriage, which was inſtituted by God, and in the mean time had in their pretended Celibacy, contaminated themſelves with thoſe leud and horrid Villanies, which St. *Paul* Commemorates. From theſe things (ſay they) it will manifeſtly appear who have made a defection from the true Religion, and ſeeing this is the true ſtate of things, they ought not to neglect thoſe Eccleſiaſticks, who now do, or hereafter ſhall imbrace the pure Doctrine: And as to the Revenues of the Church, every thing with the Roman-Catholicks was wonderfully corrupted; the Benefice was inſtituted for the maintaining the Office, but let us ſee what kind of Epiſcopal and Prieſtly Office theirs is, without which the Church cannot be: and Care ought alſo to be taken of Schools, as has been obſerved from the times

1555. of the Prophets. Their Biſhops in the Interim make it their greateſt Care to gain into their own Purſes all thoſe Revenues which ſhould of right be given to the Miniſters, to Teachers, Schollars, Schools, Hoſpitals, and Alms-houſes, that thereby they may be enabled to live in all manner of Luxury, and after the ſame manner they uſed the Religious Houſes. Was not their Biſhop a kind of Lay Lord, who, when he firſt entered his Dioceſs, came uſually with a Guard of two Thouſand Horſemen? This is their uſual Practice, whilſt none of them regard their Duty and Office; what Reaſon, what Conſcience do they ſhew in any thing? do they object Sacriledge and Rapine to others? Their Doctrine (they confeſs) was condemned by Princes, but it happened through the wickedneſs and fraud of thoſe who made this Objection, who diſſwaded Princes from reading their Writings. But then, that the Pope and the reſt of his Followers condemned and rejected their Doctrine, was no wonder, for that Chriſt and his Doctrine was treated in the ſelf ſame manner by *Anna*, and *Cayphas*, and the Sanhedrim of the Phariſees and Prieſts. That they alked much of Councils and the Church, but then neither the Councils nor Church had any Power to propoſe any new Doctrine, or to command us to receive any other than what was left us by the Prophets and Apoſtles. That what they ſaid of the Conſecration of Miniſters was ridiculous; for that ridiculous, and ludicrous Unction was of no good uſe: Laſtly, that this Paper was full of reproaches, and injurious reflections, but that they committed to God, and choſe rather to ſet forth the ſtate of their Caſe in a few words.

The Anſwer of King *Ferdinand.*

When things were in this Poſture, King *Ferdinand*, who had been deſired by both the Parties to find out a way to an accommodation, as I have ſaid above, about the beginning of *Auguſt* ſent four deputies to the Electors, and ſome of the other Princes, to repreſent to them, that in Obedience to the Emperor his Brother, and in order to conſult the welfare of his Country, he came the thirtieth of *December* laſt paſt, to *Ausburg*, to the great dammage and hindrance of his own Affairs; That finding few or none of them here, he had been forced to attend a great while before he could propoſe any thing to them, that is, to the fifth of *February*, and then he had firſt opened the Cauſes of the calling this Diet, but then the Debates had been very long, and no anſwer had been returned him till the twenty ſecond of *June*, and then upon one head only of the Conſultation, to wit, concerning the *Peace of Religion*; and that very Anſwer not fixed and agreed, but contrary and oppoſite one part to the other. That he feared long ſince that this would be the event, and therefore he had deſired the Electors to be preſent in the Diet, and if in this they had complied with him, he was of an opinion, the thing might have been brought to a deſired Iſſue. As to the other head which concerned the publick Peace, he had ſomething to offer to their Conſideration, but becauſe it was not likely that it could be diſpatched in a ſhort time, and for that the preſent ſtate of his own Provinces required his Preſence, becauſe the *Turks* ſeemed to be preparing for ſome new Enterpriſes againſt them, and threatned high, though he was then in Treaty with them, and becauſe nothing could to any good purpoſe, be debated and determined, if the Electors were not preſent in Perſon, he thought it was the beſt way to prorogue the Diet to another time, and that in this Convention a Decree ſhould be made to this Purpoſe. Becauſe by reaſon of the abſence of the Princes no Decree can now be made, We are pleaſed to deferr all the further Tranſactions to another Convention of the States, which ſhall be holden at *Ratisbon* about the beginning of *March* in the next Year, and then the Princes ſhall be preſent in Perſon, that they, together with the Emperor or King of the *Romans*, may determine and fix thoſe things which have been now debated, or which ſhall then come under Deliberation. And that in the mean time, the Pacification of *Paſſaw* ſhall remain in its full force, and whereas that contains a Reſolution; firſt, That in a Diet of the Empire of *Germany*, ſhould be conſidered, whether the differences of Religion might be ended by a general National Council, or by a Conference; and laſtly, That this queſtion ſhould be determined by the common advice of all the States, and by the ordinary Authority of the Emperor: Therefore he who loved Peace and Agreement, was reſolved to exhibit in the next Convention, a Writing concerning the way of determining thoſe things which were now in Controverſie. That there ſhould be nothing of Fraud in it, and that what was offered, ſhould only aim at the appeaſing the preſent Offences, and the mitigating their mutual Exaſperati-

The form of the Receſs propoſed.

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ons, and give them means of conſidering with the greater certainty, whether the way he ſhould then propoſe, could put an end to the differences, or whether it would be neceſſary to ſeek out another. Therefore he deſired they would approve this Prorogation, and that they would in Perſon attend at the next Diet, as he had given them an Example, who for the ſake of the Commonwealth, had in this been ſo many Months abſent from his own Provinces: That he had choſen *Ratisbon*, becauſe, by reaſon of the impending Dangers which he feared from the *Turks*, he could not conveniently go further than that City from his own Bounds: That therefore they ſhould aſſure him what their Intentions were, that he might be certain the thing ſhould not be any longer delayed, that ſo the better part of that time too might not be ſpent in a vain Expectation, as has often happened already. Theſe Demands being made, the greateſt part of the Princes were of Opinion, that they ſhould not part till the Peace were confirmed, for that all *Germany* was in great Expectation *this* would now be done; and that ſeeing they were now nearer an Agreement than at any time before, therefore they deſired to ſee this diſpatched before his Departure, that ſo in the next Diet they might proceed to the buſineſs of the *Turks*, and the other affairs of the Empire, with the greater Expedition. As to what concern'd the Book he mentioned, ſome of them ſaid what happened about ſeven years ſince to a former Book, written and publiſhed concerning Religion, would certainly be the Fate of this. For that they could well remember the Reproaches it met with; and whereas it was propoſed, and by a Law eſtabliſhed by the Emperor only for Peace ſake, it became the occaſion of very great Offences and Contentions; when *Ferdinand* about the Twenty fifth of *Auguſt* had received this Anſwer from the Deputies, the thirty firſt of the ſame Month he gave in an Anſwer to the Papers delivered him by both the Parties, in which he ſhews what was his own Opinion, and eſpecially as to what concerned the Biſhops; that is, that if any of them changed his Religion, he ſhould immediately be removed from the Adminiſtration of his Biſhoprick, and be deprived of the Revenues belonging to it, and he very largely exhorted the Proteſtants to yield their Conſent to this. 1555.

Ferdinand's Anſwer to the Papers.

For (ſaid he) this Condition takes nothing from you, but only takes Care that if any Biſhop deſerts his Order, and falls from the ancient Religion, the Benefices or Dioceſſes ſhall nevertheleſs continue in the ſame ſtate they were at firſt Inſtituted, which in it ſelf is agreeable to the Law, the Statutes of the Empire, and the Pacification of *Paſſaw*; which laſt in expreſs terms ſaith, *That all thoſe who follow the ancient Religion ſhall not be diſturbed, whether they be Laymen or Eccleſiaſticks, in their Religion, Ceremonies, Goods, Poſſeſſions, Rights, or Privileges, but they ſhall quietly uſe and enjoy all theſe, without the interruption of any Perſon whatſoever.* That I do not ſee (ſaith he) why this condition ſhould be refuſed, which tends directly to the ſame end, that is, that they may quietly enjoy what is their own, which it is certain they cannot do if they part with this Security; for then it will follow, that thoſe who have deſerted the ancient Religion, and yet will retain the Adminiſtration, and the Poſſeſſion of the Revenues will thereby hinder the Colleges or Chapters from dealing with them according to their Laws; and another inconvenience will follow upon it, which is, that there will be no great affection between their Biſhop and them. Seeing therefore it is fit, that according to the Laws of their Inſtitution, fit Perſons ſhould govern and adminiſter the Dioceſſes, and that if they act contrary to the Laws, and make a defection from their Order, that then their Colleges ſhould remove them from their Places, and take Care that this Defection may hurt only one Man, therefore ſurely this Demand ought not to be denied. And therefore I do with great earneſtneſs exhort you, that you would not perſiſt any longer in this Refuſal. For amongſt other things, you are to conſider they do not preſcribe to you after what manner and form you ſhall act in thoſe Biſhopricks, Colleges, Chapters, or Benefices, which are all ready in your Poſſeſſion, nor how you ſhall treat the Miniſters of your Church, who ſhall violate your Laws, and neglect their Duties. For as it would be very troubleſome and grievous to you if they ſhould deſire that ſuch of your Miniſters, who have deſerted your Religion, and do make it their Buſineſs to oppoſe it, ſhould yet be retained by you: So it muſt be much more grievous to them, if theirs muſt ſtill retain the Adminiſtration of their Dioceſſes, and the poſſeſſion of their Revenues, who have caſt off their Religion, and oppoſe it, for what can be expected from hence but Suits, Offences,

1555. fences, and Contentions? So that the very Foundations of the thing we are ſeeking in this Treaty, *Peace*, ſhall be hereby ruined, and entirely deſtroyed.

The Proteſtants Reply.

The eighth day after, the Proteſtants replied, that it was not their intention to preſcribe a Rule to the Eccleſiaſticks, and much leſs that the Revenues of the Biſhopricks ſhould be diſſipated, or that the nature of them being changed, they ſhould be turned into Civil or Lay-Fees. It is apparent to us, that a part of the Empire depends upon, and is founded in theſe Sees; which we do not in the leaſt deſire ſhould be diminiſhed or imbezelled, but by all means we would have them preſerved. It would have been to our great ſatisfaction, if this queſtion had never been moved, but that we might have purſued the decrees of the former years, made at *Norimburg*, *Ratisbonne*, and *Spire*, which include all them that imbrace the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion; And at firſt, the Legates of the three Electoral Archbiſhops did alſo wiſely conſider this; but when ſome others had ſtarted and exagitated this Doubt, then they joyned with them. They who firſt moved this queſtion, had perhaps ſome reaſon for it, but what has ſince followed, is apparent. For if this Rub had not been caſt in our way, we had long e're this been at our deſired End, and all things in our Opinions had been determined; but then there are many grave and pious Reaſons why we ſhould not admit that Condition. For any Man may ſee what a contempt and detriment it will be to our Religion, if we ſuffer thoſe that imbrace it, to be put out of their Places, deprived of all Dignity, and to be treated as Hereticks: we will now in ſilence paſs over the firſt Inſtitution of Colleges or Chapters, and the Corruptions which by degrees crept into them: But nevertheleſs, we are of Opinion, that very much of that Inſtitution is no way repugnant to our Religion. And for us to conſent, that no Biſhop that imbrace our Religion, which we profeſs as true and Chriſtian, ſhould continue in his Station, is a great Wickedneſs; becauſe by this act we ſhould condemn it as impious, and unworthy of the order of Prieſthood, whoſe duty it is to promote and exerciſe it. Wherefore great Sir, we humbly beſeech your Majeſty to conſider this ſeriouſly, and according to the Power given you by the Emperor, to cauſe this Clauſe to be ſtruck out, and omitted.

Ferdinand's Anſwer to the Proteſtants.

But he anſwered, that no more could be granted, and that now they had obtained what they could never gain before in the many years they had endeavoured for it: That they ſhould have ſome Conſideration for him, for otherwiſe the Diet ſhould be ended, and nothing done, which if it happened, and any Inconvenience enſued, there was no reaſon the Blame ſhould fall either upon the Emperor or him, who had ſo ſweetly and patiently Treated of this Affair, and attended upon it thus long, but could now ſtay no longer. Therefore he would give them ten days more, that in that time they might ſend home to their Princes, that ſo he might have a poſitive Anſwer. When that day came, they having ſhewn their utmoſt Diligence, that in all other things the good of Religion might be promoted, and conſidering that it belonged to the Emperor and King, and not to them to limit this Article, the King alſo on his ſide remitting ſome things, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter, they (upon theſe Conſiderations) gave their Conſent. So the twenty fifth of *September* the Decree was publickly read according to the Cuſtom, which is as followeth.

The Decree then made.

Neither the Emperor, nor *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, nor any of the other Princes or States in the Empire ſhall in any manner whatſoever, hurt or injure any Man for the Confeſſion of the *Auguſtan* Doctrine, Religion, and Faith, nor ſhall they by Command, or by any other way whatſoever, force any Man to forſake his Religion, Ceremonies or Laws which he has already inſtituted within his Dominions, or which thoſe of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion ſhall hereafter Inſtitute; nor ſhall the ſaid Emperor, King, or Princes contemn the ſame, but ſhall ſuffer them freely to profeſs this Religion, and alſo quietly to enjoy their Goods, Eſtates, Tolls, Poſſeſſions and Rights; and this Controverſy in Religion ſhall not be attempted to be Compoſed by any other than by Pious, Friendly, and quiet ways. Thoſe of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion ſhall behave themſelves in the ſame manner towards the Emperor, King *Ferdinand*, and all the other Princes and States which joyn in the ancient Religion, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, and towards all others of the Clergy, and their Colleges, whither ſoever they ſhall travel to dwell, provided they exerciſe their Miniſtries in manner and form following. All which ſhall be ſuffered free-

ly to enjoy their Religion, Ceremonies, Laws, Poſſeſſions, Tolls, and all other their Rights, and ſhall not in any way be hindred in the peaceable enjoyment of the ſame; and if any Difference or Suit ſhall ariſe, it ſhall every where be tried, and determined by the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Empire, and thoſe that embrace neither of theſe Religions, ſhall not be included in this Peace. If any Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or Prelate, or other Clergy-Man, ſhall make a defection from the ancient Religion, he ſhall preſently relinquiſh his Biſhoprick, Dioceſs, or Benefice, and ſhall loſe all thoſe Fruits he ſhould otherwiſe have received from the ſame, which yet ſhall not in any wiſe tend to the Infamy of the ſaid Perſon: And it ſhall thenceforth be lawful and free for the Chapter, or thoſe to whom the Election ſhall belong, by Law or Cuſtom, to elect and conſtitute another in his Place, who is of the ancient Religion, whereby the right of Inſtitution, Election, Preſentation, and Confirmation, together with the peaceable Poſſeſſion of all the Goods thereunto belonging, may be fully preſerved to them. Yet nothing ſhall hereby be taken to derogate from the intended Reconciliation above-mentioned. And becauſe ſome Princes of the Empire, and other States, or their Anceſtors have aſſumed ſome Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, Diſtricts, Chapters or Colleges of Monks, and other ſuch Church Revenues, and have aſſigned them to the uſe of their Miniſters, to Schools, and to other good uſes, they ſhall not on this account be troubled nor brought in queſtion, but ſuch Goods which do not belong to any of the other States of the Empire, or to other Perſons who are Subject to the Empire, the Poſſeſſion of which was not at the time of the Treaty of *Paſſaw*, nor ſince in the poſſeſſion of Eccleſiaſtick Perſon, ſhall from henceforth continue as they now are, and be comprehended in this Peace; and it ſhall not be Lawful for the Judges of the Imperial Chamber, upon the account of theſe things thus taken and alienated, to hear, or determine any thing againſt the ſaid Princes and States. The Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction ſhall not be exerciſed, or take place againſt thoſe of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, their Religion, Faith, Rights, Laws, and Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry: But ſhall be ſuſpended and ſtopped, and ſhall not give them the leaſt diſturbance, till the difference in Religion be entirely taken away. But in all other things which do not concern the ſaid Religion, Ceremonies, Laws, and Miniſtry, it ſhall be of the ſame force, and be exerciſed according to the ancient Laws, and Cuſtoms. And all the Revenues, Tolls, and Rights belonging to the Clergy, ſhall be entirely reſerved to them: But ſo that thoſe Princes and States, in whoſe Territories the ſame are, ſhall not hereby loſe that civil Right they had before this difference of Religion, in and to the ſaid Goods. And moreover, that they may with the ſame Goods, provide for the neceſſary Services of the Churches, Pariſhes, Alms, Hoſpitals of the Poor and Sick, according to their firſt Conſtitution, without any Conſideration of which of the Religions the Perſon is, who ſhall be thus aſſiſted or relieved, and maintained. And if upon the account of this Alimony, or the manner of it, any Difference or Suit ſhall ariſe, they ſhall mutually, or by conſent chuſe Arbitrators, who having heard the Controverſy, ſhall within ſix Months determine and appoint what ſhall be deducted for ſuch Uſes and Services, and conferred, or beſtowed upon the ſame. And in the mean time, till the Suit is thus determined, they who are to pay this Allowance, ſhall not be interrupted in their Poſſeſſion, but ſhall continue to yield and pay during the Suit, what they anciently uſed to give or Pay. 1555.

In *October* and *November* there was a Parliament held in *England*, and moſt Men thought the Crowning King *Philip*, would have been one of the principal Affairs of it, but this was never propoſed. But the Queen ſollicited the reſtitution of the Abby-Lands, becauſe the Pope required it, but the great Men, and Nobility had got them, and therefore nothing could be done in that Affair: But the Queen reſtored the firſt Fruits, and the tenths to the Church. During this Seſſion of Parliament, certain ſharp and virulent Pamphlets were ſpread abroad in *London*, in which were ſome things tending to ſtirring up the Minds of the People againſt the *Spaniards*, and others for alienating the Mind of the Queen from King *Philip*, her Husband, and an Inquiſition being made after the Authors of them, nothing could be found. Before the end of this Parliament, *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Winchester* died of a † Dropſie the twelfth of *November*, who was then Lord Chancellor of *England*, which Office, in *February* following, was given to *Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York*, who had travelled with *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop

A Parliament begun the 21ſt of *October*, in *England*.

The Pope requires the reſtitution of Abby-Lands.

Biſhop *Gardiner* Dies,

† A ſuppreſſion of his Urin.

1555. Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in *Germany*, and did then profeſs the Reformed Religion.

About the fifth of *November*, died the Wife of *John Frederick*, Elector of *Saxony*, who was the Daughter of the *Landgrave*, whoſe Marriage I have mentioned above. *Franciſco Venerio*, Duke of *Venice*, was depoſed for having unfaithfully managed the buſineſs of the Corn, and ſought his own private, more than the publick Good.

A Duke of *Venice* depoſed.

King *Philip* and *Ferdinand* ſend Ambaſſadors to the Princes of *Germany*.

When the Emperor had reſigned the Soveraignty and Government of the Low Countries, *Philip* his Son ſent Ambaſſadors to the principal Princes, and Cities of *Germany*, to acquaint them with it, and to offer them his Friendſhip and Alliance. And at the ſame time, the Ambaſſadors of King *Ferdinand* ſolicited the ſaid Princes and Cities to be preſent at the day prefixed for the opening of the Diet, becauſe a great danger hung over his Head from the *Turks*, who had demanded of him the reſigning into his Hands of the Principality of *Tranſylvania*, which was very ſtrong by Nature, and exceeding Fruitful, and afforded great numbers of Horſemen. He called alſo a Diet of his own Provinces for the ſame purpoſe, in which, the States of lower *Auſtria* deſired to have Liberty of Conſcience granted them. But the King turned them over to the general Diet at *Ratisbon* for an anſwer to this, and he alſo appointed them to meet again the thirteenth of *January* of the next Year, at *Vienna*. The Marqueſs *di Marignano* dying at *Milan*, the Emperor, or his Son, ſent the Cardinal of *Trent* to ſupply his Place, and the Duke *de Alva* was made Viceroy of the Kingdom of *Naples*. About *Chriſtmas*, the Pope, according to his Cuſtom created ſome new Cardinals, amongſt whom he named *John Gropper*, Coadjutant to the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, who has been often mentioned by me (who refuſed the acceptance of this Dignity.) And then Cardinal *Pool* was firſt promoted from a Cardinal Deacon, to a Cardinal Presbyter, and began to ſay Maſs, which by the Papal Laws is not allowed to the Deacons.

1556. In the beginning of *January*, there were horrible Tempeſts in *Saxony*, *Miſnia* and *Bohemia*, attended with Thunder, Lightning, and violent Winds, which every where did great dammages, eſpecially to the Churches. In the ſame Month, at *Winterthur*, a Town of *Switzerland*, two Miles from *Zurich*, in the Night time after Supper, a Fire appeared in one of the Turrets of the Church, which ſeemed by its noiſe and brightneſs to threaten the Ruin of that Fabrick, but when the Inhabitants came to put it out, it was a deluſion, and they found no Fire; this happened twice in this Month, *viz.* the fourth and the fourteenth day. Some of the Cantons being after this ſolicited by the Pope, went to *Rome*, which cauſed a very great Suſpition in many.

King *Philip* entereth upon the Government of the Netherlands.

King *Philip* being to enter upon his new Government, upon the Reſignation of his Father, began it with a pompous and ſplendid Entrance, the eighteenth day of *January*, into *Antwerp*, which was then the Principal City of thoſe Countries. The Perſecution of the Proteſtants in *England* was then very ſharp. The thirteenth of *January*, the Deputies, and States of *Auſtria* met at *Vienna* as they had been Commanded; when the King ſhewed them, in a long and grave Speech, how great the danger was which threatned them from the *Turks*, and therefore admoniſhed them forthwith to expedite their Succours, and to grant him Money, that he might be in a Condition to repreſs his Cruelty and Rage. Then

The Addreſs of the States of the Lower *Auſtria*, for Liberty of Conſcience.

thoſe which belonged to the lower *Auſtria* acquainted him that they were commanded by their Principals in the firſt Place to tranſact the buſineſs of Religion. That therefore they informed his Majeſty what they had been doing for fourteen years laſt paſt, how often they had addreſſed to him, and ſupplicated him in this affair, and what kind of Edicts he had in the mean time iſſued out contrary to their Expectation: And therefore (ſay they) ſeeing all our Counſels againſt the *Turks* have been diſappointed, and as yet we have been ſo far from repreſſing him, that he has rather more and more prevailed againſt us, and has taken many Cities, Towns, Caſtles, and ſtrong Forts in *Hungary*, and *Sclavonia*, and now hangs over our Heads; we may therefore juſtly aver, that it is a manifeſt Judgment of God, who chaſtiſeth us for our Sins, and afflicts us becauſe we have not amended our Lives, and that in ſuch manner, that it is viſible, that if his Word is not received, and a Reformation of Life promoted, we ſhall loſe not only our Lives and Fortunes, but Eternal Salvation too. For though the whole Earth were to Arm againſt that Enemy, whilſt it remains in this unreformed ſtate of Life, there is no Victory to be hoped for, but inſtead

ſtead of it, Ruin and Deſtruction, as hath often heretofore happened to the moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms. We did ſomething towards this in the laſt Convention, when we Petitioned your Majeſty, that we might not be forced to act againſt our Conſciences, but then your Majeſty referred this Cauſe to the Diet at *Ratisbone*. But you may be pleaſed in the mean time, to conſider how grievous it is to thoſe who do moſt ardently deſire the Salvation of their Souls to be turned off to an uncertain time. When in the interim, the Mind is in Anguiſh, and in this anxiety and doubt many Thouſands muſt end their Days. Certainly, the Word of God, which was reveal'd to us by Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, ought to be the only Rule which the Church ſhould follow, and if any thing has crept into the Church contrary to that Word, how ancient ſoever it may ſeem to be, it is to be rejected: For God will be Adored and Worſhipped in the manner he has Preſcribed and Commanded, and not as Men ſhall think and feign. God has always inflicted horrible and fearful Puniſhments on thoſe who have neglected his Commandments, and in the ſtead of them have introduced the obſervation of humane Inventions, as may be ſhewn from the Calamities of the more ancient Kingdoms; and thoſe which are nearer, and have happened in our own Countries, ſeem to ſpeak the ſame thing. Therefore after the moſt diligent Search, we can find no other Remedy, than the caſting away thoſe manifeſt Errors and Corruptions which have been brought into the Church, and the receiving, and free Profeſſion of pure Doctrine, attended with ſuch an adminiſtration of the Sacraments, as Chriſt himſelf has inſtituted and appointed. For it is utterly unlawful for us to depart, and turn aſide from ſo plain and clear a Command of God, as we have often already ſhewen. For we are firſt to ſeek the Kingdom of God, which being done, he will be preſent by his Spirit with us, and govern our Actions and Counſels. That therefore he may deliver us from theſe ſo great dangers, and be the Counſellor and Leader of us in this War, ſtand for us in the Battel, and protect us from our Enemies Rage. We beſeech your Majeſty, by the Death of Chriſt, by the Salvation of our Souls, and by that judgment which ſhall paſs upon all Men, becauſe this thing tends to the perpetual Felicity of your Majeſty, your Children and Countries: That it may be lawful for us, who are not corrupted by any Sect, with your good Leave, to live in the true and pure Religion, and to enjoy the benefit of that Peace which you lately made in the Diet, with thoſe who profeſs the *Auguſtan* Faith. For ſeeing we are all Baptized alike in Chriſt, we deſire our Condition may not be worſe than theirs, and that you would not deny us what you have granted to ſome other of your Provinces, and that you would recal thoſe Edicts you have put out concerning Religion, and deliver us from the Fears which now afflict us, and we deſire you would by a new Edict, ſecure the Peace of thoſe Miniſters who teach according to the Writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and diſtribute the Sacraments in form aboveſaid; and that our Schoolmaſters may not be Baniſhed or Impriſoned till they have defended themſelves before a Lawful Judge. And if your Majeſty pleaſe to do this, as we verily believe you will in this extream danger, then we do not at all fear, but that God will abundantly recompence the ſame, and the States of the Empire will grant greater Supplies, than they have at any time heretofore; and we, for our Parts, will not be wanting in our Duty, but will chearfully give whatever ſhall be requiſite for the defence and ſafety of our Country, and will, to the utmoſt of our Abilities, omply with all your Demands. 1556.

About this time the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor and the King of *France* met again, and not being able to conclude a Peace between their Princes, the fifth of *February* they agreed on a Truce for five Years, by Sea and Land, as well in *Italy*, and the Low-Countries, as in all other Places. That both of them ſhould in the interim poſſeſs thoſe Places which he had gained during the War: That the Fugitives of *Naples* and *Sicily* ſhould be excluded out of this Truce, and that the Pope ſhould in the firſt place be comprehended in it, and after him, all the Kindred and Servants of both the Princes, as the manner is: This Truce was ſoon after Proclaimed by the King of *France* in his Kingdom, and at *Metz*; and ſome time after, it was Proclaimed by the Emperor in his Provinces. There was ſoon after a Report, that the Pope was diſpleaſed with this Truce, and that he endeavoured to perſwade the King of *France* to break it. On the other ſide, ſome ſaid the Pope was the great Promoter of it, becauſe he was then contriving a War againſt the

1556. *Lutherans*, In this Truce, nothing could be brought to an Agreement, which concerned the Captives. The Principal of which, were the Duke of *Areſcot*, a Low-Country Nobleman, and the eldeſt Son of *Montmorency*, Conſtable of of *France*, who was taken about three Years ſince in *Terovanne*.

King *Ferdinand*'s Anſwer.

The States of the Lower *Auſtria* addreſſed to the King, as I have ſhewn above, the thirty firſt of *January*, that Prince the eighth day after having in the Preface deplored the Calamities and Diſorders of the Times, and the Wrath of God, he aſſured them of the great Inclinations of his Soul to ſerve the Commonwealth; but then (ſaid he) whilſt I conſider diligently my Condition and Place, and that I have from my Infancy followed the Precepts of the Chriſtian and Catholick Church, as my Anceſtors have ever done, from whom this Religion and Diſcipline have been handed down to me: In truth I find that I cannot lawfully grant what you ask: Not becauſe I would not gratifie my People, but becauſe I ſee it is not lawful for me to prejudice the Chriſtian Church, and to change her Laws, and ſalutary Decrees at my Will and Pleaſure, ſeeing, as Chriſt ſaith, I am rather bound to hear her. Yet nevertheleſs, becauſe I have many years ſince obſerved what grievous Calamities have been occaſioned by this diſmal diviſion in Religion, I have been labouring with my Brother, the Emperor, that there might be a Compoſure of them: and the thing has been attempted in many Diets, and in ſome Conferences; and by our means there has been once or twice a Council begun at *Trent*; but then, that the acts of it have produced no Fruit, ought not be charged upon us; and it is not ſo obſcurely carried, but it is known by what Councils and Arts the ſame has been hindered. And now whereas you deſire the benefit of the pure Religion, and of the peace of Religion lately made, may be granted to you: Truly, as I never yet forced any Man from the true Religion, ſo for time to come, I ſhall not in the leaſt do it; nor are ye leſs comprehended in that Peace of Religion, than the Subjects of any other *German* Prince. The plain meaning of the Decree of the ſaid Diet being, that the People ſhould follow the Religion of their Prince, and it grants all Princes but the Eccleſiaſticks, a Liberty to chuſe which of the two Religions they will embrace, becauſe the People ought to be content with the choice of the Prince; but ſo that thoſe who are not pleaſed with the Religion which the Prince hath choſen, have a liberty to ſell their Eſtates, and to remove whither they pleaſe, without any detriment to their Reputations. It is therefore your Duty to continue in the old Catholick Religion, which I profeſs. And I have never hindred the Goſpel from being Preached purely, according to the *Interpretation* which the Church has received from the Holy Apoſtles, Martyrs, and Fathers. And as to the Lord's Supper, though it was inſtituted in both Species, yet in the ancient Church, it was diſtributed under one, as may be ſhewn at large. It was not therefore firſt changed in the times of the Council of *Conſtance*, but that Cuſtom was much more ancient than that Council; and thence you may eaſily infer, that it is not lawful for me to change and abolish by my own private Authority, or Law, what has been received, and approved by the Canons of a Council, eſpecially now when a Peace has been ſo lately made in the buſineſs of Religion, and when in the next Diet it is deſigned to Treat of an Union, in which I am reſolved to extend all my Powers for the taking totally away of this Difference; but if this cannot be done, then I will enter upon ſuch Courſes as may ſecure both your Fortunes, and Salvations. And in the mean time, that you may ſee how much I am inclined to help and favour you, I will put a ſtop to that part of my Edict which relates to the Lord's Supper; but upon condition, notwithſtanding, that renouncing all Sects, you ſhall change nothing in the Laws and Ceremonies of the Church, and that you ſhall expect the Decree of the next Diet. The Miniſters of the Church, and the School-maſters, ſo long as they follow this form, ſhall not be moleſted, nor have I ſuffered any Man to be injured without Law; ſo that being thus diſpoſed towards you, I hope you will deſire nothing more, and becauſe the publick neceſſity is now very urgent, it befits you to conſult together, and to grant what is needful.

The States of the Lower *Auſtria* reply.

To this they anſwered the twelfth day of *February*, That in the greateſt of all Caſes which pertained to their Salvation, and to that of their Children, that they ſhould be ſo far denied, was a very grievous affliction to them. That which your Majeſty affirms concerning the preſent Cuſtom of diſtributing the

Sacrament

Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, having been received by the ancient Church, may be largely refuted by the ſacred Scriptures, and alſo thereby their Error may be ſhewn, who perſwade themſelves it was ſo. And whereas you ſay, the meaning of the Decree made at *Ausburg* was, that the People ſhould accommodate themſelves to the Religion of their Prince. 1556.

Certainly then, ſeeing many Years before this Decree was made, by the common Conſent of the Diet, we have at all times ſupplicated to you for the freedom of our Religion, if this Anſwer muſt ſtand, we ſhall be allowed alſo to ſell our Eſtates, and with our Wives and Children to go and live elſewhere. But then, who is there who does not ſee the miſchief of this, and how ſad and mournful the Report of this muſt neceſſarily be to your People? When they ſhall be told, that they who after the manner of their Anceſtors, have been accuſtomed to ſpend their Blood and Lives for the Honour and Safety of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, muſt now deſert their Beloved Country, which has for ſo many Ages been inhabited and cultivated by their Anceſtors. And therefore this Anſwer, as to this Part of it, is not received, nor allowed by us, but as often before, ſo we now again beſeech your Majeſty, by all that is Sacred, to grant us that incomparable Treaſure, the Word of God, and that you would not in this, put any obſtacle in our way. But if this were a thing of that Nature, that you only were to anſwer to God for it, certainly as in all other things, ſo in this we would have obeyed you. But ſeeing every Man muſt give an account for his own Action, and that there is no reſpect of Perſons with God; and ſeeing every moment may be the laſt of our Lives, and that there is nothing more uncertain than our Lives, we cannot but with the utmoſt Study and Induſtry deſire, and pray, that we may be ſecured by the Grant of this Petition.

The fourth day after, the King anſwered, that he did not think there was any reaſonable Cauſe why they ſhould not be ſatisfied with his former Anſwer. For that (ſaid he) I have allowed that you ſhould be taught, as the Apoſtles have delivered, and as the Martyrs and Fathers received by the Church, have interpreted the Scriptures. What do you require more in this Particular? For ſeeing God has promiſed his Holy Spirit to his Church, Salvation is not to be ſought any where elſe. You ſay that you are not corrupted by any Sect, of which there are many, as *Anabaptiſts*, *Sacramentarians*, *Zuinglians*, *Schwenckfeldians*, and the like, this indeed is true; but if a promiſcuous Doctrine is once allowed, which is not reſtrained within thoſe Bounds I have preſcribed, how long do you think this Purity will laſt? When every Man will boaſt he has the Word of God for him, and that it is not ſubject to any Creature, nor any Being but God, and none of them will ſubmit to any Cenſure as we ſee comes to paſs in many Places, where every thing is filled with diſorder, whilſt every Man defends his Opinion with Obſtinacy, deſpiſing abſolutely the Authority of the Church. And becauſe you recite the laſt decree of the Diet in your former Addreſs a little otherwiſe than it is, therefore I have explained how it is to be underſtood, not that I would have you leave my Country: and that I might abate your Sollicitude, I have ſuppreſſed that part of my Edict which concerns the Lord's Supper, promiſing my beſt Endeavours that there may be a Reconciliation. I have ſhewn my reaſons why I cannot make a defection from the Laws and Ceremonies of the Church. For that Chriſt has commanded us to hear the Church; and Experience teacheth us that the former Age, which did not innovate, but continued in the Religion of their Anceſtors, were more quiet and happy in all things than this is, wherein all Places are diſturbed by Sects and Diſſentions, and the greateſt part of Mankind are toſſed, and driven hither and thither with every wind of Doctrine. And even for this Cauſe, I thought you would not have anſwered in this manner. And now, though it were very eaſy to make a large Reply to your laſt Paper, yet becauſe it is neceſſary at preſent, to enter into the conſideration of the Contributions and Subſidies, and to take a ſpeedy Reſolution, except ye are reſolved to feel the greateſt of all Calamities, and Miſeries, I will not be larger now, and I truſt you will in this, do what the neceſſity of Affairs, and the conſideration of your Duty ſhall require. But they on the contrary, urged the ſame things over again, and ſaid, they could not deſiſt, and if they obtained nothing, the conſideration of the Supplies would thereby be obſtructed and hindred; becauſe they had no Command to promiſe any thing till they had obtained a ſufficient Security

1556. for the freedom of Preaching; their Religion, their Miniſters and School-maſters.

In this Month of *February*, *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* Married the Siſter of *Sigiſmond*, King of *Poland*, and about the ſame time *John Iſemburg*, Archbiſhop of *Trier* Died, and was ſucceeded by *John Ley*. The twenty ſixth of the ſame Month, the Elector Palatine, *Frederick* died at *Alzem*, in a great old Age, and *Otto Henry*, his Brother's Son ſucceeded him, who had before imbraced the Reformation, and had thereby run the hazard of being deprived of all his Fortunes. He having taken the Oath of Allegiance of his People, preſently put out an Edict, that no Man ſhould ſay Maſs, or uſe the other Ceremonies of the Church in his Dominions.

In our twenty ſecond Book, we have given an account of the diſturbances raiſed in *Pruſſia*, by *Oſiander*, who had brought in a new Doctrine concerning *Juſtification*; but the greateſt part of the Learned Men diſliking his Opinion, *Albert*, Duke of *Pruſſia*, by a publick Declaration, ſet forth, that he was reſolved to follow the Doctrine of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion; and therefore he Commanded the Miniſters of the Churches to Teach according to it, and promiſed them to paſs by what was paſt, if they obeyed this Edict for the future. That therefore this Controverſy might be truly compoſed, and not break out afreſh, *John Albert*, Duke of *Meckelburg*, the Son-in-Law of the Duke of *Pruſſia*, a Prince of very great Learning, went thither, and calling in the Aſſiſtance of ſome other Learned Men, he reduced *John Funcius*, the principal Man of the *Oſiandrians*, to an open acknowledgment of his Error, and obtained a Promiſe from him, that he would, for the future, Teach according to the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion; and this being done by the other Divines of that Province too, there was a Reconciliation made between the Parties, and that Church was ſetled in Peace.

The fourth day of *March*, a Comet appeared, and was ſeen for twelve days together, and in the ſame Month, the Deputies of the *German* Princes and Cities met at *Ratisbon*, and began with the conſideration of the Caſe of *Albert*, Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, becauſe his Adverſaries in the laſt Diet, had deſired the Aſſiſtance of the Princes againſt him. But his Kindred interpoſing on his behalf, it was at laſt decreed, that he ſhould have the publick Faith for his Security, and that this Cauſe ſhould be determined by Arbitrators, and upon his return into *Germany* out of *France*, in the Month of *February* there was accordingly a Treaty begun, which was now aſſumed by the Diet, the affairs of the Empire being delayed to the Month of *April*.

Engliſh affairs.

Cranmer, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had been long ſince † condemned, and after the Death of *Ridley* and *Hooper*, was returned back to his Priſon, as I have ſaid, but now the twenty firſt of *March*, he was burnt at *Oxford*. Some few days before, upon promiſe of Life, and at the urgent Perſwaſion of ſome that were ſent to him, he had recanted moſt of his former Doctrines, and appeared unconſtant; but when he ſaw he muſt die, he made an Exhortation to the People; wherein he ſpoke much of Repentance, and amendment of Life, the People being very attentive to him; then he ſaid, how much he had offended God by denying the Truth, and recapitulating the principal Points of Doctrine, he ſhortly explain'd his Belief as to each of them, and proved that the *Papacy* was the Kingdom of *Antichriſt*. Here he was interrupted, and after many Reproaches he was hurried to the Place of Execution. When he was tied to the Stake, and the Fire was kindled about him, he ſtretched orth his Right Hand, ſaying, *This has Sinned by ſubſcribing thoſe wicked Doctrines which the Enemies of the Truth propoſed to me, and therefore it ſhall firſt be Puniſhed*; he thereupon thruſt it into the Flames as far as he could, that it might firſt be Tormented.

† The 12th. of *September*.

Cranmer Burnt.

Thus was the Primate of *England* Burnt, a Perſon of great Learning and Authority. At the time, the Papal Character was taken from him by what they call a Degradation, which is attended with many Ceremonies, he was forced to wear mean Cloaths (made of Canvas) and he was now brought out in this Habit, that he might be ſcorned, but it had a contrary Effect, for that the greateſt part of the Spectators commiſerating his Condition, could not forbear weeping over him, though they did not doubt but he was changing this miſerable Life for an Immortal one, and paſſing into his Heavenly Country. Cardinal *Pool* ſoon after was enriched with his *Spoils*, and made Arch-

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, having the Winter before been made a Prieſt, for he was only a Cardinal-Deacon when he came over. 1556.

As the Inhabitants of the *Lower Auſtria* ſollicited King *Ferdinand* to grant them the free Exerciſe of the *Lutheran* Religion, ſo the Subjects of the Duke of *Bavaria*, about the ſame time, became very troubleſom to *Albert* their Duke upon the ſame account. This Prince obſerving, that King *Ferdinand* his Father-in-law had yielded ſomething, he alſo, having then need of Money, did for a time comply with his Subjects, and granted them liberty to take the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both Kinds, and to eat Fleſh on the days prohibited, in caſe of great neceſſity: Yet, at the ſame time, he made a long Proteſtation, That he would not deſert the Religion of his Anceſtors, nor ſuffer any thing to be changed in the Ceremonies and Rites of the Church; which he ſaid was not lawful for him to do, without the conſent of the Supreme both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtrate: And that he granted theſe two things for ſo long time only, as till there was a publick Order made to the contrary, or a Reconciliation between the contending Parties; for that it was his will, that all his former Orders concerning Religion ſhould be exactly obſerved in all other Points but theſe Two, and that in theſe he would take all the care he could that the Metropolitans and Biſhops ſhould confirm theſe his Conceſſions, and ſhould not on theſe accounts trouble any of them. This Edict was dated the laſt day of the month of *March*.

The Subjects of *Bavaria* petition for Liberty of Conſcience.

About this time ſome of the Nobility of *Tranſylvania* revolted from King *Ferdinand*, whereupon he commanded the Dyet to be prorogu'd to an uncertain day, and began to levy Forces, which were afterwards ſent down the *Danube* towards *Hungary*. There is a Town call'd *Oberen*, ſeated in *Alſatia*, three miles from *Strasburg*; an Inhabitant of this place, who was a Vine-Dreſſer, being then in great Poverty, took the opportunity, when his Wife was abroad, and murder'd all his Children; the eldeſt was a Girl of ſeven years of age, the ſecond a Boy of four years old, and the youngeſt an Infant of about ſix months old, and in the Cradle: This Murther was committed the 10th of *April*. There was then alſo a ſtrong Report, That the Pope and his Partiſans had entred a ſecret Combination againſt thoſe of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion. This Opinion was the more eaſily entertain'd, becauſe it was certainly known that the Pope was much incens'd againſt the Decree made the laſt year at *Ausburg*, by which Peace and Liberty were granted to thoſe of that Religion: And it was believed he had ſollicited the Emperour to declare that Edict to be void, for he ſaw that men daily made a defection from his Kingdom, and he well knew what had been deſired by the Inhabitants both of *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*: To this was added, a meeting of the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Trier*, and *Cologne*, at the *Bathes*, and it was ſuſpected this meeting was not for nothing.

Tranſylvania revolts.

King *Ferdinand* having put an end to the Dyet of *Auſtria*, went into *Bohemia*, and ſummon'd a Dyet of that Kingdom, and of the near Provinces at *Prague*, in which he demanded and obtain'd Moneys for his Defence againſt the *Turks*. After this, he ſent Letters to the Deputies, who had now expected him ſome months at *Ratiſbon*; in which he excus'd his not coming to them, and acquainted them with his being neceſſitated to go to *Vienna* before he could come thither, and then he prorogued their Seſſion to the firſt of *June*. After King *Ferdinand* was return'd out of *Bohemia*, the *Landtgrave* went into *Miſnia*, and ſtaid ſome time with *Auguſtus* Duke of *Saxony*. The 10th day of *May* the Duke of *Areſchot*, who was a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Vincenne*, which ſtands not far from *Paris*, made his eſcape, and came ſafely home. The Cardinal of *Ausburg* about the ſame time being return'd from *Rome*, where he had continu'd about a year, and hearing how ſuſpitiouſly moſt men ſpoke and thought of him, as one that was engag'd in cloſe Deſigns with the Pope for the Ruin of *Germany*; In the end of *May*, he put out a Vindication of himſelf in the *German*-Tongue, which was to this purpoſe:

The Cardinal of *Ausburg*'s Apology for himſelf.

'When the laſt year after the Death of *Julius* II. (ſaith he) I went to '*Rome*, as the duty of my Place obliged me, I was one of thoſe who elected '*Rome*, the preſent Pope; I then intended to take the firſt opportunity of returning '*into Germany*, but I was detained by the Pope, who was then deliberating about the Reformation of the Church; and having for that purpoſe 'choſen ſome Learned Men of all Nations, he was pleaſed to appoint me for 'one, though I was not worthy of ſuch a Truſt, becauſe I was a *German*:

'But

1556. ‘But then, becauſe my Biſhoprick requir'd my preſence here, I at laſt obtain'd ‘leave of the Pope to return home, which I could not obtain till the laſt day ‘of *March*, immediately after which I began my Journey hither. Now, ‘though I have, ever ſince my Advancement to this Dignity, and before, be- ‘haved my ſelf ſo, that no ill thing can truly be laid to my charge, (which ‘I deſire may not be taken for a proud boaſt;) and although I have ever been an ‘Adviſer and Promoter of Peace, to my great damage and hindrance, and ‘have ever taken all the care I could for the Honour and Safety of my Coun- ‘trey: yet, as ſoon as ever I arriv'd in *Germany*, I was acquainted by my ‘Friends, who are worthy of credit, That during my abſence there was a Book ‘printed here to defame me, as if I had enter'd into a Combination with the ‘Pope, and other *Italian* Princes, to involve *Germany*, and eſpecially thoſe of ‘that Nation who embrace the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, in a calamitous War. ‘Now they pretended in this Paper, That the cauſe of this Attempt, and of ‘this cloſe Treaty, was; that the Pope was very much offended with the De- ‘cree made in the laſt Dyet at *Ausburg*; that he had laboured to perſuade the ‘Emperour to reverſe it; that he had abſolved that Prince from the Oath ‘he had given them; that he had promiſed the Emperour all the help and ‘aſſiſtance he could give him for the Conqueſt of *Germany*, provided the Em- ‘perour would aſſiſt him in the Recovery of his Spiritual Juriſdiction in *Ger- ‘many*; that he had to that end procur'd a Truce between the Emperour and ‘the *French* King, that both their Forces might be employ'd in this Work. ‘And they added, That *German* Soldiers were at preſent to be liſted, and no ‘other, to the end the Deſign might be the better conceal'd; that the King of ‘*England* was to ſend 8000 Horſe, and to be General in this War; and that Levies ‘were made in ſeveral places. In ſhort, that all things were manag'd with that care, ‘that all the Forces were to begin their March at the ſame time, and ſuddenly to ‘invade the Empire, whil'ſt moſt of the Princes were from home at the Dyet of ‘*Ratisbon*; that both the Pope and the King of *England* had ſent Envoys to ſe- ‘veral of the Princes of *Germany*, and made them great promiſes, the Pope ‘eſpecially, that he would ſend a great Body of Horſe and Foot to their Aſſiſt- ‘ance; that I have traduced *Otto Henry*, Elector Palatine, *Chriſtopher* Duke of ‘*Wirtemburg*, and *Albert* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, as *Lutherans*, Seditious men, ‘and worthy to be driven out of their Countreys; that the *Lantgrave* was in ‘the mean time much commended by me in an Aſſembly of the Cardinals, ‘becauſe he had made a defection from his Religion, and one of his Miniſters, ‘called *Titelman*, had both by Word and Writing recanted his Religion at ‘*Rome*. Now, becauſe theſe ſlanders do not only affect the Pope and the Em- ‘perour, but Me alſo, and my Reputation; and becauſe it is the duty of a ‘good man to juſtifie his own and his Princes Honour and Innocency, it is fit ‘I ſhould anſwer all the Accuſations.

‘In the firſt place therefore, I ſay, it is a great affliction to me to find there ‘are ſtill ſome men, who, contrary to the old *German* Virtue, Conſtancy, ‘and Fidelity, can be induced to lend an aſſent to ſuch ſlanders as theſe, and ‘ſeem to deſign by theſe leud Libels and Reports to excite the minds of the ‘Princes of the Empire againſt their Head, and to engage them in a cruel and ‘wicked War amongſt themſelves. I believe many can remember that diſ- ‘mal, turbulent, and dangerous Calumny, which about 32 years ſince was ‘invented and ſpread abroad, That King *Ferdinand*, the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, ‘*Saltzburg*, and *Wurtsburg*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, *William* and *Lewis* of ‘*Bavaria*, and *George* Duke of *Saxony*, were all combin'd in a League againſt ‘*John Elector of Saxony*, and the *Landtgrave*; which prevail'd ſo far, that it ‘had like to have ended in a deſtructive War. Certainly the Princes ought ‘not to forget thoſe times: For that Villany was diſcovered, the ſeveral Princes, ‘as they were obliged, having printed each of them a Vindication of himſelf, ‘wherein he denied the matter charged upon him; and thereupon the Author ‘of this Calumny being diſcovered, he was deſervedly executed: And I hope ‘this here will have the ſame event, and that God, who is the juſt Avenger of ‘ſuch ill Practices, will diſcover the Authors of this pernitious Invention. In ‘the mean time, I offer up my Prayers to God, That he would give them a ‘better mind, and diſappoint their wicked Counſels, that they may not pre- ‘vail to the Deſtruction of our Country. For ſeeing this ſlander is of the ‘ſame nature with the former, it may eaſily be concluded the Authors of this

‘had

'had the ſame Deſign with the former; or rather, that it was made by it, 1556.
'that what was diſcover'd and prevented then, may now have its effect. Now
'the main deſign of this Calumniator is to create a belief that the Pope and the
'Emperour have reſolved to reſcind the Decree made for the Peace of Religion,
'by a War, and that the King of *England* and the Biſhops of *Germany* are to lend
'their aſſiſtances to it. Now, I ſay, this feigned and falſe Invention is de-
'ſigned for the exaſperating the minds of Men, that their Prejudices and Diſ-
'affections being increaſed, a Civil War may be ſtirr'd up amongſt us, to
'overwhelm our Country with the Blood of its Inhabitants. And although I
'do not doubt but the Emperour, and the other Princes who are injur'd by this
'Seditious and Infamous Libel, will take care to defend themſelves, and to
'right their own Cauſe, yet at the ſame time I believe it is a part of my own
'Duty to clear the Reputation of our Supreme Magiſtrate. And I proteſt,
'whil'ſt I was at *Rome*, in my preſence, or to my knowledge, there was not
'one word ſpoken concerning the *Peace of Religion*: and therefore it is very falſly
'laid to the Pope's charge, that his main deſign is to perſuade the Emperour
'and other Kings to deſtroy that Decree by Force and Arms: I ſay, this is falſe,
'and can never be proved; and by conſequence what is charged upon the Em-
'perour is falſe too; for ſeeing there has been no Treaty between them, how
'can a War be agreed, and the recovering the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and
'the Conqueſt of *Germany* be reſolv'd on? This Slander pretends, That the
'*Truce* is made between the Emperour and the King of *France*, to the intent
'that the Souldiers which are disbanded on both ſides, may be employ'd in
'in this War: Now the cauſes of that Truce are ſufficiently ſet forth in the
'printed Copies of the Treaty; and the Souldiers which were thereupon diſ-
'banded are not entertain'd by any Prince, except what Forces King *Ferdi-*
'*nand* has order'd to be levy'd and ſent into *Hungary* againſt the *Turk*, and
'ſome few which have been taken into Pay by the Biſhops of *Augburg*, *No-*
'*rimburg*, *Bamberg*, and *Wurtsburg*, that they may not be taken altogether un-
'provided. So that all this Invention, as it relates to the Pope, the Emperour,
'and the Biſhops, is falſe in all its parts.

'Now, as to what concerns my ſelf, I have hitherto followed the Ancient,
'True and Catholick Religion, as becomes a *German*, purſuing the footſteps of
'my Anceſtors, and continuing in the Communion of that Church in which
'I had my Education, as I have already declared by a Letter I ſent to the laſt
'Diet, and by my Deputies which I ſent thither; and I intend by the bleſſing
'of God to continue in this Opinion, nor will I do any thing which is con-
'trary to Honeſty and my Duty; and yet, after all, I deſire to live peace-
'ably with all men. And whereas I am ſaid to have entred into a ſecret Treaty
'with the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *England*, ſome Princes of the Em-
'pire, and ſome private perſons, to ſtir up a War; this is moſt falſe: and
'that alſo which concerns the *Elector Palatine*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*,
'and the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, is moſt falſe, and can never be proved;
'and thoſe who ſpread ſuch Reports of me by Word or Writing, are Slande-
'rers, and the Enemies of our Country. That which relates to the Elector
'Palatine ſtands thus: The Office and Dignity I enjoy requires me to endea-
'vour the preſervation of the Rights of my Biſhoprick, and that I ſhould
'preſerve the People committed to my Charge in the Ancient and Catholick
'Religion: being therefore inform'd, that *Otto Henry*, Elector Palatine, en-
'deavoured to gain over to his Religion ſome Towns that were in my Dioceſs,
'and that he had placed Preachers in them, I could not but take this ill, and I
'had juſt cauſe given me to defend my ſelf againſt him by a Suit at Law; and
'thereupon, I being abſent, my Councel by my Order commenced a Suit againſt
'him in the *Chamber of Spire*, where it is ſtill depending; nor have I in any
'thing elſe, ſo much as in Word, hurt or injur'd his Honour, ſo far have I
'been from deſigning any thing againſt his Countries; and if it had lain in my
'power to have ſerved him, his Countries, or People, I would not have omit-
'ted it; and for this I believe his People would be my Witneſſes, becauſe they
'know I have kept my Faith to them, and have aſſiſted them ſometimes when
'they were in great diſtreſſes. To which I may add, That I have ever had
'particular affection for the Palatine Family, and I have ever been ready to do
'it all the good I could; nor is that Diſpoſition at all changed in me: and I
'have the ſame kindneſs for *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who is a Good,

'Wiſe,

1556. ‘Wiſe, Politick Prince, and a great lover of Peace: upon the account of theſe ‘rare qualities, I have had a great propenſion for him ever ſince I firſt knew ‘him, and have ſtudy'd to make this appear in my actions. But then, as to ‘the driving Him or the Elector Palatine out of their Countries, it never en‘tred into my thoughts; and if I had known of any Deſign which had tended ‘to the damage of their Reputations or Eſtates, I ſhould certainly have been ve‘ry much grieved, and have done what was in my power to prevent it. I have ‘hitherto ſo behav'd my ſelf at all times, that I believe no man can find any ‘thing in my actions which is contrary to my Profeſſion; and for the future I ‘will ever carry my ſelf ſo, that I will raiſe a greater belief than I now have in ‘the minds of men, out of an hope, that as I have given no juſt cauſe of offence ‘to them, ſo they at laſt will be prevail'd upon to remunerate me with an ‘equal degree of kindneſs. And as to the Caſe of *Albert* Marqueſs of *Branden‘burg*, he himſelf knows how greatly I am concern'd for his misfortunes: for ‘what is it which I have not done and tried, in order to reſtore the Peace of the ‘Empire, and to put a ſtop to that Quarrel? In truth I took ſo much pains ‘and care in that Affair, that tho' I aim'd at the Publick Good by it, yet at laſt ‘I was ſuſpected by ſome as one that favoured his Intereſt too much, and would ‘for his ſake prejudice others. But then how candidly I manag'd that buſineſs, ‘will appear by my Letters to him. Seeing then I have been thus diſpoſed to‘wards him, and he cannot charge me to have omitted any thing which it be‘came me to do for him, I have great confidence that, as becomes his natural ‘Virtue and true Nobility, he will believe my Words, or rather my Actions, ‘which are full of light, than theſe ſeditious men, who, like Bellows, endea‘vour to kindle a Fire amongſt us.

‘With how great charity and kindneſs I have ever entertain'd all *Germans* ‘whil'ſt I was at *Rome*, out of a kind remembrance I have of my deareſt Coun‘try, may be eaſily known from the Ambaſſadors of many of the Princes; and ‘many of the Nobility will bear me witneſs, who were then at *Rome* when I was ‘there, inſomuch that the Nobility of *Mentz*, *Trier*, *Cologne*, *Saxony*, *Branden‘burg*, *Magdeburg*, *Bavaria*, *Brunſwick*, *Paſſaw*, *Oſnaburg*, *Minden*, and *Baſil*, ‘did all as one man repair to me, who heard all their Affairs with great fide‘lity; and by my Intereſt and Commendations I procured ſome of them Com‘manders *Places* and other Employments which were convenient for them. ‘And now, as to what concerns the *Landtgrave*, what a ſilly fiction the ſtory ‘of one *Titelman* is? for I never had any diſcourſe with the Landtgrave or his ‘Sons about this Affair, nor do I remember I ever mention'd him all the while ‘I was at *Rome*, or in *Italy*. It is equally as unknown to me what the Miniſters ‘of his Countries Teach or Recant; and I may truly aver, that, to my know‘ledge, there was no ſuch Recantation made at *Rome*; and therefore I do not ‘queſtion but, if he be ask'd, the Landtgrave himſelf will confute both this, ‘and the ſtory of his Commendation, as falſe. Now, ſeeing the Authors of ‘this wicked Libel have baſely made all that is in it, that they might by theſe ‘Lyes revive that Fire which they kindled ſo many years ſince, to the end that ‘it might break out afreſh, and burn with equal Rage; it is fit the Princes and ‘Magiſtrates ſhould diligently preſerve themſelves from the danger of them, ‘and when they ſhall be diſcover'd, to make them ſuch Examples of their ‘Juſtice, as may terrifie others from the ſame Offences. Laſtly, If there ſhould ‘happen to be ſome who on the account of theſe ſlanders have taken up an ill ‘Opinion of me, I moſt earneſtly deſire them they would lay by their hard ‘thoughts of me, and that they would certainly believe, that as I am a *German* ‘by Birth, and deſcended of an Illuſtrious and Noble Family, ſo I will do no‘thing unworthy of the Virtue of my Anceſtors, and the Dignity of my Fami‘ly. Having, as I ſaid, publiſhed this Paper the 27th of *June*, he ſent ſeveral Letters to the ſame purpoſe to the Princes of *Germany*, and then return'd back to *Rome* at the ſame time that *Bona*, the Mother of *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, return'd to *Naples*, her Native Country.

In the mean time there were (as is reported) ſome Commotions in *England*, and ſome were Impriſon'd, and others Beheaded, and others eſcaped into *France*, in which number was *Andrew Dudley*, Brother to the late Duke of *Northumberland*; and two of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*'s Servants were taken up. The 15th of *May Peter Cart*, who had fled ſome months before for a *Sedition*, was reconcil'd to King *Philip*; and Sir *John Cheeck*, who had been *Præceptor* to *Edward*

Edward VI. and was come into the *Low Countries* to meet his Wife, and going from *Bruſſels* to *Antwerp*, they were both taken, and treated with great Indignity, and at laſt ſhipp'd for *London*. In the end of *June* Thirteen were ty'd to one Stake and burnt near *London* for their Religion. 1556.

In the mean time *Charles* Marqueſs of *Baden* received the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, and borrowed Miniſters of the Neighbour Princes and States, to inſtruct People and reform his Churches. The Chamber of *Spire* had before this time admitted one or two Miniſters of the Goſpel. *Maximilian*, the eldeſt Son of King *Ferdinand*, going about this time from *Vienna*, with *Elizabeth* his Lady, a Daughter of the Emperour's, the 17th of *July* they arrived at *Bruſſels*, which Journey they undertook after a long ſollicitation to it. The Marqueſs of *Baden* embraceth the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion.

Peter Martyr the *Florentine*, who has been often mentioned by me, left *Strasburg* about this time and went to *Zurich*, upon the account of the revival of the old Quarrel concerning the Lord's Supper, he having been ill treated in ſome Books written on that Subject; which inclin'd him the more to ſettle in *Zurich*, where he ſhould have greater liberty to write upon it, and teach his Judgment in this Point. *Conradus Pelicanus*, the old Profeſſor of *Hebrew* at *Zurich*, died alſo about this time, and thereupon the Miniſters of that City perſuaded their Senate to write to that of *Strasburg* to ſend them *Peter Martyr* to be his Succeſſor. The 13th of *July* he left *Strasburg*, to the great ſorrow of many, who loved him for his incomparable Learning, exquiſite Judgment, great Civility, and Modeſty, and his other rare Virtues. *Peter Martyr* goes to *Zurich*.

About the ſame time the Archbiſhop and Cardinal of *Piſa*, who was a *Sicilian* by Birth, travell'd through *Baſil* to the Emperour in the *Low Countries*, to whom he was ſent by the Pope; the Cardinal of *Caraffa*, a near Kinſman of the Pope's, having been ſent ſome ſmall time before to the King of *France*. There was a Report, which was alſo confirm'd by Writing, That there were great Debates between the Pope and the Emperour, and that things tended to a War; for that, amongſt other Grievances, the Pope had diſpoſſeſſed the Family of *Colonna* of their Eſtates in *Campagnia di Roma*, which was eſteem'd an Injury to the Emperour; and beſides, he would not admit King *Philip*, the Emperour's Son, to the Succeſſion of the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, (*which are Fees holden of the See of* Rome) but upon very hard conditions; thoſe Kingdoms paying a Tribute to the Popes of *Rome*. This ended in a War the next year.

The 15th of *July Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*, in the Name of King *Ferdinand*, began the Dyet at *Ratiſbon*, he being in the mean time detain'd from coming hither at the time appointed by his Dyets in *Auſtria* and *Bohemia*, which, as I ſaid, he was now holding: Hereupon he acquainted the States with the great Difficulties which oppreſſed him, and the Reaſons why he could not be preſent in this Dyet. He ſaid, That all *Tranſylvania* had revolted to one *John*, by the procurement of one *Peter Petrowich*, a Subject of his; and, when there was no neceſſity, nor any juſt cauſe of War, ſollicited the *Turk* for Succours *; That after this *Francis Beveck* and *George* his Son had raiſed a Rebellion againſt him in *Hungary*, and, with the help of the *Walachians*, had taken ſeveral Towns and Caſtles; That the *Turks* had ſent a Baſſa to govern *Buda*; That another Baſſa, in the time of a Treaty of Peace, had beſieged *Sigeth* from the 11th of *June*, and had batter'd it with all the violence imaginable; That the Town had been taken, but the Caſtle ſtill held out, but much † oppreſſed by the Cannon of the Enemy; That he had received Accounts by Letters and Meſſengers, That the Baſſa of *Boſnia* was aſſembling great Forces to invade *Sclavonia*; That the Beglerbeg of *Greece* was drawing great Forces together at *Sophia*, and then deſigned to come forward, and that *Solyman* himſelf would come into *Hungary* in *Autumn* to Winter there, or at leaſt that he would be there early in the Spring with a vaſt Army to take *Vienna*; That in a time of ſo great diſtreſs he was not at leiſure, nor durſt he leave his Provinces, but was wholly taken up in providing for the Defence and Security of them; and becauſe he would not have the Dyet held any longer in ſuſpence, which was contrary to the Intereſt of the Empire, he had committed the management of it to the Duke of *Bavaria*, that he might begin it, and preſide till he could come thither himſelf; That he had ſent a ſplendid Ambaſſy to treat of a Peace or a Truce three years ſince with *Solyman*, and his Ambaſſadors were detained at *Conſtantinople*; and, although a Truce had been concluded till the Ambaſſador ſhould return home, yet the *Turk* had broke his Faith, and had taken many

* The cauſe by them alledged was, That *Ferdinand*, contrary to his promiſe, had put *Spaniſh* Souldiers into their Towns, which ruin'd their Country. *Thuan.*

† The Inhabitants and Garriſon finding the Caſtle too little to be defended, made a ſudden Sally, and recovered the Town; & the 23d of *July* the *Turks* were forced with great loſs and ſhame to draw off.

1556. Towns and Caſtles in the Borders of his Kingdom of *Hungary*; and ſeeing he was now battering *Sigeth*, it was not reaſonable to expect a firm and laſting Peace upon tolerable Conditions. This being the ſtate of things, (he ſaid) a great and terrible Danger was threatned thereby, not only to the Remainder of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, but to *Auſtria*, and all *Germany*, and therefore it was needful to come preſently to a Reſolution of ſending Succours, and levying money for the defence of it, which might be depoſited in certain Places to be iſſu'd out by publick Treaſurers, as need ſhould require; That the King had ſollicited other Princes to ſend Supplies, and that he was reſolv'd to ſpare no Treaſures, and to hazard his own Perſon and his Sons: But then, his Hereditary Countries being exhauſted by a War which had laſted ſo many years, were not now able to grapple with ſo formidable an Enemy alone, but it was abſolutely needful the Empire ſhould aſſiſt them, and that ſpeedily. And ſeeing in the laſt Dyet it was reſolved, That the compoſing the Differences of Religion ſhould be conſidered in this, he earneſtly exhorted them to conſider, whether it was poſſible to be done, and by what way. They were to conſider alſo of the * Money, and of the eſtabliſhing the Peace of the Empire. But then *the Turkiſh* War ought not to be poſtpon'd or delay'd, but to be one of their firſt and moſt important Conſiderations, that ſo the preſent and impending Danger might be averted.

* Which was then ſaid to be much debaſed and corrupted, to the damage of the People.

The 15th day of *September* the Emperour having a fair Wind, and a promiſing Seaſon, ſet Sail with a good Fleet for *Spain*, and took along with him as his Companions in this Voyage *Mary* Queen-Dowager of *Hungary*, and *Leonora* Queen-Dowager of *France*, his Siſters. † *But before his departure he had reſigned to his Son* Philip *the Government of the* Low-Countries, *and to his Brother King* Ferdinand *the Empire of* Germany; *to which purpoſe he had ſent a Letter to the Electors, wherein he deſired they would accept of him, and acknowledge and obey him as Emperour of* Germany.

† Theſe ſhort Accounts ſeem added by another hand after the Author was dead, if not that of the Emperour's Journey.

The laſt day of *October John Sleidan*, I. V. L. a Perſon worthy of great Commendations on the account of the rare Endowments of his Mind, and his great Learning, died at *Strasburg*, and was honourably buried.

FINIS.

A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

To the End of the

COUNCIL OF TRENT,

In the Year 1563.

Collected and Written by *E. B.* Esq;

LONDON,
Printed in the Year MDCLXXXIX.

A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

BOOK I.

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The Introduction.

IT was the Misfortune of this Great Man, *John Sleidan*, to die in that nick of Time, when the Fates of the two contending Religions, and of all Christendom, were just upon the setling: It is true, he lived to see the *Augustane* Confession setled in the Dyet of *Ausburg*, and perhaps he might hear of the Resignation of the Empire by *Charles* V, to his Brother *Ferdinand*; but then Death surprized him before he could give any account of it; for with it he designed to have begun the next Book, in all probability, and to have filled up this with some other Accidents; such as a large account of the Revolt of *Transylvania*, and the Siege of *Sigeth* would have afforded him. But then had he lived till the Year 1563, he should have seen the Death of Queen *Mary*, *Henry* II of *France*, and *Charles* V, and the setling of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, by the Determination of the Council of *Trent*, contrary to the Expectation of all Men; which seems to be the first Period of the Reformation, and absolutely necessary to give the Reader a clear Prospect and full View of the first Joynt of this great Revolution. I have therefore persuaded the Stationer to add a Suppliment to this Version, for that purpose; and because I am a Member of the Religion by Law established, and not willing to

offend them of the other Perſuaſions, I reſolve to advance nothing in it but from Authors, who lived and dyed in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, ſhewing the matter of Fact with great Brevity, and making few or no Reflections of my own: That ſo the Reader may be left entirely to himſelf, to think what he Pleaſe, and God ſhall direct him.

1556. The Revolt of *Tranſylvania*.

I will begin with the Buſineſs of *Tranſylvania*: *John* the laſt King of *Hungary*, dyed of Joy for the birth of his Son, in the Year 1539: His Son being left thus an Infant, his Mother the Queen Regent, put him under the Protection of *Solyman*, Emperour of the *Turks*, to ſecure him from the Violence of *Ferdinand*, who claimed that Kingdom; and thereupon a ſharp War enſued, which ended in the advancement of the *Turkiſh* Intereſt, and the loſs of both thoſe Princes, the *Turk* taking *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, *Gran* and *Albaregalis*, in the Year 1544; *Temeſwar*, *Lippa*, and ſome others in the Year 1548: Whereupon *Ferdinand* finding himſelf too weak to deal with that potent warlike Prince, in the Year 1549 offered him 30000 Ducats of yearly Tribute for *Tranſylvania*: But this Deſign failing, in the Year 1551, he forced the Queen of *Hungary* to reſign *Tranſylvania*, to whom in lieu of it he gave *Caſſovia*, and a Penſion of 100000 Ducats yearly. And in the Year 1552, he made *Stephen Dobus*, who had performed great Services for him againſt the *Turks* this Year in the Defence of *Agria*, Vaivode of *Tranſylvania*: He continued quietly in the Poſſeſſion of it, till the Year 1556; and then another Diſturbance aroſe in this Principality, which is ſhortly hinted at by King *Ferdinand*, in his Letter to the Dyet at *Ratisbonne*. Among other things, *Ferdinand* had promiſed, That he would not burthen *Tranſylvania* with any Garriſons of Foreigners; But whether out of Neceſſity, or for fear of the *Turks*, he had kept a ſtrong Guard of *Spaniſh* Soldiers there, who had done great Injuries to the Inhabitants; whereupon one *Peter Petrowic*, underhand, dealt with *Solyman* for ſupplies, and began a Revolt in favour of one *John*, whoſe Family is not known, who then aſpired to this miſerable Principality, and hoped by drawing the *Turks* into *Hungary*, to gain the greateſt part of that Kingdom for himſelf, and had called a Dyet at *Thorda*, in *March*, 1555, which was diſappointed by the *Spaniards*. The *Turks* were not without their Complaints too, for tho' *Ferdinand* had ſent Ambaſſadours to treat a Peace, yet *Solyman* being engaged in a War with the *Perſians*, he was not at leiſure, or perhaps not much inclined to make a Peace with *Ferdinand*, but kept his Ambaſſadours two Years at *Conſtantinople*, to little or no Purpoſe; and *Ferdinand* being thus held in Suſpenſe, was forced to keep great Garriſons in his Frontier Towns, and among them the *Heyducks* were imployed, who having no Pay, *made frequent* inroads into the *Turkiſh* Quarters towards *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, and often ſurprized the *Turkiſh* Boats, as they paſſed upon the Rivers; nor was it in *Ferdinand*'s power to reſtrain them, as things then ſtood. Hereupon the *Turks* began a War with the Town of *Kapoſwar*, which was treacherouſly reſigned to them by the Garriſon, and after it *Babotz*, and paſſing on, they attempted *Sigeth*, and came within Cannon-ſhot of it; but *Ladiſlaus Kerezen*, the Governour, gave them ſuch a warm Entertainment, that the Baſſa's Tent being pierced with a Cannon-ſhot, he was forced to remove farther off, and three hundred of his Men being ſlain in two Sallies, and Winter coming on, he was fain to Withdraw. This paſſed in the Year 1555.

Sigeth beſieged and moſt bravely defended by the *Germans*.

In the beginning of the next Year, *Solyman* ſent *Haly* an *Albanian*, whom he had recalled from the Wars of *Perſia*, to be Viſier of *Buda*; but with a Command not to enter that City, till he had taken *Sigeth*: He coming to *Sirmiſh*, ſent a Meſſenger to demand *Sigeth* of *Ferdinand*, who replyed, *He had Ambaſſadours at the Port, treating of a Peace; he had done no Injury, and therefore deſired he might receive none, but was reſolved to defend himſelf if he were attacked.* Whereupon the Baſſa comes on, and finds *Mark Horwatch* Governour of the Town, who had ſworn the Garriſon, conſiſting of two thouſand Foot, and one hundred and eighty Horſe, to defend the Town to the utmoſt.

The Situation of *Sigeth*.

It is ſeated in a marſhy Plain, and on the North it has Dikes; which bring the Waters of the River *Alme* into the three Ditches, which ſtrengthen the Town; On the Eaſt it has a ſtrong Caſtle, which had two Baſtions, and the nature of the Site made it impoſſible to make uſe of Mines againſt it; and it was then a very Populous Place. *Haly* came before it the tenth of *June*, and finding nothing but Force could take it, the thirteenth he raiſed a Battery of nine Canon on the South ſide: Whilſt this was battering the Town on that Side, he plaid his Granadoes on all the other, which burnt moſt of the Houſes, and a part

part of the Walls, which were made of Clay and Straw; the twentieth of *June*, the *Turks* took the Counterſcharpe, and the next Night they filled the ſecond Dike with Faggots, and built another Battery on the Weſt Side of the Town, which the Defendants were not able to deſtroy. The next day, a great Breach being made in the ſecond Wall, tho' the Town had burnt ten thouſand Loads of Wood, which had been thrown in to fill the Dike, yet the *Turks*, after four furious Aſſaults, which ſucceeded not, took the Town at the fifth, and the Garriſon retreated into the Caſtle. The *Turks* drew a Trench between the Caſtle and the Town, to ſecure themſelves; but the Townſmen and Soldiers finding themſelves too much pen'd up for want of Room, made ſo furious a Sally upon the *Turks*, that they ſlew eighty of them, and recovered the Town. The next day, which was the twelfth of *July*, *Haly* renewed the Battery on the Weſt Side, and that Night erected a third Battery againſt a Tower called *Haney*, and a Gate near it, and drew a Trench round the Town to drain the Dikes, which he endeavoured to fill under the new Battery, and in this Work he ſpent five Days. When by this means he had drained the Dikes, he raiſed a fourth Battery over againſt the Caſtle, and began to play it with great Fury againſt the Caſtle, twenty thouſand Carts being imployed, in the mean time, to fill the Dikes, on the Eaſt Side with Wood; but the Defendants fired that too, and under the Cover of the Smoak, made a furious Sally on the *Turks*, who were labouring to put the Fire out, and ſlew ſeven hundred of them. They made the ſame Attempt of filling up the Dikes, and with the ſame Succeſs, on the Weſt Side, the Wood being burnt, and four hundred *Turks* cut off by a Sally. *Haly* by this time began to find his Hopes of prevailing by Force abated, ſo he fell to fawning and Flattery, and made them very kind and obliging Promiſes, if they would ſurrender; but this was to no purpoſe, ſo he fell to fill the Dikes with Sacks of Earth, and to raiſe Works with Skeps to beat off the Defendants. The twelfth of *July* he raiſed another Platform againſt the Caſtle, and battered it with that fury for five Days, that the Town was almoſt reduced to Deſperation, and ſent a Meſſenger to King *Ferdinand*, to beg Relief; but conſidering how long they muſt ſtay for it, they re-aſſumed their wonted Courage, and made a brave Irruption, in which they fired all the Wood that had been thrown into the Dikes. This abated the Fury of *Haly* ſo effectually, that he lay only pelting the Town with his Cannon to the twenty firſt of *July*, and then was glad of an Opportunity to draw off to ſuccour *Babots*, which was aſſaulted by one *Nadaſad*, who fought this Army, and made a great ſlaughter among them: And after this, the Chriſtians retreating towards *Caniſa* loſt two hundred of their Men, and among them a Brother of *Nadaſad*'s. Upon this ſmall Advantage *Haly* returned to the Siege of *Sigeth*, but was entertained with Scorn and Laughter. He began another Battery againſt the Caſtle, and uſed all the Arts and Wheedling and Terrour to perſuade the Garriſon to yield; but the Beſieged returned his Courtſhip with military Sallies, and ſlew a great many of his Men, and in one of them they maintained a Fight eight Hours againſt all the *Turkiſh* Forces, ſo that tho' the Town was above half ruined, yet the *Turkiſh* General was forced the twenty ninth of *July* to draw off to *Quinque Eccleſiæ*; after he had ſent away his Cannon and Baggage, he ſpent above two thouſand of his beſt Men in this Seige, and yet he ſlew not above one hundred and ſixteen of the Defendants; but then he ſatiated his Fury on the ſmaller Places. This *Haly* was an Eunuch of ſmall Stature, but very Corpulent, Tawny Complexioned, of a Sowre Countenance, fierce Eyes, broad Shouldered, ſhort Necked, and having two Fore-teeth like a Bore's Tusks, ſo that a more ugly contemptible Perſonage was never ſeen; but he was a Man of great Courage and Subtlety. Whileſt he lay before *Sigeth*, the *Germans* ſurprized *Gran* by Scalado; a poor *Turk* came to give him an account of this Loſs with ſo much Conſternation in his Looks, that *Haly* clapt his Hand between his Thighs, and ſaid in ſcorn, *This was the dreadful Loſs when I was deprived of my Virilities.* He was not long after forced, with great ſhame and Diſhonour, to enter his Government of *Buda*, where he dyed of Rage and Diſcontent. I have inſiſted the longer upon this, becauſe it was one of the moſt memorable Sieges in that Age.

1556.

Babot beſieged.

The Character of *Haly*, the *Turks* General.

Gran ſurprized by Scalado.

Our Author has already given an account of the Reſignation of the Kingdom, of *Naples* and the Dukedom of *Milan* by *Charles* V, to his Son *Philip*, ſoon after his Marriage to Queen *Mary*; and this Summer he reſigned the *Netherlands* and *Spain* to him; ſo that he had nothing left but the Empire. This great Prince ſtripping himſelf by degrees of all his Greatneſs and External Majeſty, and feeling a great Pleaſure in the lightning his Burthen, being then at *Sudbury* in *Zealand*, and juſt ready

Charles V, reſigns the *Netherlands* and *Spain* to his Son.

1556. And the Empire to his Brother *Ferdinand.*

ready to imbark for *Spain*, he made a Reſignation of the Empire to his Brother *Ferdinand* the ſeventh of *September*, in this form. 'CHARLES, by the Divine Clemency, Emperour of the *Romans*, *Auguſt*, &c. to all and every the Electoral Princes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, the Prelates, Counts, Barons, Knights, Nobles, Captains, Viſcounts, Governours, Lieutenants, Magiſtrates, Judges, Burgomaſters, Conſuls, Citizens and Commonalties, and all other the Subjects of the ſaid Empire, our Faithful and beloved People, of what State, Dignity or Condition ſoever, We wiſh Friendſhip, Grace, and every Good Thing. We being admoniſhed by many and great Reaſons, and very much burthened with Our great Age, and with continual Annoyance of our Infirmities, which has almoſt overpower'd Our Natural Strength, and rendred Our Body infirm, which makes Us unfit for Buſineſs; and having long ſince determined, That Our Kingdom of *Spain* ſhould go to the moſt Serene Prince, *Philip* Our Son, King of *Spain* and *England*: And having thereupon abandoned Our uſual Palace, We have removed with Our Court hither, in order with the firſt good Wind to embark for *Spain*, all things being now ready for that purpoſe, ſo that Our Voyage can be hindred by none but God: Wherefore by this Our Abſence, the Government of the Sacred Empire belongs to the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and Our deareſt Brother, as being lawfully elected King of the *Romans*, and the next unconteſtable Succeſſor after Us; the which Government has even already many Years ſince, by our Aſſent, been managed by him, in our Name, with great Affection, he having born the Weight of of it (for us) with a true brotherly and kind Solicitude. That therefore the Chriſtian Commonwealth, and eſpecially the Sacred Empire, may ſuſtain no Damage (which God prevent) whilſt We are afar off; and that Our ſaid Brother, the King of the *Romans* may tranſact all Affairs with the greater Authority, We have reſolved and declared, That as King of the *Romans*, he ſhall have Power abſolutely of himſelf, without Our Concurrence to do, treat, and command all thoſe things, which to him ſhall ſeem neceſſary and convenient, to the Dignity, Profit and Increaſe of the ſacred Empire; in the ſame manner as We could have done the ſame as Emperour of the *Romans*. In truth there is nothing which We deſired ſo much, as to have been preſent in Perſon in your Dyet, before this Our Voyage, which is now aſſembled at *Ratisbonne*, one of our Imperial Cities, and to have brought the Publick Affairs to their deſired End, by your Advice, and then to have committed the Government to Our Brother, the King of the *Romans* in it, in our ſtead, whereby we might have admoniſhed you, to pay him that Obedience, which is due to him. But Our Indiſpoſition of Body, *which is known to* all, would not ſuffer Us to take ſo long a Journey, *and eſpecially by* Land. Beſides, We conſider, that the Slipping this favourable Seaſon for Sailing, is a thing of great Conſideration—Wherefore, we being not able perſonally to come to the Dyet, as We deſired and determined to do; nor to bring Our Deſigns to their Effect: Yet We were deſirous to make known Our Affection and Devotion to you all by this Edict, and diſcovery of our Mind; and thereby expreſly to command all and every of you, by the tenour of theſe Letters, and by the Imperial Authority, under Pain of our greateſt Indignation, That ye, as hath been often ſaid, yield to the ſaid King of the *Romans* Fidelity, Obedience and Reverence, in Our Name, and ſtead in all his Edicts, Commands and Actions, and that ye do not reſiſt or diſobey him in any thing, but obſerve him in all things, as You ought to do to us, if we were preſent in the Empire; leſt by doing otherwiſe, or ſuffering your ſelves to be perſuaded to the contrary, you do excite and procure Our greateſt Indignation. And this is Our expreſs and laſt Will. Given under our Seal at *Sudbury* in *Zealand*, the ſeventh Day of *September*, in the Year of our Lord 1556, and in the thirty ſixth Year of our Empire. I have ſought up and tranſcribed this rare Piece from the *Italian* Copy, in *Alfonſo Volla*, in his Life of *Charles* V. It was penn'd in *Latin*, but I could no where find the *Latin* Copy, and perhaps it was never printed, at leaſt I am ſure it is very ſcarce; and not likely to be ever uſed again by any Prince, till Time ſhall be no more.

The Emperour's Ambaſſadours to the Electoral Princes.

The Emperour knew very well, ſaith *Thuanus*, that next to God, the Right of Electing and Receiving the Reſignation or Surrender of the Empire, was in the ſeven Electoral Princes, and that without their Conſent and Authority this could not be done; and to diſpoſe them to approve and allow this Act of his, he had appointed *William* of *Naſſaw* Prince of *Orange*, *George Sigiſmond*, *Seldius* Vice Chancellour of the Empire, and *Wolfang Haler*, one of his Secretaries of State, to be his Ambaſſadours

ſadours to them: But a War ſoon after breaking out between the King of *France* and his Son King *Philip*, by the breach of the late Truce, it was two Years ere that Command of his took its effect. 1556.

In the mean time *John* Archbiſhop of *Trier*, of the Family of the Counts of *Iſemburg*, died, and *John Laien* ſucceeded him; and *Adolph* Archbiſhop of *Cologne* was ſucceeded by *Anthony* his Brother.

The Emperour ſet ſail the fifteenth of *September*, with a Fleet of ſixteen *Spaniſh*, and twenty *Flemmiſh* Ships, all Men of War, beſides the Admiral, in which he and his two Siſters went. At *Portſmouth* ſeven *Engliſh* Ships joyned him, and at the *Iſle of Wight* ſeven more. He arrived ſafely at *Laredo*, a Port in *Biſcaye*, where he was entertained by a great concourſe of the Nobility, and Deputies of the Cities of the Kingdom of *Spain*. So ſoon as ever he ſet his Foot upon the Shoar, he proſtrated himſelf upon the Earth, and kiſſing it he ſaid, *Hail my beloved Mother, naked came I out of my Mother's Womb, and now I return naked to thee again, as to another Mother; and here I conſecrate and give to thee my Body and my Bones, which is all the Acknowledgment I can give for all thy numerous Benefits beſtowed upon me.* His next care was to make a formal and a publick Renunciation of the Kingdom of *Spain* to his Son *Philip*, in this great Aſſembly. After this he ſpent two Days at *Valladolid* with his Grand-ſon *Don Carolo*, inſtructing that unfortunate Prince in the Rules of Glory and Virtue; and doubtleſs it was a noble Lecture which ſo great a Prince, like another Patriarch, made to his ſuppoſed Heir.

The Emperour ſets ſail for *Spain*.

His Speech at his landing.

From hence this Glorious Prince retired to a Place he had choſen, to ſpend the remainder of his Life, being a Valley in the Borders of *Spain* and *Portugal*; equally Delightful for the Temper of the Air, and the Pleaſant Crown of Hills which incircled it, and ſuppoſed to be the Place where the famous *Sertorius* was baſely murthered. It is well watered with Springs and Rivolets, and rarely Fruitful, and lies about eight *Spaniſh* Miles from *Placentia*, a City of the Kingdom of *Leon*, by the Town of *Scaradilla*; this Place he had remarked in Hunting, and had ordered a ſmall Apartment of ſeven Rooms, fourteen Foot ſquare to be built for him; and here he lived with twelve Servants, and one Horſe for his own uſe, having reſerved an hundred thouſand Crowns for his Subſiſtence, which was not over well paid neither, ſpending his Time in the innocent Arts of Grafting, Gardning, and Reconciling the Differences of his Clocks, which yet he could never make to ſtrike together; *and therefore ceaſed to wonder, He had not been able to make Men agree in the Nicities of Religion.*

The deſcription of the Place in which he lived.

Here he firſt heard of the breach of Truce between his Son and the King of *France*; and though he was ſomething concerned at it, yet he concluded the Raſhneſs of the *Old doating Pope*, and the Perfidy of the *Caraffa*'s would end in the Ruine of the Proſperity of *France*, as it came afterwards to paſs. *Thuanus.*

The laſt Day of *October* (ſaith the great *Thuanus*) *John Sleidan*, when he had brought down his Hiſtory to that time, with an exact Faith and Diligence, dyed of the Plague at *Strasburg*, in the one and fiftieth Year of his Age. He was born at Sleidan, a Town in the Dukedom of *Juliers*, near *Dueren*, and from thence he took his Name; a Perſon, who for his Learning and great Experience in Affairs was much eſteemed by that Age: He had ſpent the greateſt part of his Youth in *France*; and being entertained in the Family of *Bellay*, had both learned and done great things in the Service of Cardinal *John Du Bellay*; but a ſharp Perſecution ariſing in *France* againſt thoſe that were ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſme*, he went and lived at *Strasburg*, and ſerved that Free City, and being by his own Employments much enformed of the Carriage of Affairs, he added to what he had ſeen, what he had learned from Men worthy of Credit, and wrote his Book of Commentaries. *John Sleidan's* Death and Character.

Paul IV had ſucceeded *Marcellus*, a ſhort lived Pope, the twenty ſixth of *May*, in the Year 1555, as *John Sleidan* has ſet forth in his laſt Book; he was a Man of a Furious and unquiet temper, and made it his great Deſign to raiſe the See of *Rome* to its former Greatneſs and Authority; but not conſidering the preſent ſtate of things, miſtook his Meaſures: The Submiſſion of *England* had raiſed in him extravagant Hopes of Reducing *Germany* too, under his Obedience; but then the Peace of Religion appeared ſo contrary to that Deſign, that it irritated him to the utmoſt, and *he threatned the King of the* Romans *and the Emperour, That in a ſhort time he would make them know, to their Sorrow, how much they had offended him, if they did not prevent it by revoking and diſallowing the things they had granted. That he might have no occaſion to proceed as he intended to do, not only againſt the* Lutherans, *but even againſt them too, as Abettors of them.* But all this Ranting Zeal miſſing its due Effect, *Natura iracundus & pene implacabilis.* Natalis Comes. *Paul* IV a furious Hare-brained Prince.

1556. Effect he began his Revenges on King *Philip*, the Son of the Emperour, who was the beſt Friend that See had then in Chriſtendom, by denying to admit him to the Kindgom of *Naples*.

Marc Antony Colonna, a Favorite of *Philip* King of *Spain*, had about this time diſpoſſeſſed *Aſcanius* his Father, who was a Subject of the Popes, but had a great Eſtate in the Kingdom of *Naples*, of all that lay in that Kingdom upon pretence that he was infected with Hereſie, that he favoured the *French* Intereſt againſt the Emperour, and that he lived a diſſolute Life: And the Accuſation had been countenanced and encouraged by King *Philip* to that height, that the Father, as much as in him lay, at his Death diſinherited his Son, giving his Eſtates in the Papacy to the See of *Rome*, and thoſe in the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Victoria* his Daughter, the Wife of *Garzia de Toledo*. This was made the Pretence of the enſuing War between the Pope and the King of *Spain*, into which the *French* and *Engliſh* were drawn too, and all Chriſtendom almoſt imbroiled again.

The Pope however, conſidering that he was not able to deal alone with ſo Potent a Prince as King *Philip*, under pretence of ſending Cardinal *Caraffa* into *France*, to congratulate the five Years Truce, imployed his Intereſt with the King of *France*, to perſuade him to break his Faith ſo lately given, and to renew the War with *Philip*. The Pope had before, upon ſeveral Pretences, clapt up the leading Cardinals, and great Men of the *Spaniſh* Faction: And when the King, with all the Reſpect his Zeal for that See could inſpire him with, by his Ambaſſadour, deſired the Diſcharge of theſe Priſoners, and the Reſtitution of *Marc Antony Colonna* to his Fathers Eſtate and Caſtles in the Papacy, the angry Pope Replyed, *That he had Authority and Right to puniſh his Subjects for their Offences.* And commanded his Ambaſſadour to write to his Maſter, *not to meddle with what did not belong to him, and that he ſhould permit him as Pope, to exerciſe his Soveraignty freely on his own Subjects.* And accordingly he ſeized all *Colonna*'s Caſtles and Eſtates in the Dominions of the Church, pretending to revenge the Wrongs he had done to *Aſcanius* his innocent Father, with the conſent of his Mother, who was alſo ſeverely treated by the Pope; and not contented with all this, he declared the Kingdom of *Naples* forfeited to the See of *Rome*, becauſe King *Philip* had neglected the Payment of eight thouſand Crowns due as a yearly Tribute for that Kingdom, and now many Years in Arrear; whereupon his Holineſs publiſhed an Edict, by which he annexed that Kingdom, as forfeited to the See of *Rome*; and began to fortifie *Paliano* a City of *Champagna di Roma*, thirty miles from *Rome* to the Eaſt, and put a thouſand *French* into it for a Garriſon, which the more exaſperated the King of *Spain*.

He annexes the Kingdom of *Naples* to the See of *Rome*.

The Duke *de Alva*, who was then Vice-roy of *Naples*, did all that was poſſible to mitigate the Pope; but his Submiſſions and Proteſtations more incenſed him, his Flatterers perſuading him they proceeded more from Fear than a Reverence of the Holy See, which he ſo much pretended. Whereupon the Vice-roy raiſed twelve thouſand Foot and fifteen hundred Horſe, and entring the Popes Territories, he took *Ponte Corvo*, upon the River *Garigliano*, one of the Pope's Towns, in the Borders of *Terra di Lavoro*, without reſiſtance, and after that *Fruſilione*, the Pope's Forces flying out of it in the Night. Hereupon the Pope alſo levied ten thouſand *Italian* Foot and ſeven hundred Horſe, to which he added two thouſand *Gascoigners*, which were old Soldiers, ſent him by the King of *France*; and impriſoned one *Lofredo*, who was ſent by the Duke *de Alva* to perſuade the Pope to a Peace, before the War was begun, and ſtaid at *Rome* for the Pope's Anſwer.

The Duke *de Alva* begins a War upon the Papacy.

The Duke *de Alva*, hearing this, preſently marched to *Anagni*, another City in the ſame Province, which the Pope had made his Magazine; but here meeting ſome Reſiſtance, he ſat down before it, and ſent the Duke of *Toledo* to take *Veruli*, in which he found ſome Difficulty, which he revenged by plundering the Town: Another of his Commanders took *Babuco*, and beat out the Pope's Forces; the other Places made no reſiſtance. In the interim, the Walls of *Anagni* being ruined, the Governour in the night-time blew up the Powder and fled, and left the City to the Mercy of the *Spaniards*, who plundered it with great Security.

Anagni taken.

Whilſt this was doing, *Commilo Orſino* fortified *Rome*, and prepared it for a Siege, by cutting down all the Trees, and deſtroying all the Houſes, Walls, Gardens and Vineyards about it, to the Damage of ten millions of Crowns; which enforced the Citizens to ſeek all the means that were poſſible to prevent this Devaſtation and Ruine, but in vain; and there was no leſs Care taken of the Caſtle of S. *Angelo*, five Baſtions and a Counterſcharpe being added to its former Works. But when the Noiſe of the taking *Anagni* and the other Towns came to *Rome*, nothing could conſolate

Rome prepared for a Siege.

ſolate the Citizens, but fearing another Sack like that of *Bourbon* in the year 1527, they would not be quiet till the Pope ſent Embaſſadors to *Alva* to Treat of Peace. 1556.

In the mean time *Alva* took *Valle di Montone* without reſiſtance, and finding himſelf deluded with the pretence of a Treaty, he took *Paleſtrina* and *Segni*; after this he marched to *Tivoli*, which ſubmitted without any diſpute to his will, who received the City under his Protection, and would not ſuffer his Soldiers to enter into it. Thoſe of *Vico-Varo*, a ſtrong and populous Town upon the *Teuerone*, promiſed *Orſino* to defend themſelves bravely; but ſeeing their Fields, Gardens, Vineyards and Countrey Houſes go to wrack, they deſired *Orſino* to provide for himſelf, who thereupon ſent to *Alva* for leave to march away with Drums beating and Colours flying, as if no enemy had been near, which the civil good natured enemy granted, and thereupon he entred the Town; and though he promiſed to leave but ſixty *Spaniards* in gariſon, took the liberty aferward to do as he thought fit. This Town by reaſon of its Greatneſs, Strength and Populouſneſs, might have defended it ſelf againſt a greater Army than that of the *Spaniards* if they had had the Courage; and was ſurrendered very opportunely for the *Spaniard*.

The Pope began to want Money, but durſt ask none of the Citizens of *Rome*, becauſe they were at great charges to fortifie the City: He ſolicited the *Venetians* alſo, to enter into the War, but they were for a Peace between the Parties; but then there was ſo much Pride on the one ſide, and ſo much Anger on the other, that nothing could be effected. The *French* that were in the City were very troubleſome to the *Romans* for want of their pay, which occaſioned many Thefts and Robberies, and that in the day time. *Alva* having refreſhed his Forces a ſmall time after the taking *Vico-Varo*, drew them into the Field and took *Toſcolano San Marino*, *Grotta Ferrata* and *Gandolfo*, and from *Grotta Ferrata* marched towards *Oſtia*. The inhabitants of *Nettuno* ſubmitted to him, and defended his men againſt thoſe of *Velletri*, who aſſaulted them in the Suburbs of *Nettuno*. The Pope ſeeing his weakneſs, ſent again to the *French* King to declare a war againſt the *Spaniards*, and at laſt obtained his deſire in that point.

The Duke *De Alva* coming before *Oſtia* (this City was heretofore a very conſiderable place, but being ruined by Wars and time, and now almoſt deſolate, though the Governour had beſtowed ſome time and pains in fortifying it) but however this place preſerved it ſelf and beat off the *Spaniards* with great loſs ſeveral times, but at laſt the Caſtle of it was taken too, after which a Truce enſued, and *Alva* return'd into the Kingdom of *Naples* with the *Spaniſh* Horſe, leaving the Foot in the Towns he had taken. The Duke of *Guiſe* was on the way for *Italy* with a great ſupply, and the Pope in the time of the Truce, was very earneſt with the *Venetians* to joyn with him, but to no purpoſe. And thus ſtood Affairs in the beginning of the next year in *Italy*. The Seige of *Oſtia*.

In *France*, *Henry* the Second having been won by the Arts of Cardinal *Caraffa* to break his Oath, the Admiral *Coligni* the Sixth of *January* attempted to ſurpriſe *Doway*, but was diſcovered and prevented, but he took and plundered *Leus*, a Town in *Artois*, uſing the people with great barbarity. In the mean time the Duke of *Guiſe* had paſſed the *Alps*, in the depth of the winter, with an Army of Twelve Thouſand Foot and Five Thouſand and Three Hundred armed Horſe, and Eight Hundred and Eight Light-Horſe, with which Forces he beſieged *Valenza*, a ſtrong Town in the Dutchy of *Milan*; and after he had battered it five daies, ſtorm'd and took the Town the twentieth day of *January*, and a few daies after the Caſtle. He diſmantled the Town, but at the requeſt of the Pope, he preſerved the Caſtle. From thence he paſſed into the Dukedome of *Ferrara*, where he was reſpectively entertained by the Duke, who had declared for the Pope, but he would not go with him to *Bononia*, fearing his Countries might be invaded by the *Spaniards* and their Allies in his abſence; but however the Duke of *Guiſe* went thither with his Forces, where he found an hearty welcome, but no Forces to joyn with him, which much diſpleas'd him. 1557. The *French* Affairs. *Valenza* taken.

In the mean time the Pope finding the inconvenience of having *Oſtia* in the enemies hands, which deprived *Rome* of the benefit of the Sea, and ſending ſome Forces thither, it was Surrendred, after a ſhort defence, upon the account of an Inundation of the River. After which the Pope recovered moſt of the other Towns as eaſily as he had loſt them. *Oſtia* retaken by the Pope.

1557. The War in *Italy* under the Duke of *Guiſe*.

In the Spring the Duke of *Guiſe* began the War with the Sack of *Compli*, a ſmall City of *Abruzzo*, which being taken by Scalado was ſeverely treated; the Spoil of this City was eſtimated at two hundred thouſand Crowns, great part of which was found in the Ruines of the City, where it had been hid many Ages, and was unknown to the Inhabitants. The 24 of *April*, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſat down before *Civitella*, a City of *Abruzzo*, built upon an high Hill, and very ſteep on the North, on the top of which it had a Caſtle, ruined by its own Inhabitants, in the time of *Charles* VIII, for fear it ſhould have been Garriſon'd by the *French*. This City would not yield, and therefore the Duke of *Guiſe* was forced to ſtay before it till the Cannon could be brought from *Ancona* and *Ferrara* to batter it; but when all was done, this ſmall place, by the nature of its ſituation, and the Courage of its Inhabitants, baffled all their Attempts, and forced the *French*, after a long Siege, to retire, and leave it. The Women of this Town contributed very much to the ſaving of it, not only by working at the Breaches, tho' many of them were ſlain by the Enemies Shot, but alſo by taking mens Cloaths, and appearing in Arms among them in the ſight of the Enemy, ſo that the Defendants ſeemed more numerous than indeed they were.

The Duke *de Alva* takes the Field.

In the mean time, *Alva* having brought an Army of 16000 Foot and 2000 Horſe, conſiſting of *Spaniards*, *Germans* and *Italians*, together with a good Train of Artillery brought him by Sea, he marched out of *Peſcara*, *May* 10, and drove the *French* out of *Givlia*, a Sea-port-Town, about ten miles eaſt of *Civitella*; whereupon the Duke of *Guiſe* having loſt above half his Army, left *Civitella*, the 15 of *May*, when they had lain before it twenty two Days.

The Duke of *Florence* took the Opportunity of this diſtracted State of Affairs, and by pretending he was much inclin'd to joyn with the *French* and Pope againſt the *Spaniards*, which would certainly have ruined their Power in *Italy*, forced King *Philip* to give up the City and State of *Siena* to him, who accordingly took Poſſeſſion of it *July* 19. This whole intreague is deſcribed at length by *Thuanus*, but I am forced to be very ſhort, the nature of this Supplement not admitting ſuch long Digreſſions.

Segni taken by the *Spaniards*.

Towards the latter end of the Summer, *Segni*, a ſtrong City of *Compagnia di Roma*, having made the beſt Defence it could, fell at laſt into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who plundred and burnt it, and ſlew the greateſt part of the Inhabitants. When the Pope heard the deplorable News of the Sack of *Segni*, he fell into a fit of Melancholy, and ſaid, *He deſired to be with Chriſt, and would with great Conſtancy and Satisfaction, expect the Crown of Martyrdom*,; As if (ſays *Thuanus*) this had been the Cauſe of God: And that he had not been brought into this great Danger and Trouble, by a War which his Relations had involv'd *him in, with* great Raſhneſs and Ambition.

Thoſe that were about him could not forbear Smiling; and knowing very well, That as the Pope had begun this War without Cauſe or Provocation, ſo he might end it when he pleaſed upon Juſt and Honourable Terms, King *Philip*, and his General, the Duke *de Alva*, being both extremely addicted to the See of *Rome*: And therefore taking this Opportunity, they perſuaded the Pope to ſend *Alexander Placidi*, a Knight of great eſteem, to the Duke of *Alva*, to treat about a Peace, by whom alſo the Cardinal of *Sanfloriano* ſent a private Account of the beating the *French* at S. *Quintin*, which as it ſunk the Pope's Intereſt, ſo it raiſed the *Spaniſh*.

Upon this the Duke *de Alva* took up a Reſolution to ſurprize the City of *Rome* by Night, and treat with the Pope within the very Walls of *Rome*; and he came very early in the Morning under the Walls of *Rome*, and found the City in a profound Quiet, and altogether unprovided, ſo that in all probability he might have ſurprized it without the leaſt Reſiſtance; but as he took an Oath of the Captains, That they ſhould not ſuffer their Soldiers to plunder or ſack the City, ſo it is verily thought, upon great Reaſons, That his Fear the *Switz* and *Germans* would have done this whatever he or his Officers could have done or ſaid to prevent it, made him ſtop, and by his Preſence try if he could affright the Old Pope into a Compliance. However, *Thuanus* is of Opinion, he truly deſigned to ſurprize the City, but that his Heart failed him, when it came to the Point of Execution.

The Duke of *Guiſe* recall'd.

At the ſame time there came Letters from the King of *France*, to recal the Duke of *Guiſe* into *France*, where his Preſence was abſolutely needful, and the Pope had his Hoſtages returned, and was left at Liberty to take the beſt care, he could of his own Affairs: Yet when the Duke of *Guiſe* came to ask the Pope's leave to return, upon the account of the great Neceſſity of his Maſter's Affairs, there

there was a ſharp conteſt between the Duke and the Pope, inſomuch that his Holineſs told the Duke, *He had done very little towards the advancing his Maſters Intereſt, or the Good of the Church in this Voyage, and much leſs for the Improvement of his own Honour and Reputation.* In the mean time the Duke *de Alva* withdrew his Army to the Town of *Colonna*. 1557.

The Duke of *Florence* had now obtained what he deſired, by gaining the State of *Sienna*, the Duke of *Guiſe* was gone for *France*, the Pope's Forces were ſufficiently baffled, and his Towns lay at the Mercy of the Enemy, his Treaſures were ſpent, and the *Venetians* had abſolutely refuſed to aſſiſt him; So that the Pope was now forced to come to a Treaty of Peace, in good earneſt, and it was well he had the King of *Spain* and the Duke *de Alva* to treat with, conſidering in what State his Affairs were. A Peace between King *Philip* and the Pope.

The Peace was however agreed at laſt, upon theſe Terms. I. That the Duke *de Alva*, in the Name of his Maſter, ſhould beg the Pope's Pardon, and it ſhould be granted. II. That the Pope ſhould renounce the Amity with *France*. III. That the King of *Spain* ſhould reſtore to the Pope one hundred Towns and Caſtles he had taken in this War, the ſame being diſmantled firſt; and that they ſhould reſtore thoſe Eſtates they had ſeized, to the proper owners. IV. That both Parties ſhould remit all Wrongs, Injuries and Loſſes ſuſtained during the War, and Pardon all that had taken Arms on either Side: And that *Paliano* ſhould be put into the Hands of *Bernardo Carbone*, a Kinſman of the *Caraffa*'s, to be kept by him for both Parties, with a Garriſon of eight hundred Men, till they ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of it by mutual Conſent. Theſe Articles were publickly ſigned at * *Cava* the fourteenth of *September*; but there was a private Article ſigned the ſame Day, That *John Caraffa* ſhould have ſuch a Recompence for *Paliano* as ſhould be adjudged an Equivalent by the Senate of *Venice*, who were the Arbitrators in this Treaty. The Place meant was *Roſſano*, a Populous and Rich City in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which was to be granted to him by the King of *Spain*, with the Title of a Principality, which he might transfer to whom he pleaſed, if not an Enemy of the King of *Spain's*. That upon the delivery of this Grant and Place, *Paliano* ſhould be diſmantled, and *Caraffa* ſhould yield up all his Right in it to the King of *Spain*, which he alſo might aſſign to whom he pleaſed, if he were not Excommunicated, or the Pope's ſworn Enemy; which was added to exclude *Mark Anthony Colonna*, and was eaſily granted by the Duke *de Alva*, in complyance with the Moroſe and Inexorable Humour (they are *Thuanus*'s Words) of the Old Gentleman, who would ſoon die, and then the King might diſpoſe of *Paliano* as he thought fit. * *Cavi*.

The Duke *de Alva*, in a ſhort time after went to *Rome*, and on his Knees begged the Pope's Pardon, with as much Humility as could have been wiſhed: And the Pope abſolved him and his Maſter with as much Haughtineſs as ever need to have been uſed.

The great Deſire I had to lay all this *Italian* War together, has made me omit ſome things that happened in the former Year, among which one was the Death of *Francis Venero*, Duke of *Venice*, to whom ſucceeded *Laurentius Prioli*, a Learned, Wiſe, Eloquent and Magnificent Gentleman; ſo that for many Years after his Death, the *Venetians* regretted the Loſs of him, and wiſhed for ſuch another. 1556.

In *England* the Perſecution was ſo far from extirpating the Reformation, that it made it ſpread; but the Quarrels at *Frankford*, among our *Engliſh* Exiles, about the Liturgy, had a more Peſtilent Influence upon that Religion then, and in after Times, than the former had. The Queen, in the mean time was very buſie in raiſing the Religious Houſes, and had nothing to diſguſt her, till the breaking off of the Truce between her Husband and the King of *France*, which very much afflicted her every way. The Affairs of *England*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* ſhipped his Men at *Civita Vechia* for *France*, and himſelf took Poſt-Horſes, and went by Land. The Cardinal of *Caraffa* went ſoon after, the Pope's Nuntio, to King *Philip*, and *Auguſtino Trivultio*, to the King of *France*, to procure a Peace between thoſe two Potent Princes, who had been engaged in this War by the Pope and his Relations.

In the Interim the Duke of *Ferrara* was expoſed to the Reſentment of King *Philip*, and had certainly been ruined, if the Prudence of *Coſmo* Duke of *Florence* had not prevented it: Firſt, by ſending ſlow and ſmall Supplies againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, and then by maintaining and fomenting Differences between the *Spaniſh* *Ferrara* reſcued from Ruine by the Duke of *Florence*.

1556. Commanders at laſt, by repreſenting to the Duke *de Alva*, who viſited him at *Legorn*, "That the King of *Spain* had no other way of ſetling his Affairs in *Italy*, "than by quieting thoſe Commotions his juſt Reſentment againſt the Duke of "*Ferrara*, had raiſed: That all *Italy* being weary of Wars, promiſed themſelves "a Peace would follow upon the Victory of that Prince; but now, if he ſhould "go on to make one War the cauſe of another, he muſt expect to loſe their Af-"fections; and that mere Deſparation would enforce them to take other Mea-"ſures, and ſeek new Allies and new Counſels. This convinced that Duke, That it was his Maſter's Intereſt to make a Peace with *Ferrara*, becauſe then there would be neither Prince nor Commonwealth in *Italy*, that would have any dependence upon *France*.

The Dyet of *Ratisbonne*. Our Author *John Sleidan* has only given us the Letter or Speech which began the Dyet at *Ratiſbonne*, but dyed before he could give us any account of the Tranſactions there: After they had conſulted of thoſe things which related to the State, and the *Turkiſh* War, there aroſe ſome debate concerning the compoſing the Differences of Religion. And here it was firſt agreed, That all that had been done in the Treaty of *Paſſaw*, and the Dyet of *Ausburg*, concerning the Peace of Religion, ſhould remain firm and immoveable. But then thoſe of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, preſented to King *Ferdinand*, by their Deputies, a Proteſtation, in Writing, to this purpoſe.

A Remonſtrance of the Proteſtant Princes. "That King *Ferdinand* had performed a moſt uſeful Office, for the good of Chri-"ſtendom, by ſetling a Peace, in the Matters of Religion, between the Princes "and the States of *Germany*: But then he had annexed a *Limitation*, which "was very Grievous, That no Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Abbat, or other Eccleſiaſtical "Perſon, ſhould receive the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, but that he ſhould reſign his "Office, and be deprived of the Revenues thereunto belonging. That thoſe of "the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion did not conſent to this Limitation, nor can they now "conſent to it; becauſe this was a denying them the Benefit of imbracing the Sav-"ing and True Doctrin of the Goſpel, by which not only the Biſhops but their "Subjects too, were driven out of the Kingdom of God, which was not fit to be "done. Beſides, it was a Reproach to their Religion, to ſuffer thoſe who ſhould "imbrace the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, to be judged unworthy of the Sacred Mini-"ſtery: And therefore they could not approve this Reſtriction in the Dyet of "*Ausburg*, without doing Injury to the Glory of God and their own Conſciences; "neither can they now conſent to it. That this Limitation was an Hindrance to "the ſo much deſired Union of Religion, ſeeing thereby the Biſhops were deprived "of the Liberty of ſpeaking their Minds freely in Matters of Religion, becauſe "they ſhould thereby forfeit their Office and Revenues, *if they approved of* the "True Religion. *That on the contrary, the Peace would be much* ſtronger be-"tween the Princes and States of the Empire, *if* Religion were perfectly Free. "That therefore the Electors, Princes and States, who had imbraced the *Au-"guſtane* Confeſſion, deſired now (as they had alſo formerly done in the Dyet of "*Ausburg*) That this grievous Limitation and Reſtriction might be aboliſhed; "and that it might be free for all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to imbrace the *Auguſtane* "Confeſſion, and ſuffer their Subjects to imbrace it. That they of the *Auguſtane* "Confeſſion did not by this, deſire that the Revenues of the Church ſhould be "diſſipated, or turned to Profane Uſes, or annexed to certain Families; but they "would take great Care to prevent theſe Inconveniences, and do their utmoſt in "it. And that by this means the true Intention of the Founders ſhould be ob-"ſerved, tho' the Profeſſion of the True Religion ſhould be permitted, for it was, "without doubt, their Deſign, to have the Pious and Sincere Service and Worſhip "of God Promoted and Setled, tho' they err'd in their Choice. That the Ele-"ctors, Princes and States, aforeſaid, would ſuffer the Publick and Civil Buſineſs "of the Empire to be diſpatched in this Dyet at *Ratisbonne*; but then they had com-"manded them, their Deputies, not to give any conſent to any thing, till the ſaid "Limitation were taken away: But then, *if it* was once Aboliſhed and Repealed, "they were ready and willing to aſſiſt and promote the Publick Affairs in this Dyet, "to the utmoſt of their Abilities.

This Proteſtation or Remonſtrance was very often renewed afterwards in ſeveral of their Dyets; but being always oppoſed by the Princes of the oppoſite Religion, and by the Emperours, it could never be obtained; becauſe they ever thought, That the granting this Liberty, would end in the Rnine of the Roman Catholick Religion. On the other ſide, thoſe of that Religion wrote ſharply

againſt

againſt the Peace of Religion, as it was then eſtabliſhed by the Treaty of *Paſſaw*, and the Dyet of *Auſburg*, calling it a *Lawleſs Confuſion*; and in private, ſaying, *That as it was obtained by a War, ſo it muſt by a War be revoked.* 1556.

In the Year 1556, the Thirty firſt of *July*, *Ignatius Loyola*, the Founder of the Order of Jeſuites, died, in the Sixty fifth year of his Age. He was born in *Spain*, and at firſt ſerved as a Soldier; which Employment he deſerted in the Year 1521, upon a Wound received at *Pampelune*. In the Year 1528 he began to gather Companions. In the Year 1534 or 35 this Order was firſt framed by him; and in the Year 1609 he was Canonized by Pope *Paul* IV. And (as *Petavius* ſaith) it was confirm'd by *Paul* III, in 1540, the Twenty ſeventh of *September*. *James Lainez*, a Spaniard, was this Year his Succeſſor, and the ſecond General of that Order; which had then obtain'd One hundred Colleges in ſeveral Parts of Chriſtendom, as one of that Society aſſures us.

In the beginning of this year, *Albert* the Son of *Caſimir* Marquis of *Brandenburg*, having lately by the Interpoſition of ſome of the Princes obtain'd leave from the Dyet to return into *Germany*, to defend his Caſe; and ſojourning then with *Charles* Marquis of *Baden*, at *Pforzheim*, in *Schwartzwalt*, being extremely worn out with the Troubles of his Affairs, and a Diſeaſe which ſprung from the Intemperance of his former Life, died the Eighth Day of *January*. This Prince was an Illuſtrious Example of the Inſtability of Human Greatneſs, and of the Divine Juſtice: For He that was once ſurrounded with ſo many Thouſands of Fighting Men, that his Name was terrible to all Men, and almoſt the whole German Empire lay expoſed to his Ravage, at laſt, by a change of his Fortunes, was deſerted by all Men, and now ended his Life in great Miſery and Poverty; being deſpiſed by his very Enemies, as the great *Thuanus* repreſents it. 1557. *Albert* Marquis of *Brandenburg* dies.

The Eleventh of *March* the Dyet, began at *Ratiſbonne* the laſt year, was ended. In it there was a Decree of Receſs made, That a Friendly Conference ſhould be held the Fourteenth of *Auguſt* at *Wormes*, for the putting an End to the Differences of Religion: That a double Supply of Eight Months ſhould be granted to King *Ferdinand*, to enable him to carry on the War againſt the Turks: That the Peace of Religion, and that of the State, ſhould be preſerved with great and exact care; and for the Renewing the Imperial Chamber of *Spire*, which is the Supreme Court of the Empire.

In *April* died *John* Count Palatin of *Simeren*, Preſident of the ſaid Imperial Chamber, and the Father of *Frederick*, who about two years after ſucceeded *Otho Henry* in the Palatinate of the *Rhine*. He was a Prince of great Learning, and managed this Truſt with the higheſt Commendations both for his Prudence and Juſtice.

Soon after the great Controverſie between the Families of *Naſſaw* and *Heſſe*, which had been depending Fifty Years, and is often mention'd by *Sleidan* concerning the County of *Catzenellobogen* was friendly ended at *Frankfort* upon the Main, by the Interpoſition and Mediation of *Otho Henry* and *Auguſtus* Electors, *William* Duke of *Cleves*, and others, who were made Judges in this Affair for both Parties, the Landgrave of *Heſſe* by their Award retaining that County, upon paying to *William* Prince of *Orange* 1600 Crowns, and reſigning up to him the Earldom of *Diez* for 1050 Crowns. The County of *Catzenellobogen* ſetled by Agreement.

When the time of the Conference appointed by the Dyet drew near, the Divines who were of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, had a Meeting at *Frankford* on the Main, the Firſt of *Auguſt*, to adjuſt their own private Differences before they entred into a Conference with the *Roman Catholicks*; ſo that this latter was not begun till the beginning of *September*. At the opening of it, *Julius Pflug*, Biſhop of *Naumburg*, who was Preſident in this Conference, deſired thoſe of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, that they would in the firſt place ſhew openly their Diſagreement with, and Deteſtation of the *Zuinglians*, *Oſiandrians*, *Synergiſts*, and *Adiaphoriſts*: Becauſe the Peace of Religion was only granted to thoſe of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion by the Dyet, and this Conference was appointed with none but them, and the Emperor beſides knew that moſt of them had Orders to do this: That therefore ſome benefit at leaſt might reſult from this Conference, they would once for all, by a common conſent, condemn theſe Errors, and there would be much leſs danger and difficulty in the reſt. The younger Miniſters and Deputies of *Saxony* eaſily aſſented, and producing their Inſtructions, were very forward to ſeparate the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion from theſe Errors. But *Philip Melanchthon* (an old wiſe Man, who ſaw the drift of this cunning Gameſter) ſaid the Examination and Explication The Conference at *Wormes*.

1557. Explication of their ſeveral Doctrins ought to go before the Determination and Condemnation of them; and that till this was done, they ought not to be condemned. The *Roman Catholicks*, who were weary of the Conference, thereupon would go no further in it, till they had given an Account of this to the Emperor. *Ferdinand* commanded them to go on, and ſaid it was enough if in the Progreſs of the Conference, when they had explained the ſeveral Articles, they did at laſt remark what was diſallowed, by the common conſent, in each of them. But the Biſhop of *Naumburg* refuſing to go on, except he were firſt certain of the Faith of thoſe he was to diſpute with, the Conference broke up without effect, when there had only been ſome Papers exchanged between them concerning the Rule of Judging Controverſies and Original Sin. And all the blame was by the *Roman Catholicks* thrown upon the Diviſions which were among them. Thus far *Thuanus*.

Now the deſign of this Condemnation was a Diviſion of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt; that whereas they were too many for the *Roman Catholicks* while they were united, they might heave the Conſent of thoſe of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion to ruin the *Zuinglians*, and then they ſhould, with the leſs difficulty, extirpate by the Sword the *Lutherans* too; and in the mean time they knew very well they were never able to convince them by a Diſputation, when it was utterly impoſſible they ſhould ever agree about the Rule that was to end theſe Differences; the Roman Catholicks *Aſſigning the perpetual Conſent of the Church*: And the Lutherans, *the Old and New Teſtaments, and the Ancient Creeds; and allowing no other Writings but as far as they agreed with theſe, ſome Ages being purer than others*. Certainly no wiſe Man of either Side ever did think that any of theſe Conferences could put an end to theſe Controverſies; though they have made uſe of them to promote by Ends. And that Side that was uppermoſt, hath ever yet reaped the Advantage; and ſo it will be, till God himſelf put an End to this Controverſie.

The War between *France* and *Spain*.

But to return now to the War between *France* and *Spain*. The Truce being broken by the Attempt upon *Doway*, which I have mention'd already; the War went heavily on, becauſe the Flower of the Nobility and Gentry were gone with the Duke of *Guiſe* into *Italy*, which had much diſpirited and weakned *France*. And the Duke *de Montmorancy*, who from the beginning had a great Averſion for this War, which he foreſaw would end in the Ruin of *France*, was more intent in levying Soldiers to defend the Borders of the *Netherlands*, than in proſecuting the War againſt King *Philip*, and Invading his Dominions. In the mean time,

Queen *Mary* joyns with *Spain*.

Queen *Mary* of *England*, being over-perſuaded by King *Philip* her Husband, and diſpoſed to it by the Arts of Dr. *Wotton*, who was then her Embaſſadour in *France*, and by his Nephew, who found the *French* were well diſpoſed to a Rupture with *England*, if *Calice* might be the Price of it, ſhe I ſay entred into the War too, and ſent an Herald to the French Court with a Declaration to that purpoſe, who deliver'd it the Seventh of *June*. The French King took no leſs care to raiſe a War between *England* and *Scotland*, by way of Diverſion, *Mary* the Queen of *Scotland* being before this ſent into *France* to be married to the *Dauphin*, his Eldeſt Son. So that he thought he had now a Right to Command that Nation to eſpouſe his Quarrel; but the Scotch Nobility thought otherwiſe, and would not Engage in a War againſt *England*, when they had no intereſt of their own to do it.

The Spaniards were all this while intent in providing Men and Arms, and the Twenty fifth of *July* attack'd the Fort of *Rocroy*, in the Borders of *Champagne* and *Hainalt*, four Leagues from *Maribourg* to the South; but finding there a greater Reſiſtance than they expected, they marched away towards *Picardy* with an Army of Thirty five thouſand Foot, and Twelve thouſand Horſe. The Body of the French Army being but Eighteen thouſand Foot, and Five thouſand Horſe, and for the moſt part, both Sides Germans; ſo that the French thought it their Intereſt to coaſt along by the Enemy, and defend their Borders, and cover their Towns, which was all they could ſafely do in this inequality of Forces.

The Siege of St. *Quintin*.

There was then a very ſmall Garriſon in St. *Quintin*, under the Command of *Charles de Teligny*, Captain of the Troop of Guards belonging to the *Dauphin*; but the Army coming ſuddenly before it, the *Sieur de Coligny* the Preſident of *Picardy*, put himſelf into the place with ſome few Forces, and ſent to *Montmorancy* to come up and ſuccour him. This was diſapproved by thoſe about him as Dangerous, and if things ſucceeded not, Diſhonourable. In the beginning of the Siege, *Teligny* was ſlain in a Sally by Engaging imprudently beyond his Orders, who

was

was a Perſon of great Courage and Strength, Induſtry and Fidelity, and an Experienc'd Commander. And *Andelot*, who was ſent by *Coligny* to bring Two thouſand Foot into the Town, was, by a miſtake of his Guides, miſled, and falling into the Trenches of the Beſiegers, he was ſlain, and moſt of his Men cut off; and *Montmorancy*, attempting to relieve the ſame place, was beaten alſo, and loſt Two thouſand five hundren Men, and himſelf was taken Priſoner. This Battel had a fatal effect upon *France*; for it made the Life of *Henry* II ever after Unfortunate, and reducing *France* to the neceſſity of a diſhonourable Peace, it became the occaſion of the Civil Wars which followed, to the great hazard of the Ruin of that Potent Kingdom, and may ſerve as an Example to Princes, not to violate their Faith, whoever diſpenſe with it. 1557. The Battel of St. *Quintin*.

Montmorancy was from the beginning averſe to this War, and foretold the ill Conſequences of it; as he was an old, experienc'd, wiſe Commander, and a great Lover of his Country, ſo till then he had lived in great Power, and enjoyed the Favour of his Prince; but now when his good Fortune left him, he loſt the good Eſteem and Regards of all Men; which from thence forward were conferred upon the Duke of *Guize*, who employ'd them to the damage of *France*. The News of this Victory fill'd *France* with Terror and Sorrow, and the *Netherlands* with Joy and Courage. The Duke of *Nevers*, and ſome others of the principal French Commanders however eſcaped. *Montmorancy* ruin'd by being taken Priſoner.

If the Victorious Army had forthwith marched to *Paris*, they might have taken it; but King *Philip* was reſolved to hazard nothing, but commanded his Army to go on with the Siege of St. *Quintin*; and the King of *France* leaving *Compeigne*, where he then was, and going to *Paris*, ſo quieted the Minds of the People by his Preſence and good Words, that things began to ſettle, and the fear in a ſhort time to abate.

Coligny kept the Townſmen of St. *Quintin* two days in Ignorance of this Loſs, and when they came to hear of it, though he ſaw the Town would at laſt be taken, yet he perſuaded them to hold it out to the laſt, that ſo the King might have time to recollect his Forces, and be in a condition to oppoſe the Victorious Enemy. Another of the *Andelot's* got into the Town, with about Five hundred Choſen Men, and ſome few Volunteers of the Nobility; but when all was done, King *Philip* coming in Perſon into the Camp, and the Siege being carried on with great diligence, the Town was taken by Storm the 27th of *Auguſt*, and *Coligny* and *Andelot* became Priſoners too, and the latter was wounded. At this Siege there was Eight thouſand Engliſh employed, who did great Service; but finding themſelves ill uſed after the Town was taken, they returned to *Calis*. There were above Four hundred French Soldiers ſlain in this Town, and Three hundred taken Priſoners; and more had periſhed, if King *Philip*, who was preſent, had not entred the City, and by Proclamation reſtrain'd the fury of his own Soldiers, to whom he granted the Plunder of the Town, which was great, and took particular care that thoſe who had not been concern'd in the danger of the Storming the Town, might have no ſhare in the Plunder of it. The Day of the Battel. St. *Quintin* taken by Storm.

Soon after this Victory, King *Philip* ſent an Expreſs to the late Emperor *Charles* his Father, who was then in his private Retirement in *Spain*, deſiring him to ſend his Advice how to proceed; the wiſe and good Prince return'd him an Anſwer to this purpoſe, as the Great *Thuanus* relates it. " Though this Retreat gives me " the utmoſt ſecurity, yet I received the Account of your Victory with a joyful " and a pleaſed Mind; and I congratulate the happy and fortunate Beginnings of " my beloved Sons Reign; and I render to God Almighty my humbleſt and " devouteſt Thanks and Praiſes, who hath not ſuffer'd the Perfidy of his Enemies " to go long unpuniſhed, but has thus ſuddenly chaſtiſed the Truce-breakers both " in *Italy*, and on the Borders of the *Netherlands*. For though my mind foretold " me it would come ſo to paſs, and I comforted my ſelf with that hope, yet " I was vex'd that juſt at that time, when I had reſtored Chriſtendom to her " Peace, and was going to compoſe my Soul in Peace, all things ſhould of a ſudden " be fill'd with an unexpected War and Tumult. But then as to the Advice my " Son deſires from me, he is not to expect it either now or hereafter. He has " with him many grave and wiſe Men of an approved Fidelity, and bred up to " Buſineſs during my Reign, whoſe Counſel I would take if I were now at the " Helm. Let him conſult with theſe Men, and well conſidering the weight of " their Reaſons, after he has firſt implored the Divine Aſſiſtance and Grace, let " him determine what is beſt to be done. *This Wiſe Prince would neither put him-* A Letter of *Charles* V, to his Son *Philip*.

ſelf

1557. *ſelf to the Trouble of conſidering what was beſt to be done, nor his Son to that of approving what perhaps he would not have liked, or of rejecting the Counſels of a Father, which would have been diſhonourable to both. He had been ſo long a Sovereign, that he knew the Thoughts and Tenderneſs of a Princes Heart, and could diſtinguiſh between Civility and reality. And which was moſt of all, he was really, and not pretendedly Dead to the World.*

The *Germans* tumultuouſly demanded their Pay, after the Victory; the *Engliſh* alſo deſired leave to return, pretending they had been ill uſed, and the King was forced to grant their Requeſt, to prevent worſe Conſequences; So that in a ſhort time this victorious Army moulder'd to nothing, tho' his Captains did what they could to perſuade him to keep his Army up. And, which was yet worſe, many of the *Germans* paſſed over to the *French*, and helped to fill up their Numbers; ſo that King Philip took only *Caſtelet*, *Han*, *Chaulnes* and *Noyon*, all ſmall Places, and this laſt by Surprize too. And then, in the latter end of *October*, was forced to withdraw his Army into the *Low Countries*, having in the mean time fortified S. *Quintin*, *Han* and *Chaulnes* to preſerve them.

The French Army grows great.

Whilſt the *Spaniſh* Army was thus mouldering away and diſperſing, the *French* King was every Day increaſing his. He had ſent for ſix thouſand *Switz*, which were coming out of *Piedmont*, his *German* Supplies were come, as far as *Is Sur Tille*, near *Dijon*; And the Duke of *Guiſe* was every Day expected out of *Italy*, with the Forces under his Command, who was ſent for, preſently after the Defeat of S. *Quintin*, and was now on the Road with the Duke *de Aumale* his Brother. And the Duke of *Nevers* was ſtrengthning *Compeigne* with a Royal Fort, by the King's Order.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, upon his arrival at S. *Germain*, was honourably received, and declared General of the Land-Forces, which had till then, from the taking of *Montmorencey* been in the Hands of the Duke of *Nevers*.

A Perſecution in *France*.

The Diſorder of the War diverted Men from the Thoughts of Perſecuting the Proteſtants in *France*, ſo that now they grew and multiplied very much, even in *Paris*. The fifth of *November*, in the Evening, there was a great number of theſe met in a Place called *Bertomier*, in S. *James-ſtreet*, to perform the Offices of Religion, and to receive the Lord's Supper after their way. This being diſcovered by ſome, that lived near that place, they provided good quantities of Stones, in the neighbouring Houſes, and their Arms ready in the Street; and when in the dead of the Night the Meeting broke up, they that firſt went out had Stones thrown at them; and a Tumult thereupon ariſing, a vaſt number of the Rabble at that Signal, came running together, and attempted to break into the Houſe; they that were yet in the Houſe, adviſed by their Danger, drew their Swords, and iſſued out, and all of them, except one (who was ſlain in the Crowd) made their eſcape tho' ſome were wounded. The Women, and others, who were leſs able to ſhift, to the number of one hundred and twenty, rendred themſelves to *Jean Martignon*, the then *Sheriff*, who, when it was now Day, carried them to Priſon, the People being hardly kept from pulling them in Pieces, by the Conſtables and their Guards. Thereupon there were divers Rumors ſpread abroad concerning this Meeting, as is uſual in New and Odious Occurrences: *That this Rabble met in a Chamber in the Night, to Eat and play the Whore, and that after the Supper was over, they committed promiſcuous Villanies, the Mother lying with the Son, the Father with his Daughter, and the Siſter with her Brother; That the Tables and Proviſions were found, and that the Carpets and Tapeſteries had ſtill upon them the Marks of theſe Villanies: And becauſe this was not enough, they added, to enrage the Multitude yet more againſt them; that they had Communicated in the Blood of a Child.*

The miſrepreſentations of the Roman Catholicks againſt the Proteſtants.

This Account was given to the King, but without any Author to juſtifie it; but then no Man daring neither to contradict it, for fear of being taken for an Heretick; thoſe that were of the Religion, wrote a ſmall Piece, which they called an Apology, in which they ſhew, That the Crimes thus laid to their Charge were meer Slanders, and they cited Paſſages out of the Fathers of the Church, to ſhew that the ſame Forgeries had been made uſe of by the Pagans againſt the Primitive Chriſtians; and that they might be ſure it might come to the King's Hands, they got it conveyed into his Bed-chamber; which Book was afterwards anſwered by *Anthony de Mouchy*, a Divine, and the chief of the *Inquiſitors*, and by *Robert Cenali*, Biſhop of *Auranches*.

Jean Munier, Recorder of *Paris*, was appointed to examine the Priſoners, who reporting their Anſwers to the Parliament, *Nich. Client*, a *Saintonian*, who had been a School-maſter many Years in *Paris*, and was now in the ſixtieth Year of his Age, *Taurin Gravelle*, an Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, and *Phillippina Lunia* of *Perigort*,

rigort, the Relict of one *Graveron*, a Gentleman, who was dead, were all condemned the fourteenth of *September*, and the two first were burnt alive, but the latter was first strangled. And four Days after *Nich. Le Cene*, a Physician of *Normandy*, and *Peter Gambara* of *Poictou* were burnt. *Francis Rebeziers*, born at *Stafort* in *Condomois*, and *Frederick Danville* of *Olerone* in *Bearne*, were led with an Iron Ball in their Mouths to the Place of Execution, where they were hanged, and their Bodies burn'd to Ashes. When they were now going to proceed against the rest, a Noble Matron, which was among the Prisoners, offered a Petition to the Parliament, excepting therein against several of the Judges, and offering many Reasons in her Petition, which ought not to be neglected, to have them set by, and some others to be appointed in their stead at the Trial: Whil the Parliament were considering what they ought to do as to this Petition, there came Envoys from the *Switz* and Protestant Princes in *Germany*, to desire the King not to proceed against a Company of miserable People, who were of the same Religion with themselves. And thereupon the Affairs of *Philip* being then in great Prosperity, and those of *France* in a declining Condition; and the King needing the Assistance of the *Switz* and Protestant Princes of *Germany*, for the Recovery of his Country, he suffered the Parliament to act more mildly with them: So some of them were dismissed, others turned over to the Ecclesiastical Courts, where by the Revocation of the Sentence, they escaped Death. *Rantigny* and *Champagne*, two married Ladies, were given to their Husbands, who were very averse to that Religion, and *Ovarty*, another Lady, was given into the Hands of Queen *Catherine*. 1557.

The King of *France* published an Edict the seventeenth of *May*, commanding all Bishops and their Curates to reside upon their Benefices, and to preach to the People, or to appoint others in their stead, who should do so, upon pain of being deprived of the Profits of their Cures. There had been a Law published to the same purpose by *Lewis* XI, the thirteenth of *January* 1476, which was now revived, Men judging that Preaching was a likelier way to fix Men in their Religion than Fire and Faggot. But, however, this Edict was not much regarded by the Clergy of *France*, who were then as Unlearned and Ignorant, as they were Cruel and Bloody.

The Army belonging to King *Philip*, being, as I have said, dissipated, or put into Winter Quarters, and that of *France* growing daily greater, it was taken into Consideration, How they should employ that chargable Body of Men, though the Winter was then in its greatest Rigour. The first Debate was, Whether they should attempt the Recovery of S. *Quintin*, and the other Places that were lost, or enter upon some new Enterprize; and here they resolved upon the latter, and the Reduction of *Calais* having been proposed by *Senarpont*, Governour of *Boulogne*, in the latter End of the Summer, if the Misfortune of S. *Quintin* had not broke their Measures, they presently resolved to reassume that interrupted Design. A part of their Forces marched under the Duke of *Nevers*, pretending they intended to attack *Luxemburg* and *Arlon*. Another Part under the Duke of *Guise*, (who was now General of all the *French* Forces) pretended to block up S. *Quintin*, and the other Places that were lost. *Nevers* having passed through the Territory of *Argone*, came to *Stenay*, a Town in the Dukedom of *Lorain*, and having staid there a short time, suddenly sends his part of the Army to joyn the Duke of *Guise*, who lay then at *Amiens*, who presently marched away for *Boulogne*, as if he had been solicitous for the Preservation of it, but suddenly wheeling about, the first of *January*, he came to *Newnham-bridge*, a Fort seated a mile from the Town of *Calais*, which commanded the Avenues to the Land-ward: There was another called *Risbank*, which lay near to the Town, and commanded the Harbour on the North of the Town, and upon these two Forts the greatest part of the Security of *Calais* depended. The Siege of *Calais*. 1558.

The Lord *Wentworth* was then Governour of the Town, but the Garrison was not above five hundred Men, and there were not above two hundred Townsmen, able to bear Arms; so that the Duke of *Guise* sending three thousand Musqueteers, and the Soldiers of *Newnham-fort*, having made one improsperous Sally against them, and not being relieved by the Governour, the Cannon was brought up against it, which began to batter it the next Morning. The Duke of *Guise* knew very well the whole stress of the Success lay in the celerity of his Actions, and accordingly, the next Day, attacked the Fort of *Risbank* too, which were both yielded the same Day, by the order of the Governour.

The Town of *Calais* is seated in a Plain, and on three Sides of it is almost inaccessible, by reason of the River *Hames*, part of which fills its Dikes, which are Great and Deep, and the rest falls, with several other small Rivers into the Haven, The site of *Calais*.

1558. on the weſt Side of the Town. Its Form is Square, and at three of its Corners, it has Royal Baſtions, and the fourth, which is towards the South, has an Ancient but ſtrong Caſtle for its Defence; beſides, it has a ſtrong Bulwork of Earth, which is very high and thick, but is of ſo ſandy a nature (as the *French* found after this, to their Damage) that the force of a Cannon ſcattered it like duſt. The Rivers and Marſhes encompaſſing the Town on all Sides, there was no Paſſage to it but by a Cauſey from the Fort of *Newnham*, nor was it poſſible for any Ship to enter the Town, but what paſſed under the Fort of *Risbank*, ſo that theſe two Forts were the great Securities of the Town, which were both now in the Hands of the *French*; after which they lodged on the Cauſey and Banks twenty Foot Companies, and one *German* Regiment, and one thouſand one hundred Horſe: The Marſhal *de Termes* ſecured the Way leading to *Guines*, with the reſt of the Horſe and the *Switz*. The fifth of *January* they began to batter the River-gate with four whole Cannon; and three hundred Culverins were imployed againſt the other parts of the Walls and Bulworks, but their main Battery was againſt the River-gate, whilſt the *Engliſh* drew almoſt all their Forces on this Side; the Gate and ſome of the next Towers being much battered, the Duke of *Guiſe* ordered fifteen Cannon ſuddenly to be planted againſt the Caſtle, the Walls of which were not faced with Earth within; this Battery was plaid with that Fury, that the Noiſe of the Cannon was heard as far as *Antwerp*, which is thirty three *German* Miles to the North: A great Breach being made there, *Andelot* was commanded to paſs the River, and lodge himſelf upon the other Side with one thouſand two hundred Muſqueteers; after this they drew the Water out of the Town-Dike, which was thought by the *Engliſh* the greateſt defence they had, and by pitched Hurdles they laid a Paſſage over the muddy Dikes and marſhy Grounds for the Soldiers, and ſecured the Foot from the Annoyance of the Small-ſhot by other Hurdles about half a foot thick, which had Stakes fenced with Iron to ſtrike into the Ground, and Loop-holes to ſhoot through. The Night after (the Walls being now battered down) the Duke of *Guiſe* ordered *Grammont*, with three hundred Small-ſhot, to play all Night into the Breach, to hinder the *Engliſh* from making any Works within the Caſtle, for their Defence. *Strozzi* was ordered at the ſame time to lodge himſelf with the ſame number of Foot and one hundred Pioneers, on the other Side, near the Gate, but was beaten off by the *Engliſh* Small-ſhot, and forced to return to the Duke of *Guiſe*. The next Morning, the Duke of *Guiſe* having ordered the Breach at the Caſtle to be carefully viewed, *Grammont* was ordered with three hundred Muskets, to enter the place, who was to be ſeconded by *Strozzi*, with the ſame number; theſe paſſed the Dike in Water up to the Navel, and notwithſtanding any reſiſtance the *Engliſh* could make, lodged themſelves in the Caſtle, driving *thoſe of the Engliſh*, that had not been ſlain, *into the Town*. *The Caſtle being* thus gained, the Duke of *Guiſe* put a ſtrong Garriſon into it. The *Engliſh*, ſo ſoon as the Tide returned again (which filled the Dikes) ſtormed the Caſtle, in hopes to regain that important Poſt, and being beaten off, they planted four Cannon againſt the Bridge, and forced open the Caſtle-gate, and then ſtormed it the ſecond time, but having loſt two hundred of their beſt Men to no good purpoſe, they then began to treat of a Surrender; which at laſt was agreed; The Governour and fifty others being to become Priſoners of War; The Soldiery and Townſmen to be at liberty, to paſs into *England* or *Flanders*, without any Injury, as to their Lives or Liberties: And all the Ammunition, Cannon, Houſholdſtuff, Gold, Silver, Merchandiſe and Horſe, was to be left to the diſpoſal of the Duke of *Guiſe*. On theſe Conditions was *Calais* delivered up to the *French*, the fourteenth of *January* 1557,58, when it had been two hundred and ten Years in the hands of the *Engliſh*. The Place was no ſooner yielded up but great numbers of Ships came over, who underſtanding what had paſſed, returned back. King *Philip* had ſmelt the Deſign of the *French* upon this Place, and had wrote to Queen *Mary*, that he would put Succours into the Town; but this was ſuſpected, by the *Engliſh*, as a Deſign to get *Calais* into his own Hands, and ſo his Prediction came to paſs.

Guines taken. After *Calais* was taken they fell to conſider, Whether they ſhould attack *Guines*, which was in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and lay two *French* Leagues from *Calais*, to the South, or *Graveling*, a Town of *Flanders* three Leagues to the N. E. But they reſolved to attempt *Guines*, which was nearer, and more neceſſary for the ſecuring the Poſſeſſion of *Calais*, the Lord *Gray* was Governour of it, who had a good Garriſon, and had received ſome Succours from King *Philip*; yet at the firſt Attack he left the Town, and fled into the Caſtle; but whilſt the *French* were plundering the

the Town, returned again, and drove them out, and firing the Town returned into the Caſtle again, which in a ſhort time after he ſurrendred, when he had eight hundred *Engliſh*, *Spaniſh* and *Flemmings* to have continued the Defence of it; but the Hearts of the *Engliſh* were down, for *Gray* was reputed a good Soldier. 1558.

There was now nothing left to the *Engliſh* but a ſmall Place call'd the *Comte de Oye*, which had a Caſtle not ſtrong, but almoſt unacceſſible, as being ſurrounded with unpaſſable Marſhes, and which had no Paſſage but over a Timber-Bridge: This Place lies almoſt two Leagues from *Calais* towards *Graveling*, the Garriſon of which never ſtaid for a Summons, but hearing of the loſs of *Guines* fled, and left the Place open and unguarded, and *Sipetra* took poſſeſſion of it, without any further trouble, for the *French*. *Burnet* calls this Caſtle *Hammes*, and *Thuanus Oye*; but the Caſtles of *Hammes* lay directly between *Guines* and *Calais*. One Sir *Edward Grimſtone* was then Comptroler of *Calais* and a Privy Counſellor, and he had often given Advertiſement of the ill condition of the Garriſon; but the Treaſury was low, the People diſcontented, and the Thoughts of the Queen and her Council more ſet upon extirpating Hereſie (as they called it) than upon preſerving this important Poſt, ſo it was loſt, and the Grief and Diſhonour of this Misfortune ſat ſo heavy upon the Spirits of the Queen, that ſhe never joyed after.

The next thing the *French* undertook was the taking of the Caſtle of *Herbemont*, in the Foreſt of *Ardenne*, belonging to the Count of *Beilifteine*, which was very troubleſome to the Inhabitants of *Ivoy*; this enterprize ſucceeded well too, and they took the Caſtle the ſixteenth of *February*, and after it ſeveral other ſmall Places on the Frontiers, were deſerted by their Garriſons.

A *Turkiſh* Fleet land in ſeveral Places of *Italy*, and carry many into Slavery.

This Year a Fleet of one hundred and twenty *Turkiſh* Galleys looſed from *Preveſa* a Port of *Epirus*, and paſſing by *Brindiſi*, took and plundred *Reggio*, a City in the South of *Italy*, after which, landing in the Bay *di Surrento*, they carried four thouſand perſons into Slavery, among which was a great many *Monks* and *Nuns*. The Grief and Shame of this was the greater, becauſe it was done in ſight of *Naples*. From thence it ſailed to the Coaſt of *Provence*, and having refreſhed the Sailors, it returned to *Minorca*, and took the Town of *Citadella*, with great difficulty, and the loſs of four hundred Men, after which it returned in *Auguſt* into *Turkey*. The *French* Fleet, in the *Mediterranean* was able to do nothing for want of Money, ſo the Fear was much greater than the Hurt.

The Dauphine married to *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*.

The twenty fifth of *May* the Dauphine was married to *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, yet the *Scotch* Ambaſſadors refuſed to promiſe under their Hands and Seals to procure the Dauphine, in the next Convention of their States to be received and owned as King of *Scotland*; and thereupon four of them dying ſoon after, it was ſuſpected that they had been poiſoned: Yet in the next Convention the thing was granted, and the Earl of *Argile* was appointed to bring the Marital Crown into *France*: But in the mean time *Mary* Queen of *England* dyed, which occaſioned a great Change in *England*, *France* and *Scotland*. The greateſt part of the *Scots* were not pleaſed with this Marriage; and the *French* too, underhand, diſliked it, as tending to the exalting the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and the depreſſing that of *Montmorency*, and *Gaſper de Coligny* Admiral of *France*, who were both at this time Priſoners to King *Philip*.

The firſt Propoſals of a Peace between *France* and King *Philip*.

A meeting in the mean time being appointed at *Perone* between *Chriſtierna* the Mother of the Cardinal of *Lorraine* and *Perrenot* Biſhop of *Arras* for King *Philip*, and the Duke and Cardinal of *Loraine* for the *French*: *Perrenot* deploring the progreſs of the *Turkiſh* Arms during this unfortunate War, and above all things the increaſe of Hereſie in *France* and the *Netherlands*, cunningly offered the Houſe of *Guiſe* their Aſſiſtance for the ruining *Montmorency*, *Coligny* and *Andelot*, as favourors of the Reformation, when a Peace were once ſetled between theſe two Crowns: The Houſe of *Guiſe* hereby only ſeeking to aggrandize it ſelf upon the Ruine of theſe three great Men, and the *Spaniards* to imbroil and weaken *France*. The Cardinal, at his return, acquaints the King with what concerned *Andelot*, intermixing a mention of a Peace with it. *Henry* II, was a mild and moſt merciful Prince, but had an implacable averſion for the Reformation, which had been inſtilled into him in his Infancy, by thoſe who had the Care of him; and he had before this heard ſomething of *Andelot*'s Inclinations to favour that Party, and thereupon ſent for him, who waited upon the King at *Monceaux*, a Caſtle near *Meaux*. The King gave him great aſſurance of his kindneſs to him, and of his Senſe of his Merits and Services, and then told him, He was much concerned to hear, from all Places, That he was not found in the buſineſs of Religion; and thereupon asked him what his Belief of the Sacrifice of the Maſs was. *Andelot*, who was a Man of Spirit, an-

Andelot Marſhal of *France* ruined by the Arts of the *Guiſes*.

1558. ſwered otherwiſe than the King deſired, and according to *Calvin*'s Doctrin: The King admoniſhed him, That he ſhould conſider himſelf, and not run into Miſchief: He replied with more confidence than he had ſhewn before, *That it was a great Satisfaction to him, that the King, whom he and his Family had found a Bountiful Maſter, and to whom he had in all things hitherto ſhewn himſelf a moſt Loyal, Faithful and Induſtrious Subject, had ſo far approved of him: But then he was not to play the Hypocrite with God in the buſineſs of Religion; his Body, his Eſtate, and his Honour were in the Hands of the King, and he might diſpoſe of them as he thought fit, but his Soul was ſubject to none but God, who gave it, and therefore in this matter he muſt obey God only as his greateſt Maſter.* This Anſwer ſo inraged the King, that taking his Lance in his hand, and intending only to throw it on the ground, he wounded the Dauphin with it, who ſate beneath him; and the Tables being taken away, he ordered *Andelot* to be taken into Cuſtody, who was for ſome time detained in the Houſe of the Biſhop of *Meaux*, and from thence he was ſent to the Caſtle of *Melun*.

Andelot being thus laid aſide, the Baron *de Monluc*, a Perſon of good Merit, was made General of the French Foot in his ſtead, which was a Place of great conſideration in the Army. This Lord had been educated in the Court of the Duke of *Lorain*, and was much addicted to the Intereſt of that Family: Yet, as he ſaith in his *Memoirs*, he refuſed this Employment at firſt, becauſe he foreſaw it would expoſe him to a flagrant Envy, and the Reſentments of the Family of *Montmorancy*.

Thionville beſieged and taken.

In the beginning of *May*, the French ſat down before *Thionville*, with about Five thouſand Horſe, and Fourteen thouſand Foot. This Town is ſeated in the Dukedom of *Luxemburg*, in a Plain Country, but Low and Marſhy, and having the *Moſelle* on the N. W. which fills its deep Ditches, on which ſides it has only two Baſtions, which are ſhort, ſo that they cannot clear their Dikes, and at a great diſtance from each other. The reſt of the City is ſecured by great Towers, which extend themſelves beyond the Walls, and they again are within well fill'd with Earth. *Quaderebbe*, a *Brabentiner*, was Governor of this Place, who had a Garriſon under him of One thouſand nine hundred Foot, and Two hundred Horſe. The chief Battery lay on that ſide which is covered by the *Moſelle*. This place, after a ſharp defence, was taken, upon good Articles the Twenty third of *July*: But then *Strozzi*, an excellent Commander, and a Man of great Courage and Prudence, was loſt before it, who was accounted one of the beſt Captains of that Age. Four thouſand Townſmen, and Fifteen hundred Soldiers marched out of this place when it was yielded up, moſt of the latter being wounded on the Head. The French loſt Four hundred, and had more wounded in this Siege. *After this*, they took *Arlone*, another Town in the ſame Dukedom, three German Miles from *Luxemburg* to the Weſt, by Surprize, which being burnt by an unexpected Accident, was diſmantled and deſerted. Their next Deſign was againſt *Luxemburg*, but here they ſpent ſeventeen days to no purpoſe.

The Defeat of *Thermes*, near *Graveling*.

It had been order'd by the Council, That at the ſame time the Duke of *Guiſe* invaded the Dukedom of *Luxemburg*, *Thermes*, who was Governor of *Calais*, ſhould enter *Flanders*, and that the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould ſecond him with ſome German Forces, and that his Brother the Duke of *Aumale* ſhould joyn alſo with him at *Faire en Vermandois*: If their Orders had been as well purſued, as they weye prudently contrived, the Affairs of King *Philip* had been brought into great diſtreſs. *Thermes* went from *Calais*, in the beginning of *July*, with Five thouſand Gaſconers and Germans, and Fifteen hundred Horſe, paſſing by *Graveling*, and coming ſuddenly before *Dunkirk*; and while he was treating with the Inhabitants, taking advantage of their Negligence, he Surprized the place, and having Plundered the Town, he put a Garriſon into it; after which he took *Vinoxberg*, without reſiſtance, though it was a Rich and a Populous Town, which he treated in the ſame manner; but then being ſeized by the Gout, his uſual Diſeaſe, he committed his Forces to the *Sieur Villebonne*, a Man too much addicted to Spoil and Rapine, who waſted all the Country with Fire and Sword as far as *Newport*. King *Philip* in the Interim had ſent the Duke of *Savoy* to *Liege*, with Orders to aſſemble Forces near *Maleburg*, to oppoſe the Duke of *Guiſe*; but when he ſaw *Thionville* and *Arlonne* loſt, and the Duke of *Guiſe* lye ſtill, he took the opportunity to Surprize theſe Frenchmen before any Succors were come up to them; to which end he ſent Count *Egmont*, an Induſtrious Captain, to whoſe diligence the Victory of St. *Quintin* was very much owing; he coming to *Graveling*, which lyes between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, and from the ſeveral Spaniſh Garriſons, got together Twelve thouſand Foot, and

Dunkirk ſurprized,

And *Vinoxberg*.

Three

Three thouſand Horſe, and a great number of Peaſants, who being inraged at the Spoil of their Country, were deſirous of an opportunity to Revenge their Loſſes. This being known to *Thermes*, who expected the Duke of *Guiſe* every day according to his order, he recollected his ſcattered Forces; and although he was not well, took Horſe, and poſted to his Camp near *Graveling*, being very ſolicitous, though too late, to ſecure his Retreat to *Calais*, Count *Egmont* being now at his heels with his Forces: A Council of War was thereupon held in the Night, and it was reſolved that the French ſhould take the advantage of the Ebb the next Day, and march by the Sea-ſhore towards *Calais*. They paſſed the River *Aa* that Morning, without any difficulty at the Low-water; which *Egmont* obſerving, he paſſed it too, and met the French. *Thermes*, who ſaw now there was no ſecurity but in their Valour, having the Sea to the North, the Dike of *Boulaie* on his Back, and the Enemy on his Front and Side, thereupon drew up his Men in the order of Battel; being ſecure on two Sides, to the South, which was his left-hand, he placed his Wagons, and planted his Field-pieces in the Front, which conſiſted in ſix Culverins and three Faulcons, and on his Wings he placed his Horſe, that they might cover the Gaſconers who were in the Front, the other French were in the Middle, and the Germans in the Reer. Count *Egmont* had for haſte left all his Cannon on the other ſide of the River, and would not ſtay for it, fearing the French might in the mean time eſcape him; dividing his Horſe into five Parts, he commanded the Light Horſe to begin the Fight; his Foot were divided into three Parts, according to their Nations, *Flemings*, *Germans* and *Spaniards*. He himſelf was one of the firſt that charged the *Gaſconers*, who at firſt ſtood their ground ſtoutly, and Count *Egmont*'s Horſe was ſlain under him; but his Army being moſt in number, when they came to cloſe Fight, Horſe to Horſe, and Foot to Foot, the *Flemings* being much encouraged by the hopes of Victory, and the *French* deſpairing of any other Eſcape, the Fight was a long time doubtful; the *Gaſconers* fought manfully, the *Germans* were only Spectators, and the *French* Horſe could do little for want of Ground; in the very heat of the Battel, twelve *Engliſh* Ships coming up, put an end to the Fight, by gauling the *French* on the Right Wing with their Canon on that ſide they thought themſelves moſt ſecure: Fifteen hundred were kill'd in the Fight, and many more periſhed in the Flight, being knock'd on the head by the Peaſants, who were inraged by their Rapins; others were drown'd, and *Thermes*, *Villebone*, *Senarpont*, the Count of *Chaulneſs* and *Merviliers* were taken Priſoners; and the *Engliſh* Fleet took up Two hundred in the Sea, and carried them into *England* to the Queen. This Victory coſt the *Flemings* Five hundred Men, and was gain'd the Thirteenth of *July*. 1558.

The Duke of *Guiſe* hearing of this Defeat, return'd to *Pierre-pont*, in the Borders of *Picardy* and *Champagne*, the Twenty eighth of *July*, that he might be ready at hand to prevent any Attempt might be made on *France*. The Townſmen meeting, as the Cuſtom is, in a place call'd the *Scholars Field*, without the Suburbs of St. *German*, near *Paris*, a few of them, who were addicted to the *Proteſtant* Religion, began to ſing *David*'s *Pſalms* in *French* Metre; thereupon the People began, to leave their Sports, and joyning with them, ſung the ſame Pſalms: After this, a greater number, and among them *Anthony* King of *Navarr*, and *Jonae* his Lady, who was already ſuſpected to favour that Religion, fell into the ſame Practice. The Clergy were much allarm'd at this, affirming that this new Invention was deſign'd to bring the ancient Cuſtom which they had received from the Church of *Rome* their Mother, of ſinging the Publick Service in the *Latin* Tongue, into contempt, by introducing the uſe of one underſtood by the meaneſt of the People. Whereupon they repreſented this as very Seditious to the King, who order'd an Enquiry after the Authors of it to be made, and forbad the Uſe of this Cuſtom for the future, on pain of Death.

About the ſame time, News was brought of the arrival of an *Engliſh* Fleet of an Hundred and twenty Ships upon the Coaſt of *Normandy*, under the Lord *Clinton*. *Haure de Grace* and *Diepe* being feared, they ſent the Preſident of *Boulogn* to take care of thoſe Places; but the Fleet went on, and at *Conquet*, a Port of *Britain*, the Thirty firſt of *July*, they landed, an Hundred and fifty Peſants at firſt oppoſing them; but Seven thouſand Men being landed, and the Ships with their Cannon playing upon them, the Inhabitants left the place and fled. The *Engliſh* entred the Town, and plundred it; but *Kerſimont* the Governor of that Province, coming up with Six thouſand which he had haſtily raiſed, he forced the *Engliſh*, with the loſs of Six hundred of their Men, to return on board their Ships; about an Hundrd of them

The *Engliſh* Fleet unſucceſsful.

1558. them fell into the hands of the *French*, and among them one *Hollander*, who told the *French* that thirty *Dutch* Ships, under the Command of one *Wakenheim*, had joyn'd this Fleet at the *Isle of Wight* by the order of King *Philip*; and that they were ordered to take *Breſt*, which the *French* thereupon fortified, and took great care of. Whereupon the Lord *Clinton* finding no Good was to be done, returned, having made a very expenſive and unproſperous Voyage.

The *French* by this time had got together a very great Army, which the King ſaw drawn up near *Pierre-pont*; and King *Philip*'s was not leſs, but then neither of theſe Princes were diſpoſed to try the Hazards of the War any further; and *Montmorency* having agreed for his Ranſome, at the rate of one hundred and ſixty five thouſand Crowns, and being now grown old, and averſe from the Thoughts of War, he and *Chriſtierna*, the Mother of the Duke of *Loraine*, went to and fro between the two Princes, to promote a Treaty of Peace.

Vendoſme Vidame of Chartres, who was made Governour of *Calais*, after *Thermes* was taken Priſoner, had a Deſign upon S. *Omers*, but it was diſcovered and prevented. In the middle of *September*, Ambaſſadours from *England*, *France* and *Spain* met at *Cambray*, to treat of a Peace in good earneſt, and the firſt thing they agreed upon, was the withdrawing of the two Armies, becauſe they ſeemed very diſſonant from the End of that Meeting. The greateſt Difficulty they met with was about *Calais*, which the *French* were reſolved to keep, pretending it was an ancient Piece of their Dominions, tho' lately recovered: And the *Engliſh*, on the other ſide, would never conſent to the Treaty, if it were not reſtored: But before this Conteſt could be brought to a concluſion, *Mary* Queen of *England* dyed, which ended the Controverſie for the preſent, and thereupon this Congreſs was diſſolved, and another Meeting appointed in the ſame Place in *January* following.

The Treaty of *Cambray* began.

The fifth of *November* the *Engliſh* Parliament met, but in a very ill Temper. On the ſeventeenth day of that Month, the Queen dyed, in the forty third Year of her Age, when ſhe had reigned five Years four Months and eleven Days. Her Death was for ſome Hours concealed, and then it was communicated to the Houſe of Lords by the Lord Chancellour, who ſent for the Houſe of Commons, and the Lord Chancellour ſignified to them alſo the Queen's Death; and both Houſes preſently agreed to proclaim *Elizabeth* her Siſter Queen, *wiſhing her a long and a happy reign.*

The Parliament of *England* meet, and Queen *Mary* dies.

The great *Thuanus*, contrary to his Cuſtom, paſſeth over Queen *Mary* without any Character; he could ſay little that was good of her, and would ſay nothing that was ill. Thoſe of her own Religion are now ſo ſenſible of the Errors of her Government, that they are more put to it for Apologies than Panigyricks on her Memory.

The *German* Affairs.

In *Germany* a Dyet was appointed to meet at *Frankford* the twenty fourth of *February*, to which the Ambaſſadours named by *Charles* V, before his Voyage into *Spain*, came and delivered his Reſignation of the Empire, by which he had transferred his Authority to *Ferdinand* his Brother, then King of the *Romans*, to the Electors, who after a ſhort deliberation accepted the ſame, and in a ſolemn manner elected and admitted *Ferdinand* to the Empire, and afterwards crowned him. After his return to *Vienna*, he ſent *Martin Guſman*, his Lord High Chamberlain, to *Rome* to acquaint the Pope with the Reſignation of *Charles* V, and his Advancement to the Empire, and to aſſure his Holineſs of his good Affections to that See. The moroſe Old Gentleman would not admit the Ambaſſadour, but left the buſineſs to be diſcuſſed by the Cardinals, who were appointed for that purpoſe; who muſt needs make a great buſineſs of it, and reſolved, *That what had been done at* Frankford *was of no Validity, becauſe the Holy See had not conſented to it, and Chriſt's Vicar, who was entruſted with the Keys of the* * *Celeſtial and Terreſtial Government, without whoſe Conſent, neither* Charles *could be diſcharged from the Empire, nor* Ferdinand *be admitted. That no Reſignation or Deprivation could be made to or by any other than the Pope. Beſides what was done at* Frankford, *had been tranſacted by Men infected with Hereſie, who had loſt all that Grace and Power, which belonged to them, whilſt they were Members of the Church of* Rome: *That therefore* Ferdinand *was to appear within three Months before the Pope's Tribunal, to anſwer for his Miſdemeanours, and to ſhew his Repentance; and then without doubt he would obtain Pardon from this meek Father:* With much more to the ſame purpoſe.

* That is the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Government.

Ferdinand was of another Temper, and ordered his Ambaſſadour to return, if he were not admitted within three Days, leaving a Proteſtation behind him. This a little quelled the Pope, who admitted him to a Private Audience the thirteenth of

July

July, when the Pope *excuſed himſelf for not having granted his Requeſt ſooner, for want of Leiſure and Time to examine all the Difficulties which were propoſed in this Affair by the Cardinals; and ſeeing his Lordſhip could ſtay no longer at* Rome, *he might return when he pleaſed, and he would ſend an Ambaſſadour to the Emperour* (ſo he called *Charles* V, notwithſtanding his Reſignation) *as ſoon as was poſſible.* And thus this thing ſtood till the Death of Pope *Paul* III. 1558.

The Death and Character of *Charles* the Fifth;

Charles V, late Emperour of *Germany*, being at laſt overpowered by the many Diſeaſes which oppreſſed him, died the twenty firſt of *September*. *In this Prince* (ſaith *Thuanus*) *Fortune and Virtue ſtrove to Crown his Deſerts with the utmoſt degree of Temporal Felicity. And for my part, I take him for the beſt Pattern which can poſſibly be given of a virtuous Prince, in this or any former Age.* His laſt Words were theſe, *Continue in me my dear Saviour, that I may continue in thee.* He lived fifty eight Years, ſix Months and twenty five Days, and was Emperour of *Germany* thirty ſix Years.

Thuanus ſaith of him, That no part of his Life was deſtitute of ſome commendable Action, yet he ſhew'd the greatneſs of his Soul moſt viſibly in the cloſe of it: Before he was wont to conquer others, in this he overcame himſelf, and reflecting on a better Life, renounced this preſent, which was lyable to ſo many Chances, before he dyed; and having ſo many Years lived to the good of others, began now to live only to God and himſelf. In all that two Years which went next before his Diſſolution, he lived in the Society of ſome Monks of the Order of S. *Jerome*; and by the Advice of one *Conſtantin*, his Confeſſor, applied himſelf chiefly to the reading of S. *Bernard*, and fixing his Soul only on God, thus he argued: That he was unworthy, by his own Merits, to obtain the Kingdom of Heaven; but his Lord God, who had a double Right to it, that of Inheritance from his Father, and that of the Merits of his Paſſion, was content with the firſt as to himſelf, and has left the ſecond to me, by whoſe Gift I may juſtly claim it, and truſting to this Faith, I ſhall not be aſhamed: For neither can the Oyl of Mercy be put in any other Veſſel than that of Faith: That this is the only Confidence of that Man who forſakes himſelf and relies upon his Lord: That to truſt any otherwiſe to ones own Merits was not of Faith but Perfidy: That Sins were forgiven by the Mercy of God, and therefore we ought to believe that none but God can blot them out, againſt whom only we have ſinned, in whom is no ſin, and by whom alone our ſins are forgiven, us. Theſe Doctrins were afterwards thought in *Spain* to approach ſo near thoſe of the *Lutherans*, that his Confeſſor was burnt for an Heretick after he was dead; and ſome others that were about him had hard meaſure, after his Death, on that account, and *Lucas Oſiander* affirms, in expreſs Terms, That *Charles* V, dyed a *Lutheran* in the Point of Juſtification.

His Opinion concerning Juſtification.

Queen *Elizabeth*, *preſently after her ſettlement*, diſpatched Meſſengers to all the Princes of Chriſtendom, giving notice of her Siſter's Death, and her Succeſſion, and among them, to the Pope alſo, by Sir *Edward Karn*, then Reſident at *Rome*. His Holineſs, in his uſual Stile replyed; *That* England *was held in Fee of the Apoſtolick See, That ſhe could not ſucceed, being illegitimate, nor could he contradict the Declarations made in that matter by his Predeceſſors* Clement *VII*, *and* Paul *III*: *He ſaid it was a great boldneſs in her to aſſume the Crown without his Conſent; for which, in Reaſon, ſhe deſerved no Favour at his Hands: Yet if ſhe would renounce her Pretentions, and refer herſelf wholly to him, he would ſhew a Fatherly Affection to her, and do every thing for her that could conſiſt with the Dignity of the Apoſtolick See.* It was great pity this generous Pope ſhould fall into ſuch Heretical Times; his great Soul would certainly have wrought Wonders berfore the Days of *Luther*; but now alaſs! all this Papal Meekneſs ſerved only to render that ſinking Ship more deſpicable and hated; for Queen *Elizabeth*, when ſhe heard of it, was nothing concerned at it, but immediately ſhe recalled *Karn*'s Powers, and commanded him to come home: And Popery from hence forward fared very ill in *England*; but then our Affairs have been ſo exactly deſcribed by others, and are ſo well known to Engliſh Men, That I ſhall here diſmiſs them, and apply my ſelf wholly to the Foreign Affairs.

Queen *Elizabeth* ſucceeds.

Thuanus obſerves, That this Year there was rather no War than a Peace in *Scotland*, for that the whole Kingdom was imbroiled with Rapines and the burning of Towns, two of the principal Nobility of *Scotland* being carried away captive by the *Engliſh*, *William Keth* Son of the Earl Marſhal, and *Patrick Gray*: An *Engliſh* Fleet alſo, under the Command of Sir *John Clare*, infeſted the *Scotch* Shoars, and burnt a Place, by my Author called *Cracoviaca*, *Kirk-wall*, *Main-Land*, the principal of the Iſles of *Orkney*, which he ſaith was the Seat of the Biſhop, and the principal

The *Scotch* Affairs.

1558. principal, or rather only Town in thoſe Iſlands, which he ſuppoſeth was ſeverely chaſtized by Heaven, by a Tempeſt, which ſoon after diſperſed the Fleet, leaving a part of the *Engliſh* on the Iſland, who were all ſlain by the Iſlanders and Natives.

Scotland begins to entertain the Reformation.

This Year alſo the Reformation of Religion was much agitated, tho not effected in *Scotland*; *Alexander Somervill* Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, with the aſſiſtance of the reſt of the Churchmen, condemned one *Walter Mills*, an old Prieſt, to be burnt for Hereſie, and baniſhed one *Paul Mefan*, hoping thereby to reſtore their loſt Authority, and curb the People; but it had a quite contrary effect, the patient and chearful Martyrdom of *Mills* incenſing the People to that height, that they ſpoke very freely, or as my Author has it, Licentiouſly and Seditiouſly of the Church-men, and a Solemn Proceſſion being made on the firſt day of *September*, in memory of S. *Eugenius*, or S. *Gile*'s at *Edenburgh*, of which he was Patron, whoſe Image was then carried about with great Pomp, the People tore it out of the Hands of thoſe that bore it, and threw it into the common Drought, having firſt broke off the Head, Hands and Feet of this Wooden Saint, the Monks and the reſt of his Friends fleeing, and leaving him to ſhift for himſelf. The Clergy ſeeing their Authority thus ſinking, aſſembled in a Synod, the ninth of *November*, to try if the ſeting a good Face, and pretending great Confidence would retrieve their ſinking Cauſe: But they of the Reformed Party, on the contrary, of all Degrees exhorted one another to perſevere in the Truth, *and not to ſuffer themſelves to be oppreſſed by a ſmall and weak number of Men: For if* (ſay they) *theſe Men proceed by Legal Courſes, we ſhall be too hard for them, if they make uſe of Force, we are a Match for them.* They drew up an Addreſs alſo to the Queen Regent, which they ſent unto her by one *James Sandelands*, an Honourable Baron, and of great account, in it deſiring, That the Publick Prayers and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments might be in the Vulgar Tongue, and that the Miniſters might be elected by the People. The Regent, tho' a zealous Catholick, yet fearing a Tumult, commanded the Prieſts to ſay the Prayers in the *Scotch* Language. The ſame Demands were made by the Nobility of the Synod, then aſſembled at *Edinburgh*: Who replyed, That they muſt abide by the Orders of the Canon-Law, and the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*. The Nobility perceiving them thus averſe to a Reformation, ſent one *John Aresken* of *Dundee* a learned Man to appeaſe them; who with great reſpect beſought them, At leaſt to grant the People the uſe of the publick Prayers in their Mother Tongue. The Clergy would nevertheleſs abate nothing of their former Severity; and the Queen regent, by their Perſuaſion ſoon recalled what had been extorted from her. But the Death of Queen *Mary* of *England*, and the Succeſſion of Queen *Elizabeth*, which happened this Month, ſoon turned the Scales, and gave her Cauſe to repent her too great obſtinacy.

The Learned *Spotiſwood* obſerves, That this *Mills* was the laſt Martyr that dyed in *Scotland* for Religion; That *Patrick Lermoth* Bailiff of the Regality, abſolutely refuſed to paſs Sentence of Death, as a Judge upon him, after the Biſhop had delivered him up to the Secular Power; that in the whole City of S. *Andrews* a Cord was not to be had for Money, ſo that they were forced to take one of the Cords of the Archbiſhop's Pavilion, to tie him to the Stake. It had been good Prudence to have deſiſted, when they ſaw the whole Body of the People thus bent againſt them, but they were hurried on to their Ruine, by a blind Rage.

The People of *Scotland* were no leſs incenſed on the other Side, and reſolved openly to profeſs the Reformed Religion, binding themſelves by Promiſe and Subſcription to an Oath, That *if any ſhould be called in queſtion for matters of Religion, at any time hereafter, they would take Arms, and joyn in defence of their Religion and Brethren, againſt the Tyranny and Perſecution of the Biſhops.* The principal Men, who joyned in this Bond were *Archibald* Earl of *Argile*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarne*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Archibald* Lord of *Lorne*, Sir *James Sandelands* of *Calder*, *John Erskin* of *Dun*, and *William Maitland* of *Lethington*. To this Bond vaſt numbers throughout the Kingdom ſubſcribed, ſo that they found their numbers were at leaſt equal to thoſe that oppoſed them.

THE

A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

BOOK II.

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THE Firſt day of *January*, *Frederick* I, King of *Denmark*, who was Elected by the Dyet of that Kingdom, in the Year 1233, inſtead of *Chriſtian* II, depoſed by his Subjects for his Cruelty, died at *Koldingen*, a Town in the Dukedom of *Sleſwick*, when he had lived Fifty ſix Years, Three Months and Twenty Days, and reigned Thirty four Years. He was a Prince of great Moderation and Juſtice; he overthrew the united Army of *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Oldenburg*, and of the City of *Lubeck*, who had invaded his Inheritance, near *Alſen*,

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1559. a City of *Fionia*, with a great ſlaughter of their Forces. Having by this Victory obtain'd a Peace, he cauſed the holy Scriptures to be tranſlated into the *Daniſh* Tongue, and open'd an Univerſity and a Library at *Coppenhagen*. Not long before his Death he viſited his depoſed Uncle, who was then in Priſon, and having diſcours'd very friendly with him a great while, they mutually forgave each other. By his Queen *Dorothy*, Daughter of *Magnus* Duke of *Saxony*, he had five Children, *Frederick* II, who ſucceeded him in his Kingdom, *Magnus* Biſhop of *Upſal* in *Livonia*, *Joane*, *Ann* married to *Auguſtus* Elector of *Saxony*, and *Dorothy* married to *Henry* Duke of *Lunenburg*. The Twenty third of the ſame Month, *Chriſtian* his Predeceſſor in that Kingdom, followed him, being in the Seventy ſeventh year of his Age; he had lived in Priſon ever ſince the Year 1532, having given (ſaith my Author *Thuanus*) this Leſſon to all Princes, *That if they will Reign well and happily, they muſt govern their Affections, and not out of a violent luſt of inſulting over their Subjects, give up themſelves to the conduct of their Paſſions; and that they ought to aſſure themſelves, that God is a ſevere Revenger, always ready, and delighting to pluck off their Thrones the moſt Proud and Inſolent who ſhall abuſe that Power he has intruſted them with.* *Frederick* I, being dead, who was a Prince utterly averſe from war, and neither moved by Ambition nor Covetouſneſs to invade what was anothers; his Son *Frederick* began a War upon the Inhabitants of *Dietmarſh*, who had heretofore been ſubject to the Dukes of *Holſtein*, the Biſhop of *Breme*, and the Kings of *Denmark* ſucceſſively, and had often regain'd their Liberty with great Loſs and Diſhonour to thoſe Princes that had attempted to reduce this ſmall Province; but now their time was come, and *Adolph* Duke of *Holſtein*, this year made a final Conqueſt of them, for *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, in the ſpace of one Month.

Chriſtian II, King of *Denmark* dies.

Frederick II conquereth *Dietmarſh*.

The Affairs of *Italy*. In the beginning of this Year was a great change of Affairs at *Rome*. The Kindred of the Pope had already made themſelves hated by all Chriſtendom, and now the Pope himſelf too fell out with them. They had engaged the Pope in the War with *Spain*, which had brought ſo much Loſs and Shame upon that See, and its Dominions. In the time of thoſe Confuſions they had acted many things with great Rapacity, Intemperance and Inſolence without the Pope's knowledge, who finding his Treaſure exhauſted, had by their Advice raiſed great and extraordinary Taxes upon his People; and beſides all this, had ſold the Places of the Criminal and Civil Judges, ſuppreſſed the monthly Payments of his Officers, and ſeized many of the Lands belonging to the Religious Orders, and had levied two Tenths upon all the Benefices. The War with King *Philip* being ended, and the Pope having with a calm and diſpaſſionate mind heard the Complaints made againſt his Relations by one *Jeremiah*, a Fryer of the *Theatin* Order, and eſpecially againſt the Cardinal of *Caraffa*, began more nearly to inſpect his own Affairs, and the Lives of his Relations. About the ſame time, *Coſmus* Duke of *Florence* made great Complaint alſo of the *Caraffa*'s, becauſe not content with the extorting what they pleas'd from the Hoſpitals, Monaſteries and Clergy within the Pope's Dominions (which they lookt upon as their own) they had alſo by their private Authority done the ſame Wrongs in the Dukedom of *Florence*, and indeed all over *Italy*. He thereupon order'd *Bongianni Gianfigliacci*, his Reſident at *Rome*, to complain of this to the Pope; but then the *Caraffa*'s had prevented him from having any Audience; whereupon *Coſmus* wrote a Letter to the Pope, which was by the means of Cardinal *Vitelli*, an Hater of their Inſolence, deliver'd to the Pope. He having read it, ſent preſently for his old Monitor *Jeremiah*, and by him ordered *Vitelli* to give him a more exact account of their Miſdemeanors. There was nothing more incenſed the Pope againſt them (who was Imperious and Jealous of his Papal Power to the utmoſt degree) than that the Cardinal had agreed, without his knowledge or conſent, with the Duke *de Alva*; that his Brother ſhould accept of a Compenſation from King *Philip* inſtead of *Paliani*, which Place the Pope had deſigned to unite to his See. Whereupon he preſently commanded the Cardinal to leave the *Vatican*, and not to come any more into his Preſence. The Twenty ſeventh of *January* the Pope ſummon'd a great Conſiſtory, and in it diſcharged him of the Prime Miniſtry of Affairs, and of the Government of *Bononia*. He took alſo from the Duke of *Paliani*, his Brother, the Command of the Forces of the Eccleſiaſtick State, and of the Gallies, and deprived the Marqueſs *di Monte Belli* of the Cuſtody of the Vatican Palace, declaring againſt them with that fury, that ſome of the Cardinals attempted to appeaſe him, and among them *Ranutio* Cardinal of *Farneſe*: To whom he replied, *That your Grandfather had done much better, if like me he had ſacrificed his private Affections to his Paſtoral Office, and having ſeverely chaſtiſed your Father's*

abominable

abominable Luſts and Villanies, had thereby prevented the ſcandal the Impunity of them hath given to the whole World. So that nothing that could be ſaid or done, could reduce the old Man from his Reſolves againſt them, but tended rather to the encreaſing of his Fury. And hereupon he forthwith aboliſh'd ſome Impoſts, pretending they were exacted without his knowledge: By all which he hoped to obtain the repute of a Juſt and Upright Prince, and to caſt the Odium of the ill things which had been done in his Popedom, upon his Relations. After this, he betook himſelf wholly to the promoting the *Inquiſition*, which he call'd the moſt *Holy Tribunal*, and here he ſhewed a very great ſeverity, bringing not only Men ſuſpected of Hereſie, but of ſome other Crimes within their Juriſdiction: Then commanding all Monks and Nuns to their ſeveral Houſes, he Impriſon'd ſome, and ſent others to the Gallies, for not preſently obeying him. His Rigour was ſo great in this laſt, that many left his State, and went and ſetled in the State of *Venice*. He ſpent Fifty thouſand Crowns in Corn, to relieve the Poor in a time of Scarcity, and ſetled Biſhops at *Malacha* and *Cochin*, two Cities belonging to the *Portugueſe* in the *East-Indies*, and made the Biſhop of *Goa* an Archbiſhop, exempting him from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhoprick of *Liſbon*. He alſo erected many new Sees in the *Low-Countries*, at the requeſt of *Philip* King of *Spain*, to the Diminution of the Juriſdiction and Dioceſſes of many *French* and *German* Biſhops. Theſe Sees were ſetled at *Mechlen*, *Antwerp*, *Harlem*, *Daventrie*, *Leewarden*, *Groningen*, *Midleburg*, *Boſleduc*, *Namur*, St. *Omers*, *Ipreß*, *Gant* and *Bruges*, and were put under the Archbiſhops of *Cambray*, *Mechlin* and *Utrecht*. This change gave great offence to the *Low-Countries*, who eſteem'd it rather an Inſlaving than an Honouring of their Country, to have ſo many New Sees ſetled among them; and the more, becauſe among other Reaſons aſſigned by the Pope, one was, That theſe Countries were on all ſides encompaſs'd with Nations which had caſt off the See of *Rome*; ſo that the Salvation of the Souls of this People was much endanger'd by Schiſm, which rendred this Settlement hateful to all thoſe who favour'd the Reformation; ſo that this was one of the principal Cauſes of the War which followed, which in the end proved fatal to many of theſe New Biſhopricks.

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New Biſhopricks erected in the *Low-Countries*.

In the *interim*, this Conſideration had that effect upon the Spirit of King *Philip*, that it greatly diſpoſed him above all others to enter into a Treaty of Peace with *France*. He ſaw that not only the Licence which attended a War, but the vaſt number of *Germans* which he was forced to employ, by their converſing with his Subjects in the *Netherlands*, begat in them a good Opinion of *Luther* and the Reformation. *Henry* II of *France* imprudently communicated to *William* of *Naſſaw*, Prince of *Orange*, when he was Embaſſador for *Philip* in *France*, when they were one day Hunting together, *That King* Philip *and he had agreed firſt to extirpate all the Sects which were then riſing in the* Netherlands, *and after that they would joyn their Arms, and do the like in all other places*; which being diſcovered by that Prince to the *Netherlanders*, they entred into Conſultation for the preſerving themſelves from the Pride of the *Spaniſh* Government, and made thoſe inſolent Demands of King *Philip*, when he was going into *Spain*. This Counſel was then generally attributed to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and *Perrenot* Biſhop of *Arras*, and all concluded, That under the pretence of ſuppreſſing Hereſie, King *Philip* and *Henry* of *France* had laid a Deſign of Ruining the Civil Liberties of *France* and the *Netherlands*. When the Commiſſioners met, for the concluding the Treaty of Peace between theſe Princes, they found themſelves delivered from one difficulty, the Reſtitution of *Calais*, by the Death of Queen *Mary* of *England*; but then *Thionville*, *Verdun* and *Toul*, three Imperial Cities, had been taken in this War by the *French*, and King *Philip* thought he was bound in Honour, and by his Intereſt too, to ſee them reſtored to the Empire, and yet he ſaw the *French* were as well reſolved to keep them. Nor was indeed his Intereſt in the Reſtitution ſo great as that of the *French* was to keep them, he having very effectually provided for his own Security and Benefit, by the gaining other Places.

King *Philip* deſirous of a Peace with *France*, that he might be at leiſure to extirpate Hereſie.

That Deſign diſcover'd to the Prince of *Orange*.

Hereupon theſe Princes, by mutual conſent, ſent Embaſſadors to the Dyet of *Germany*, began this Year the Twenty fifth of *February*, at *Auſburg*. The firſt thing that was done in them, was the celebrating the Funeral of *Charles* V, with great Solemnity. His Encomium was pronounced by *Lewis Madruſe*, then Biſhop of *Trent*, and afterwards a Cardinal. After this Ceremony, an Account was given of the Conference at *Wormes*, for the Reconciling the Differences of Religion; and there appearing no hope of an Accommodation, *Ferdinand* the Emperor promiſed he would take care to have the General Council renewed, and that all ſhould obey its

The Dyet of *Germany*.

1559. Decrees and Determinations. But the Deputies of the Duke of *Saxony*, and of ſeveral other Princes of the Empire oppoſed this; affirming that there being no hopes of reſtoring the Peace of the Church by a Popiſh Council, the Edicts of *Paſſaw.* and *Auſburg* were religiouſly to be obſerved: But the Emperor perſiſting in his former Opinion, they ſaid they were not againſt a Free and General Council in *Germany*, ſo be it were legally aſſembled by the Emperor, and not by the Pope, and in which the Pope ſhould appear as a Party ſubject to the Council, and not as Preſident and Judge of all others; and provided the Biſhops and Clergy might be freed from the Oath they had taken to the Pope, that they might freely ſpeak their Thoughts: That the ſacred Scriptures might be the only Rule by which they ſhould judge and determin theſe Controverſies, rejecting all humane Traditions and Cuſtoms that were contrary to the Word of God: If the Divines who had embraced the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, might not only be heard, but admitted to give their Votes in the Deciſion of theſe Controverſies, and have good Security given them for their going thither; and that they ſhould enjoy the Liberty granted them by the Decree of *Auſburg*, without any fraud or violence: That the Points in Diſpute ſhould not be determin'd, as is uſual in Civil Affairs, by the Plurality of Votes, but by the Rule and Preſcription of the Word of God: That in the firſt place, the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* already made, ſhould be cancell'd as vitious, and not legally aſſembled; and that theſe things ſhould be debated anew. And laſtly, That if theſe things could not be obtain'd of the Pope, the Emperor ſhould maintain the Peace of Religion, and the Edict of *Paſſaw.* Theſe were the Conditions the Proteſtants propoſed for the holding of a Council.

Conditions propoſed by the *Proteſtants* for a Council.

The Emperor Confirms the Peace of *Paſſaw.*

The Emperor, who deſpaired of reconciling the differences of Religion on theſe Terms, and having no other way left him for preſerving the Peace of *Germany*, Confirm'd the Peace of *Paſſaw.* After this, they took into Conſideration the Reduction of the Monies of *Germany* to their ancient value and purity, and heard the Complaints of *William* of *Furſtemberg*, Great Maſter of the Knights of *Livonia*, who obtain'd a Grant of an Hundred thouſand Crowns for the Levying of an Army for their Protection againſt the *Ruſs*: But this Sum ſeeming leſs than the neceſſity of their Affairs and of the Times required, the *Livonians* neglected it, and betook themſelves to the Protection of *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*, King of *Poland*, to whom they aſſign'd Nine of their ſtrongeſt Places, upon condition that they might at any time redeem them by the payment of Six thouſand Crowns, which was confirm'd by a Treaty Signed and Sworn between them and the King of *Poland.* After which, *Furſtemberg* reſigned his Dignity to *Gotard Ketler.* There was alſo a Complaint made by the *Livonians* againſt the Inhabitants of *Lubeck*, *Riga* and *Revel*, for furniſhing the *Ruſs*, who were the Enemies of *Germany*, not only with all ſorts of Merchandize imported by them to *Narva*, a Town of *Ruſſia*, but alſo with Arms and Ammunition, which for the future, was, by a Law made in this Dyet, forbidden, which was afterwards repeal'd.

The *French* Embaſſadors come to the Dyet.

The Twenty eighth of *March*, the *French* Embaſſadors were introduced into the Dyet, and after they had in an Elegant Speech declared the great Affections their Maſter had for the Emperor and the States of *Germany*; they deſired the ancient League might be renewed between the Empire and that Kingdom; and that for the future there might be a firmer and cloſer Union and Friendſhip. Upon this the Emperor returned Thanks to the Embaſſadors, ſaying, That the King might be aſſured of the Friendſhip of the Empire, the Princes and States, and of his too, if his Actions did agree with his Words, and thoſe Cities which had lately been taken from the Empire, were reſtored to it: That this being done, he did not ſee what could hinder their entring into a ſincere Friendſhip. At this the Embaſſadors replied, That they had no Inſtruction concerning what he had propoſed about the Cities, but they would give an Account of it to the King their Maſter, and in the mean time they deſired the States would meet the King's Propoſals of Friendſhip with equal Candour. Upon this the Aſſembly broke up, and the Embaſſadors were re-conducted back with great Civility and Reſpect; to whom it was hinted, that the Emperor could not but mention the Reſtitution of the Cities, but then that neither he, the Princes, nor the States would break with the King of *France*, though thoſe Cities were not reſtored. They decreed alſo a Noble Embaſſy to the King of *France*, in which the Cardinal of *Auſburg* and *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Wirtemburg* were employed.

One *David George*, a Native of *Delft* in *Holland*, born of mean Parents, his Father being a Fencer, and his Mother a mean Woman, and himſelf unacquainted with any

any other than his Mother-Tongue; was a Perſon of great ſeeming Moderation, ſo that all took him for a very Honeſt and well-meaning Man, tho' he was of a ſtubborn and incorrigable diſpoſition. He was a Perſon of a comely Countenance and good meine, and all the Motions of his Body were Grave and becoming, ſo that he ſeemed made up of Honeſty. This Man ſpread amongſt his Country-men the Peſtilent Sect of Anabaptiſts, to which they were very much diſpoſed, and this being done to his great advantage (for he had got a good Eſtate by it) and fearing he might not be ſafe, if he continued any longer in his Native Country, where he was accounted the Head of that Sect, he went with ſome of his Followers to *Baſil*, in the Year 1544, under the Name of *John Bruck*, and the firſt of *April* made a Speech in the Senate of that City; deſiring, He might be protected by them, as one forced to flee for his Religion; and that they would receive his Wife, Children, Family and Fortunes, as in a ſafe Harbour. The Cauſe, the Perſon, and the Speech, agreed ſo exactly, and his Temper was ſo wholely unknown to them, as well as his former Life, and his Country being very remote, what he ſaid appeared ſo like Truth, and had happened to ſo many others, That *Auguſt* 25, having given the uſual Oath, he was taken into the Protection of that City; where he lived with that Reſpect to the Magiſtrate, that Humanity towards the Citizens, and that Civility towards all, obſerving carefully their Religious Rites, and in all things behaved himſelf ſo well, that he gave not the leaſt occaſion to any to ſuſpect him of any erroneous Doctrin, and he was as well thought of by the moſt, as he deſired to be, or was eſteemed by his own Party. Thus he lived very quietly in his Family, obſerving very ſtrictly three things: 1. Concealing the Name of *David George*, by which he was well known in *Holland* and *Frieſland*. 2. Of what State and Condition he was at Home; ſo that ſome took him for a Perſon of good Birth, others for a Nobleman or Rich Merchant. 3. Laſtly, he took Care not to admit any into his Sect of the City of *Baſil*, or of the neighbouring Country: But, in the mean time, he took care by Letters, Books and Meſſengers, to enlarge his Sect in *Holland*, and in other ſuch diſtant Places: But as to *Switzerland* he medled not, for fear he might be diſcovered. Having thus ſpent ſix Years, with great Pleaſure, there happened a thing which gave him ſome Diſturbance, one of his Followers falling off, upon better Information, and appearing with great Zeal againſt the Doctrins of his *quondam* Maſter: His Houſe being alſo burnt with Lightning, was a ſad Preſage, That his good Fortune and his Life were near their End. But that which moſt afflicted him, was, That an able Perſon was come from *Holland*, who had given an exact account of him and his Family, to the Citizens of *Baſil*; this brought a great Deſpondence of Mind upon him, and that a Sickneſs, which ſeized his Wife alſo, who dyed firſt, and *David George* followed her himſelf *Auguſt* 25, 1556; and he was buried with great Pomp, in the Church of S. *Leonard*. Thus died that famous Impoſtor and Deceiver, who had pretended, That he was greater, and more Divine than Chriſt, and Immortal; that the Doctrin of *Moſes* and the Prophets, Chriſt and the Apoſtles, was imperfect, and did not lead to a true and perfect Felicity; but his was ſuch as would certainly make him, who rightly underſtood it, happy: That he was the true *Chriſt* and *Meſſiah*, the moſt beloved Son of the Father, who was begotten not of Fleſh but by the Holy Ghoſt, and the Spirit of Chriſt; which having reduced his Fleſh to nothing, and kept it in a certain place, unknown to the Saints, had at laſt delivered it to *David George*; with much more ſuch Blaſphemous Nonſenſe. After his Death, the Fraud broke out, and this Year *March* 12, his Sons, and all that belonged to him, to the number of eleven, were brought before the Senate, and examined concerning his Name, Country and Doctrin: And they anſwering as he had taught, were committed to different Priſons, and all his Papers and Writings were delivered to the Divines. *April* 26, the Divines and Univerſity having conſidered them, condemn'd his Doctrin as falſe, contrary to the ſacred Scriptures, pernicious and injurious to Jeſus Chriſt, and to be exterminated out of the Chriſtian World. After this, his Sons were diſmiſs'd out of Priſon, upon condition they ſhould buy no Lands without the Walls of the City, without the Permiſſion of the Senate: That they ſhould entertain no Travellers, though of their near Relations, but ſhould ſend them to the publick Inns: That they ſhould deliver in all the Books written or printed by *David George*, and not keep any by them in the *Dutch* Tongue; and that they ſhould ſend their Children to the School of *Baſil* to be inſtructed: That they ſhould pay a Pecuniary Mulct, if required; and that they, their Wives and Children ſhould appear in the Church, and make Profeſſion of the True Faith, and Renounce that of *David George*. Two days after, his Body was ſentenc'd to be

1559. The Life and Death of *David George*, a famous Impoſtor.

taken

1559. taken up and burnt, together with his Books and Effigies, by the Hands of the Common Hang-man, in the place where they uſally executed Malefactors; and all his Goods they ſeiz'd to the Publick Treaſure; adding, That if any Perſon preſum'd to blame this their Decree, he ſhould be liable to the ſame Puniſhment. His Body was found very perfect, ſo that it might be known by his yellow Beard from another Man's, though he had been buried two Years and ſix Months, and was accordingly burnt in a vaſt concourſe of Men.

The Treaty of *Cambray* produces a Peace at laſt.

In the beginning of *February* the Ambaſſadours met again, at the Caſtle of *Cambray*, to conclude the Treaty; which was broke up upon the Death of *Mary*, Queen of *England*. Queen *Elizabeth*, who ſucceeded her Siſter *Mary*, a Princes of a Maſculine Soul, and of a Prudence above her Sex, fearing if ſhe relied upon the *Spaniard*, ſhe might either be deſerted or diſhonoured by his Protection, had in the mean time, made a ſeparate Peace with *France*. After which ſhe changed the Religion of *England*, in her firſt Parliament, aboliſhing all the Laws made by her Siſter *Mary*, and reviving thoſe made by her Brother, *Edward* VI, and rejecting all Obedience to the Pope of *Rome*. This Peace with *France* did much facilitate the Treaty of *Cambray*: In which, among other things theſe Princes promiſed to do their utmoſt, that a General Council ſhould be held as ſoon as was poſſible, to the Glory of God and the pacifying Men's Conſciences. This laſt Clauſe, by the perverſe Counſels of theſe Princes, in a ſhort time raiſed a War in the *Low-Countries* and *France*, which was more laſting and more fatal than any former Wars. This Treaty was ſigned at *Cambray*, *April* 3.

The Peace occaſions a Perſecution in *France*.

Theſe two Kings having thus regained their Peace, and diſburthened themſelves of the Cares which the War brought upon them, they betook themſelves ſolely to the Care of Religion, which in *France* had been under conſideration the two foregoing Years, and was then omitted on account of the War and Treaty, but was now reaſſumed in the heat of a Marriage-Feaſt. There was one *Diana* Dutcheſs of *Valentinois*, a Court-Lady, and one of the King's Miſtreſſes, who uſed to beg the Eſtates of all ſuch as ſuffered for any Crime; And the Duke of *Guiſe*, who were the Promoters of this Perſecution, the latter aiming at nothing but Popular Applauſe: Theſe two inſinuated this Belief into the King; That *the Venome of Hereſie was much ſpread in* France, *and that in truth he was not King of thoſe Provinces in which that prevailed: That the Impudence of thoſe who imbraced it, was ſo great, that they did not whiſper it, as heretofore, in the Ear, but preached it openly and boldly throughout the Kingdom, by which the name of God was blaſphemed, and his Majeſties Royal Authority was endangered; for when the Law of God was once confounded, who can Queſtion,* (ſay they) *but that all Human Laws will ſoon be ſubverted?* And that they might the more eaſily prevail, they employed *Giles Maiſtre*, preſident of the Parliament, *Jean de S. Andre*, *Anthony Minart*, and *Giles Bourdin* the King's Attorney, and principally the firſt of theſe, who was a Man of a fierce Diſpoſition and Temper, to incenſe the King's Mind againſt the Sectaries, he being no way inclined to ſuch Severities. To this end they tell him, *That there would little be gained by the Peace, if a more cruel War was fomented and carried on at Home: For that the Diſeaſe had already got ſuch Strength, that if his Majeſty diſſembled a little longer, the Sword of the Magiſtrate and the Laws of the Land would not be able to ſuppreſs it, but he muſt levy Armies, and himſelf take the Field againſt them, as had been done in the caſe of the* Albingenſes. *That what had hitherto been done, had not had its deſired effect, becauſe all the ſeverity had been ſpent upon the populace and the mean people, the hatred and deteſtation of which had affected all Men, but very few had taken example by it. That now it was fit to begin with the Judges, many of which had imbraced their Doctrin ſecretly, or favoured them on other accounts, and by their connivance nouriſhed the Diſtemper, ſuffering this Offence either to go unpuniſhed, or very lightly corrected. This, they ſaid, was the very Root of the Evil, and that all labour was in vain 'till it were pulled up.*

The King goes to the Parliament of *Paris* to aw it into a Compliance.

Not long after this, the King was prevailed upon to come into the Parliament in Perſon, whilſt the Members were debating about the Puniſhment of the Sectaries, *June* 14. He ſeemed rather to labour to conceal his Anger, than to have come with a calm Mind: Among other things he told the Parliament, That *having made a Peace he hoped it would turn to the general Good; but he was much concerned that the buſineſs of Religion, which was one of the principal Cares of a good Prince, had been, during the War, tumultuouſly and ſeditiouſly treated by ſome: That therefore he deſired for the future, more care might be taken of the Chriſtian Religion: And becauſe he heard that affair was this Day to be debated by them, he was come thither; and he admoniſhed them to proceed in it with Freedom, ſaying, It was God's Cauſe, who knew all our Hearts and Thoughts.*

Tho'

Tho' the Members of the Parliament knew the King was brought thither to deprive them of their Liberty; yet there were ſome who reſolved to retain their ancient Freedom at the price of their Lives; and having declaimed againſt the Manners of the Court of *Rome* and its ill Cuſtomes, which had degenerated into moſt pernicious Errors, and given occaſion to the riſe of many Sects; they thence inferred, That the Penalties of Hereſie were to be mitigated, and the Severities of the Law abated, till the differences of Religion were compoſed by the Authority of a General Council, and the Diſcipline of the Church reformed. And this was the Opinion of all the good Men in the Parliament. *Arnold du Ferrier*, Preſident of the Criminal Court, an honeſt and a wiſe Perſon, and the beſt Lawyer in *France*, was the firſt who propoſed this Method, and was followed by many others, among which was *Lewis du Faur*, a Man of great Senſe, and of a generous Temper, who added, *That all were agreed that the Differences in Religion had occaſioned great Diſturbances, but then* (ſaid he) *we ought carefully to enquire, Who cauſed theſe Diſorders, leſt as* Elijah *anſwered* Ahab, *when he reproached him, as the Troubler of* Iſrael, *it might be ſaid to us*; It is thou that haſt troubled Iſrael. Then *Anna du Bourg* beginning with a Diſcourſe of the Eternal Providence of God, to which all things are ſubject; when he came to the Queſtion propoſed, ſaid, There were many Sins and Crimes committed by Men, which the Laws had already forbidden, and yet the Gallows and Tortures which were imployed, had not been able to prevent the frequent Perjuries, Adulteries, profuſe Luſts, and Profane Oaths, which were not only connived at, but cheriſhed. On the contrary, every Day new puniſhments are invented againſt a ſort of Men, who could never yet be convicted of any wicked Attempt; for how can they injure the Prince, who never name him but in their Prayers for him? Are they accuſed of breaking our Laws, perverting the Allegiance of our Cities or Provinces? No, the greateſt Tortures could never extort a Confeſſion that they ſo much as thought of any ſuch thing. Are they not accuſed of Sedition only, becauſe they have by the Candle of Scripture diſcovered the ſhameful and encreaſing Villanies and corruptions of the Roman Power, which they deſire may be reformed? *Chriſtopher Harlay* and *Peter Seguier* the two Preſidents ſaid with great Modeſty, that the Court had hitherto juſtly and rightly diſcharged its Duty in this Particular, and that it would ſtill do the ſame without changing, to the Glory of God, and therefore neither the King nor People of *France* would have cauſe to repent the truſting to it. *Chriſtopher de Thou*, with great freedom reflected on the King's Attorney and Advocates, for preſuming to defame the Proceedings of that Court, and indangering its Authority. *Renatus Baillet* deſired the Judgments which were blamed, might be re-examined, and more maturely conſidered. *Minart* having made a ſhort Preface, *to ſoften the Envy which had been raiſed againſt them*, only added, That he thought the King's Edicts were to be obſerved. After theſe *Maiſtre* the Preſident made a ſharp Harangue *againſt the Sectaries*, inſtancing in the Severities which *Philip* the Auguſt is ſaid to have employed againſt the *Albingenſes*, 600 of which he burnt in one day; and in the *Waldenſes*, which were maſſacred with Fire and Smoak, partly in their Houſes, and partly in the Dens and Caves they had fled to.

1559. Yet ſome retained their Freedom at the Price of their Lives.

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The King having obliquely reproached the Court for entring upon this Debate, without his Order, added, *He now clearly ſaw, what he had heard before, That there were ſome among them, who deſpiſed both his Authority and the Popes. That this was the fault of but a few, but it was diſhonourable to the whole body of them; but only they that were guilty ſhould ſuffer the Puniſhment. And therefore he exhorted the reſt to go on in their Duty.* The Reflections of *la Faur* and *du Bourg*, who mentioned the Story of *Ahab*, and the frequent Adulteries, exaſperated the King more than the reſt, and therefore he commanded *Montmorancy* to apprehend them, who again ordered *Gabriel de Montgomery*, a Captain of the Guard, to take them and carry them to the *Baſtile*. Afterwards *Paul de Foix*, *Anthony Fumee*, *Euſtace de la Porte*, were alſo taken into Cuſtody, but la *Ferriere*, *du Val* and *Viole* were concealed by their Friends, and eſcaped this Storm. Men cenſured theſe Proceedings, as they ſtood affected; but the Wiſer were much diſguſted, That the King ſhould be ſo far impoſed on by others, as to come perſonally into his Court to ſubvert thoſe Laws he ought to have protected: That he ſhould make uſe of Threats and Impriſonments; ſaying, That this was a clear Inſtance that he was ſubject to the Paſſions of others, and who could think but theſe things were the forerunners of great Changes?

The King's Anſwer.

The Miniſters of the *Reformed Religion*, notwithſtanding, held a Synod at S. *German*, *June* 28, one *Morelle* being Preſident, in which they ſetled the order of their Synods, the Authority of the Preſidents, the taking away the Supremacy in the Church,

A *French* Synod held by the Proteſtant Miniſters.

1559. Church, the election of Miniſters, and their Office and Duty, Deacons and Presbyters, Cenſures, the Degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity, of contracting and diſſolving Marriages, which yet were only temporary Decrees, to be varied as future Synods ſhould think fit; but to oblige particular Perſons till ſo altered.

The Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* write to the King of *France*.

About the ſame time came Embaſſadours from the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, with Letters to the King, ſubſcribed by *Frederick* Cout Palatine of the *Rhine*, *Auguſtus* Duke of *Saxony*, *Joachim* Elector of *Brandenburg*, *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Wirtimberg*, and *Wolfang* Count of *Weldentz*. In which they repreſent to the King, 'How 'much they were afflicted to ſee ſo many Pious, Quiet and Holy Men, who pro-'feſſed the ſame Religion, Impriſoned, Spoiled, Baniſhed, and put to Death, as 'Seditious Perſons in *France*. That they thought themſelves bound by Chriſtian 'Charity, and the Alliance which was between them and *France*, to beſeech 'him well to conſider this Affair, which concerned the Name of God, and the Sal-'vation of ſo many Souls; that he ought to free himſelf from Prejudice, and im-'ploy great Judgment and Reaſon in it. They aſſured him they were no leſs ſo-'licitous for the Glory of God, and the Salvation of their Subjects than he, and up-'on the Differences of Religion, had maturely conſidered how they might be com-'poſed: That they had found by degrees, and inſenſibly, through Avarice and Am-'bition many Corruptions had crept into the Church, which were diſhonourable to 'the Majeſty of God, and Scandalous to Men, and that they ought to be reformed 'by the Teſtimonies of the Holy Scriptures, the Decrees of the Primitive Church, 'and the Writings of the moſt Ancient Fathers: That the Corruptions and Diſ-'orders of the Court and Church of *Rome*, had long ſince been complained of in '*France*, by *W. Pariſienſis*, *John Gerſon*, *Nicholas Clemangius* and *Wiſellius* of *Groenin-'gen*, the Reſtorer of the Univerſity of *Paris*, under *Lewis* XI, and other Divines: 'That King *Francis*, his Father, of Bleſſed Memory, was convinced of this, and 'had wiſely endeavoured to put an end to the Differences of Religion, and to re-'form the Diſcipline of the Church: That now *France* was not involved in War 'abroad, they beſought him the Difference of Religion might by his Authority and 'Conduct be quietly ended: That this might eaſily be effected, if the King would 'but appoint Learned and Peaceable Men, who ſhould examin their Confeſſion of 'Faith, without Partiality or Prejudice, by the Holy Scripture, and the Ancient 'Fathers: That in the interim he ſhould ſuſpend all Legal Severities, diſcharge the 'Impriſoned, recal the Baniſhed, reſtore their Eſtates to thoſe that had been ruin'd: 'This they ſaid would be acceptable and pleaſing to God, Honourable to the King, 'Profitable to *France*, and very Grateful to them. The King entertained the Em-baſſadors kindly, and having read the Letter, ſaid he would ſuddenly ſend them a ſatisfactory Anſwer; but by that time they were arrived at the Borders of *France*, the Fire, their coming ſeem'd to have abated, raged more horribly than ever.

A Commiſſion iſſued to try the ſuſpected Members of Parliament.

June 19. a Commiſſion was iſſued to *Jean de Saint Andre*, the Preſident and Promoter of theſe Troubles, Jo. *James de Memme*, Maſter of the Requeſts, *Lewis Gayaut*, *Robert Boet*, *Euſtace Bellay*, lately a Member of the Court of Parliament, but then Biſhop of *Paris*, and *Anthony de Nouchy*, to try the Members of Parliament, which had been impriſoned. *Du Bourg* being interrogated by *Saint Andre*, refuſed to anſwer, *None of the Members of that Court being to be Tryed, but by the whole Court.* Whereupon *Bourdin* obtained a new Commiſſion from the King, commanding *Du Bourg* to plead before theſe Delegated Judges; and if he refuſed, that they ſhould take him for Convicted, and Guilty of Treaſon. He being thus deprived of his Priviledge, leſt he might ſeem to deſpiſe the King's Authority, and making a Proteſtation to ſave the Priviledge of others, the third Day after anſwered in ſuch manner, to all the Queſtions propoſed, that he ſeemed to differ very little from the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*; ſo without any other Witneſſes produced, he was by the Biſhop of *Paris* declared an Heretick, judged unworthy of the Sacerdotal Character, and delivered up to the Secular Power: From which Sentence he Appealed to the Archbiſhop of *Sens*.

Du Bourg firſt tried.

The ſad Condition of *France* during the Perſecution.

Whilſt theſe miſerable Men were thus perſecuted for their Religion; and their Favourers, Friends, and ſuch as had preſumed to ſpeak freely, were by Informers alſo brought in Queſtion; there was a ſad Face of Affairs in *France*, and a ſullen ſilence. The Court, in the interim was never more Jolly, the Preparations for a great Marriage filling it with Mirth and Bravery, which in a ſhort time too, had as lamentable a Concluſion. Among other things there was a Tilt prepared, and a Yard made for that purpoſe, not far from the *Baſtile*, in which the Members of the Parliament were then impriſoned. Some Days being ſpent in this Divertiſement,

June

June 29. the King would needs run againſt the Count of *Mongomery*, and they breaking their Lances, the Sight of the King's Helmet by accident flying up, he received a Wound in the Eye, and falling from his Horſe was latched by ſome of his Servants, and carried into a Tower belonging to the *Baſtile*. *It is ſaid, whilſt they carried him thither, he looked up, and remembring the Members of Parliament which he had committed there, ſaid; He feared he had done wrong to thoſe Innocent Men. The Cardinal of* Lorrain, who was preſent, angry at it, reply'd; *That Thought was put into his Mind by the Devil, the Enemy of Mankind: That he ought to be careful of his Motions, and continue conſtant in his Faith.* Whether this were ſo or no, I will not affirm, (ſaith *Thuanus*, my Author) becauſe I am reſolved to write nothing without good Authority: The Phyſicians ſaying too, That in theſe kinds of Wounds the Speech is loſt. At the Report of this Accident *Andrew Veſale*, a Famous Phyſician was preſently ſent from *Bruſſels* by King *Philip*, that he might however ſhew his Good-will to this Prince: But he came too late, the King dying *July* 2. when he had lived forty Years, three Months and eleven Days, and reigned twelve Years and three Months. The Marriage between *Margaret* his Siſter and *Philbert* Duke of *Savoy*, was hereupon haſted, that it might be finiſhed before his Death, and Celebrated it was without any Pomp or Magnificence. 1559. *Henry* II, of *France* ſlain.

There was great variety of Opinions, ſome extolling his Life beyond Reaſon, as Martial and Brave, and his Conqueſts, by which he had enlarged his Kingdom, adding to it a great part of *Italy*, *Scotland* and *Corſica*: That having obtained a Victory againſt *Charles* V, at *Renty*, he had reduced that Great Prince to the Thoughts of a Retreat to a Private Life. That out of his rare Reſpect to the Church of *Rome*, (*not regarding his Oath*) he had renewed the War and ſuccoured *Paul* IV. That recalling his Army out of *Italy*, he had been able to defend *France* againſt the united Forces of King *Philip*, and *Mary* of *England*, and at laſt had ended the War, at leaſt by an uſeful Treaty; and by the Marriages of his Daughter and Siſter, had ſecured the Publick Peace. Others ſaid he had violated the Glory of his Juſt Arms by breaking the Truce, and involved himſelf (by the Fault of others) in an unjuſt and unproſperous War, ſpent vaſt Treaſures, and loſt the Flower of his Kingdom: That the Peace was Deſirable, but very Diſhonourable; and the Marriage only a Covering for the infamy of the Conceſſions: And that as he delighted too much in War, ſo he periſhed diſhonourably like a common Soldier: His *Miſſes*, who reigned rather than he, his Prodigality and Luxury were not forgotten: And the abundance of *Poets* then in *France*, was taken for an Inſtance of the Corruptions of the Times. The various Characters of *Henry* II, of *France*.

To ſpeak freely without Love or Hatred, he was a Warlike Prince, and too little affected to the Arts of Peace; but then he was ſoft and eaſie, and governed too much by others. *Wiſe Men then thought* there would follow a War, his Children being very yong, his Wife Ambitious, and the Court divided by Faction: And this accordingly came to paſs, and brought forty Years of great Calamity upon *France*. But I ſhall for the future be very ſhort in the French Affairs, referring the Reader to *Davila*, and other Writers, of the Civil Wars of *France*. The Reader may be pleaſed to know, That I have in all this followed *Thuanus*, abridging him in ſome Places, and in others tranſcribing him at large.

The King being crowned, and the Dominion of the Queen Dowager as Guardian, and of the *Guiſes*, as Prime Miniſters, eſtabliſhed to the great Diſſatisfaction of the Princes and Nobility of *France*, the next Care was to carry on the Perſecution againſt the Proteſtants: *Oliver* the Chancellor was imployed againſt the Members of the Parliament, which were impriſoned at the time of the King's Death, and *S. Andre*, and *Anthony de Mouchy* againſt the reſt of the People; who, that they might ſpread the terror of their Names over the whole Nation, thought fit to begin with *Paris*. Their principal Blood-hounds were *Ruſſanges*, and *Claude David*, two Mechanicks, and one *George Renard*, a Taylor, who had all three profeſſed the Reformed Religion; and were now imployed, as beſt acquainted with theſe Men. They drew in two Apprentices ſhortly after, who had deſerted their Maſters: And theſe, to gain the greater Applauſe, confeſſed not only that they had Nocturnal Meeting, but (which ſaith *Thuanus*, was a notorious Lie) that they at them uſed promiſcuous Conjunctions after the Candles were put out. And this Impudent Story created a great Deteſtation of the Proteſtants, in the Minds of the deluded Catholicks, whoſe Ears were open to theſe kinds of Miſrepreſentations. This lye was carried on with great Induſtry, and theſe two Wretches were led firſt to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and then to the Queen, to communicate this rare Secret, *Francis* II, a Lad of ſixteen Years of Age, ſucceeds him. And the Perſecution goes on. Slaunders againſt the Proteſtants.

1559. no Man daring to contradict it. The Queen, who was never a Friend to the Proteſtants, from henceforth was more than ever enraged againſt them: But *Oliver*, the Chancellor, ſuſpecting the Story, examined theſe Lads ſeparately, and by their Varying and Contradicting each other, found it to be a mere Lye. But when it was diſcovered ſo to be, they went unpuniſhed, the Hatred againſt the Sectaries drowning the Voice of Publick Juſtice.

However, the Places of Meeting being thus diſcovered, great Numbers of Men and Women were taken and impriſoned, and others left the Kingdom, whoſe Goods were ſeized and confiſcated. Many Children were left by their Parents, which filled the Streets with their Cries and Lamentations, to the great Affliction of almoſt all Men. This Example was ſoon after followed at *Poictiers*, *Toloſe*, *Aix*, and generally in the Province of *Narbonne*, *George d' Armagnac*, the Archbiſhop of that See, a Cardinal, imploying all his Intereſt and Induſtry, that the ſuſpected might be taken up. They were by this time become ſo numerous, that their very Number gave them Boldneſs, which being thus exaſperated, vented it ſelf in ſevere Reflections on the King, Queen and *Guiſes*; in which there ſeemed to be more than a private Anger and Liberty.

Other Slanders ſpread againſt the poor perſecuted Proteſtants.

The King of *France* had been a long time afflicted with a tedious Quartane Ague, but overgrowing that Diſeaſe, he ſhot up in heighth, and grew apace, but was very Pale, and of a ſickly Conſtitution; being removed to *Blois*, which was his Native Air, his Face of a ſudden was overſpread with Redneſs, Spots and Carbuncles, whereupon a Report was raiſed, That he had the Leproſie, and that a great number of Children, of leſs than ſix Years of Age, had been torn out of the Arms of their Mothers about the *Loire*, to make a Bath of their Blood for the Cure of the King. It was uncertain whether the *Guiſes* or their Enemies had invented this Story, for different Ends; but the Blame of it was certainly caſt upon the Proteſtants, and the King by that means was exaſperated againſt them by the *Guiſes*. The Proteſtants, on the other ſide, put out a Book, to ſhew that this Story was invented and fathered on them by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. And after this one of the Spreaders of this Report being executed for it, averred with his laſt Breath, That he had Orders from the Cardinal ſo to do.

Du Bourg condemned to Death.

In the mean time the Proceſs was carried warmly on, againſt *Anna du Bourg*, and the reſt of the Members of the Parliament, who were Priſoners in the *Baſtile*; who were ſent thither by the Orders of *Henry* II. *Du Bourg* had appealed firſt to the Parliament of *Paris*, and after to the Archbiſhop of *Sens*; but his Plea was overruled by both, and the Sentence of the Biſhop of *Paris* was alſo confirmed by the Archbiſhop of *Lions*. He declared himſelf willing, after this to be degraded, *That the Sign of the Beaſt in the* Revelation *being blotted out, he might have nothing of Antichriſt left in him:* However, this variety of Appeals prolonged their Proceſs ſome Months. After this he ſent them a plain Confeſſion of his Faith, which agreed in all things with that of *Geneva*. *Frederick* Elector, and Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, alſo ſo far eſpouſed his Cauſe, as to write a Letter to the King in his behalf; deſiring his Life might be ſpared, and that he might be ſent to him. *December* 18. *Anthony Minart* the Preſident was ſhot dead, in the Night, as he returned Home, which was charged upon *du Bourg*, as done by his Procurement; becauſe he had foretold, That he would be forced from giving Sentence againſt him, if he did not willingly forbear it, upon his challenging him as his ſuſpected Enemy. However, it haſtened the Sentence of Death againſt *du Bourg*, who heard it with great conſtancy of Mind, he ſaying, *He pardoned his Judges, who had pronounced it according to their Conſciences, tho' contrary to the Word of God, and found Knowledge. At laſt he adviſed them to extinguiſh theſe their Fires and repent of their Sins, and taking his Leave of them ſaid, He went willingly to the Stake.* From thence he was carried in a Cart to the Place of Execution, and having ſpoken a few Words to the People, was firſt hanged and afterwards burnt. He only ſaid, *My God forſake me not, that I may not forſake thee.* He was 38 Years old, and was born at *Riom* in *Auvergne*, of a Rich and Noble Family, *Anthony du Bourg*, a Branch of which had been Chancellor of *France* under *Francis* I. He took his Degrees at *Orleance*; and was eſteemed a good Lawyer, and an upright Judge, and many of the moſt zealous Catholicks interceeded for him, during his Impriſonment, and his Death was deplored by many very heartily. His Conſtancy partly confirmed and partly exaſperated the Minds of the Proteſtants; *ſo that from his Aſhes there ſprung up a Crop of Rebellions and Conſpiracies, which for a long time kept this once moſt flouriſhing Kingdom in a low condition.* The reſt of the Members were reſtored, by the Court at laſt; *de Thou*, one of the Members of

Minart a Perſecutor ſlain.

Du Bourg led to Execution.

His Character.

The reſt of the Members of Parliament were reſtored.

of that Court oppoſing, and at length maſtering the more bloody *Guiſians*. The meaner People, who being then in Priſon, were diſpatched with leſs Difficulty, ſome being condemned to Death, others to Renuntiation, and others to Baniſhment. 1559.

Images erected in the Streets to be Worſhiped.

About the ſame time there was another Project ſet on foot in *France*, they erected Images of the Saints and Virgin *Mary* in the Streets and Market Places, and burnt Candles before them in the day-time, ſinging Songs to their Honour, and ſeting Cheſts, and if any paſſed by without giving Money and worſhiping the Images, he was preſently ſet upon by the Rabble as an Heretick, and he eſcaped well if he was only beaten and trodden into the Channel, and loſt not his Life: Which only ſerved to irritate and unite the Proteſtants the more.

King *Philip* prepares for *Spain*.

King *Philip* having made a Peace with *France*, reſolved this Year to return into *Spain*; in order to this he came to *Gaunt*, and there ſummoned a Chapter of the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*; from thence he went to *Zealand*, committing the Government of the *Netherlands* to *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Parma*, the Wife of *Octavio*, his Siſter, with a guard of 3500 *Spaniards*, which were all diſtributed on the Borders of *France*, in the Fronteer Towns. After the Peace he had principally imployed *Granvel* Biſhop of *Arras*, who had adviſed him to leave this Guard, for fear of the *Lutherans*, which were very numerous in theſe Provinces, by reaſon of their Neighbourhood to *Germany*. The principal Care of theſe Countries was committed to *William* Prince of *Orange*, and the Count of *Egmont*, who were Men of great Birth, and had particularly deſerved well of *Philip*, in his laſt War with *France*; theſe remonſtrated againſt the leaving of the *Spaniards*, and freely ſaid; *They had not much mended their Condition, if when they had preſerved their Country with their Swords, they muſt now be expoſed in Peace, to the ſervile Yoke of Foreign Forces and an Inſolent Soldiery.* King *Philip* was inwardly diſpleaſed with this Liberty, yet ſuppreſſed his Reſentment; and that he might not ſeem to go thence offended with theſe Great Men; he promiſed to withdraw thoſe Forces within four Months. After this he took Shipping at *Fluſhing*, *Auguſt* 26. being attended by a Fleet of 90 Ships. He met with ſo great a Tempeſt on the Shoars of *Gallicia*, that the Ship in which he went, periſhed, the King being hardly got out of her into a ſmall Bark, that waited upon him. *Thuanus* ſaith, *He aſcribed his Delivery to Heaven, and ſaid, He was preſerved by the ſingular Providence of God to extirpate* Lutheraniſm: And *Meteren*, That this Tempeſt was an Omen of the great Calamities that attended him and his States, a great part of the Fleet being Shipwrecked.

He takes Ship at *Fluſhing*.

He raiſeth a great Perſecution in *Spain*.

He ſoon fell to the Work he believed God had call'd him, and began with the extirpation of *Hereſie*; ſome few had been put to Death before his arrival, here and there; but the greateſt part were kept, that he might have the joy of ſeeing them burnt at *Vallidolid* and *Seville*. *September* 24. this pompous Shew was begun in the Perſon of *John Ponce*, a Son of the Count *de Baylen*, who was brought forth with great State, and burnt as an *Obſtinate Lutheran*; and with him *John Gonſalo*, a Preacher: After theſe *Iſabella Vernia*, *Maria Viroeſia*, *Cornelia* and *Bohorquia*, which was a Spectacle of great Compaſſion and Envy, the laſt of theſe being not above 21 Years old, yet ſuffering with great Conſtancy. After theſe followed *Ferdinad de St. Jean*, and *Julian Ferdinando*, *John de Leone* and *Frances Chaveſia* a Nun, *Chriſtopher Loſada*, a Phyſician. and *Chriſtopher de Arles* a Monk, and *Garſia de Arras*. This laſt was the Man, who had brought that Spark into *Spain*, and by his conſtant and learned Preaching, improved it ſo far, that he had brought over to his Opinion the greateſt Part of the Monks of S. *Iſiodore*, and of the Inhabitants of *Seville*: yet afterwards he had deſerted his Companions, and diſputed againſt them too before the Inquiſitors; but being at laſt convinced of the Wickedneſs of it, he repented; and being brought before the Inquiſitors, reproached them as fitter for *Mule-Drivers* than Judges of the true Faith, of which they were brutiſhly Ignorant, tho' they impudently aſſumed that Title and Office. *Giles* and *Conſtantio* were reſerved to bring up the Reere, but they both died, yet their Bodies were burnt. This laſt was Confeſſor to *Charles* V, in the laſt two Years of his Life and Retirement: Soon after his Death he was impriſoned, and died in durance. His Body was carried about in a preaching Poſture, and the dreadful ghaſtly look it had brought, Tears from ſome, whilſt others laughed at the theatrical Hypocriſie and Bloody Folly of the Monks.

Conſtantio, the Confeſſor of *Charles* V, burnt after he was dead.

From hence this Cruel Scene was removed to *Vallidolid* in *October* following, where in the preſence of *Philip*, 28 of the Principal Nobility of that Country were bound to Stakes, and moſt Catholickly and Charitably burnt. Whether *Thuanus* were weary of the former Cruelties, or wanted exact Informations of the Particulars of

Twenty eight Nobles burnt at *Vallidolid*.

1559. this laſt, I cannot ſay, but the laſt is moſt probable; but however he gives none of their Names or Qualities, and ſaith there was ſome Variation in the Time. Thus *Spain* was preſerved from *Hereſie* (as they call it) not by the Learning or Piety of the Clergy, but the Bloody Zeal of King *Philip*.

The Death of Pope *Paul* IV. Pope *Paul* IV, being worn out with Years, and very much afflicted with a Dropſie, *July* 29 ſent for the Cardinals, and told them, He was going the way of all Fleſh; and having adviſed them to choſe a good Succeſſor, recommended to them *The moſt Holy Office of the Inquiſition* (as he called it) *which was the only thing that could preſerve that moſt Holy See*. He, after this, pointed in another Diſcourſe to King *Philip*, whom he ſaid God had raiſed up as the great Defender of the Catholick Faith; and he added, That he did not doubt but the Chriſtian Religion would by his Counſels, however now afflicted, be reſtored to its Ancient State. He dyed *Auguſt* 18. aged 83 Years, having ſat Pope four Years, two Months and twenty three Days. Whilſt he was yet dying, the People broke open all the Priſons, eſpecially thoſe of the Inquiſition, which they alſo ſet on Fire, and they were hardly reſtrained from burning the Palace of *Minerva*, where that Court Sits; with the ſame Fury they beat down the Image of the Pope, and broke off its Head and Right-hand, and three Days it lay expoſed in the Streets, to the Contempt and Scorn of all Men, after which it was thrown into the *Tiber*. After this the Arms of the *Caraffa*'s were demoliſhed all over the Town. His Body was buried with little Pomp, and a Guard of Soldiers drawn up to ſecure it from the Rage of the Populace.

The People of *Rome* expreſs their Hatred of him and the Inquiſition.

The Deaths of ſeveral Princes. It is obſerved, That this Year was fatal to the Princes of *Europe*, *Auguſt* 17, *Lawrence Prioly* Duke of *Venice* died, and was ſucceeded by *Jerome*, his own Brother, his rare Virtues diſpenſing with the *Venetian* Laws, of not ſuffering Honours to continue in the ſame Family, leſt they might ſeem Hereditary. *September* 1, died *Hercules di Eſte* Duke of *Ferrara*, he married *Renata*, a Daughter of *Lewis* XII, King of *France*; and was happy in all his Government, except his taking part with *Henry* II, in that unjuſt War againſt King *Philip*; as *Thuanus* calls it: But he was happy in this, That by his Prudence he extricated himſelf, and came off with little or no Damage, in his Treaty of Peace, with that Potent and provoked Prince.

February 12. died *Otho Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and was ſucceeded by *Frederick* III. *April* 29 died *Francis Otho*, Duke of *Lunenburg*. *January* 24, died *William* Prince of *Henneberg*; ſo that within the ſpace of one Year died *Charles* V, two Kings of *Denmark*, a King of *France*, a Duke of *Venice*, a Pope, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and three Queens, *Helionora* of *France*, *Mary* of *Hungary*, and *Bona Sfortia* Queen of *Poland*.

Pius IV, elected. The Conclave was very much divided in the Election of a new Pope, between the *French* and *Spaniſh* Factions, each Side labouring to have a Pope of their own Intereſt; So that this Conteſt laſted three Months; till at laſt the Embaſſadors of the other Princes began to remonſtrate, That this long Delay tended only to the improving the Differences in Religion, and the increaſing the Enemies of that See. At laſt, after a Vacancy of four Months and ſeven Days, *John Angelo Medici* was elected, *December* 26. by the Suffrage of forty four Cardinals. He was born at *Milan*, of obſcure Parents, and took the Name of *Pius* IV: He began his Reign with a Pardon of the Inſolencies the People of *Rome* had committed upon the Arms and Statue of Pope *Paul* IV, his Predeceſſor: But he ſoon changed, for he that till then had ſeemed the moſt Courteous, Patient, Good, Grateful and Liberal of Men, preſently became quite another Man, and took up other Manners: He reſcinded all the Acts of his Predeceſſor, and preſently acknowledged the Imperial Dignity to be lawfully inveſted in *Ferdinand*, the Brother of *Charles* V, and received his Embaſſadors with great Civility and Reſpect.

He changeth his Manners to the Worſe.

Scotch Affairs. To return near Home, the Proteſtant Religion was already received in all Parts of *Scotland*, eſpecially in the Towns and Families of the Nobility and Gentry, tho' in ſecret; but Queen *Elizabeth* having entertained the Reformed Religion, and ſetled it in *England*, they thence preſumed ſhe would be a ſure Friend to thoſe of that Perſuaſion in *Scotland*: And a Parliament being called to open *May* 10. 1559. at *Sterling*, *Alexander Cunigham* Earl of *Glencarn*, and Sir *Hugh Cambel*, an eminent Knight, and Sheriff of *Aire*, appeared there in the behalf of the Miniſters of the Reformed Religion, who had been ſummoned to appear there by the Regent; who was now reſolved to diſſemble no longer, but to excert her Authority, and ſhew her Zeal in their Ruine; accordingly ſhe threatned them ſeverely, and ſaid; She would baniſh all their Preachers, who under pretence of Religion promoted a Rebellion.

bellion. The Deputies amazed with her great Words, oppoſed Supplications, remembring her of her Promiſes; to which ſhe ſamedly replyed, *That the Promiſes of Princes were not to be expected to be fulfilled further than agreed with their Convenience.* A Myſtery which ſhe ought not to have revealed however, if her Anger had not broken open the Receſſes of her Heart. At this the two Deputies replyed, by *Glencarne*, That *if ſhe would keep no Promiſe, they would acknowledge her no more, but renounce their Obedience to her, the Miſchief of which ſhe ought ſeriouſly to conſider.* The Boldneſs and Briskneſs of this Anſwer abated the Regents Anger and Courage, and ſhe ſeemed much calm'd, and replyed; *I will conſider of it.* The news of this being carried that Night to S. *John's-Town*, the Inhabitants of it met that Night openly in their Churches, and had Sermons. The Queen Regent thereupon ordered all the Miniſters, who were come as far as that City, but attended by vaſt Numbers of the Nobility, Gentry and Commons, in order to their appearing in the Parliament, to return Home, ſaying; *She would not proceed in the Citation*; yet afterward ſhe declared them Rebels for not appearing. This made many leave her and go over to the Proteſtants. Whereupon ſhe commanded one *James Halyburton*, Mayor of *Dundee*, to apprehend one *Meſan* a Preacher, who thought to have lien hid in that Place; and ordered the People to celebrate *Eaſter-Sunday*, after the ancient manner. When in this no body would obey her, one *Areskin* of *Dundee* went over to them, and aſſured them, The Regent was ſo exaſperated, that there was nothing but Ruine to be hoped for at her Hands; and that ſhe had no regard to her Promiſe: Thereupon they all reſolved to diſſemble no longer with her, but to *uſe Force againſt Force.* One *John Knox*, a bold and violent Preacher, further inflamed their over-heated Minds by a Seditious Sermon. The Nobility going to Dinner from the Sermon, a Quarrel aroſe in the Church, and the Prieſt that interpoſed being ſeverely treated, the Rabble fell upon the Statues and Altars, and deſtroy'd them in a moment; after this, they fell upon the *Franciſcan* and *Dominican* Abbeys, where they alſo deſtroy'd the Images and Altars. The next that ſuffered was the *Carthuſian* Abbey, which they demoliſh'd ſo intirely in two days (though very great) that the Foot-ſteps of its Foundations were not eaſily to be diſcovered. 1559.

The Regent was by this time as much incenſed as they; and ſwore, *She would revenge this Villany with the Blood of the Inhabitants, and the Ruin of the Town.* But in the *interim* the Example ſpread, and the ſame things were reacted at *Cupre* in *Fife.* The Regent having aſſembled ſome Forces under *Hamilton* Earl of *Argile*, and the Earl of *Athole*, marched eaſily towards St. *John's-Town*, that the Cannon might overtake them. But the Inhabitants of that Place writing to their Friends what was doing, he Earl of *Glencarne* came preſently to their Aſſiſtance, with Two thouſand five hundred Horſe and Foot. And ſhortly after they had Seven thouſand Men in Arms againſt her; ſo that ſhe now ſaw that Force would not do, upon which ſhe ſent the Lord *James Steward* Prior of St. *Andrews*, and one *Cambell* (who tho' *Proteſtants*, continued in their Obedience to her) to treat with the Earl of *Glencarne* and *Areskin*, who agreed, *May* 29, *That all Forces being diſcharged, the Town ſhould be ſet open to the Regent, that ſhe might refreſh her ſelf a few days in it: That no* French *ſhould yet enter into it, nor come near it by three Miles: That all other Controverſies ſhould be determined in the next Parliament.* Whereupon ſhe entred the Town, and was honourably received. But one of the Inhabitants being ſlain by an inſolent Soldier, and the Regent expreſſing not any Concern for it; They from thence concluded the Treaty would not be long obſerved, and accordingly about three days after ſhe ordered the Town to be ſack'd, chang'd the Magiſtrates, and reſtoring the mercenary *Scots*, ſworn to and paid by the *French.* Being hereupon urged with her Promiſe, ſhe anſwer'd, *That Promiſe was not to be kept with Hereticks, and if ſhe could make an honeſt Excuſe after the Fact committed, ſhe would take upon her Conſcience to kill and undo all that Sect*; concluding, *That Princes ought not to have their Promiſes ſo ſtrictly urged upon them*; and then went back to *Sterling.* The Convenience and Strength of the Place, made her think it worth the breach of her Faith to them; but the Lord *James Steward* the Prior of St. *Andrew*, and the Earl of *Argile*, were ſo offended with this Procedure, that they left her, and went over to the *Proteſtants*, and gave them notice that ſhe intended to Garriſon *Cupre* and St. *Andrews*, in *Fife*, with *Frenchmen.* Whereupon they deſtroyed the *Franciſcan* and *Dominican* Abbies of the laſt City under the Archbiſhop's *Eyes*, yet he durſt not ſhew the leaſt diſcontent at it, but fled into *Faulkland.* The Regent aſſembled all the *French* ſhe had in the Kingdom, which were two thouſand, and one thouſand *Scots*, and march'd for *Cupre* the Thirteenth of *June.* The Earl of *Argile*, on the other ſide, brought in

1559. in one thouſand *Proteſtants* to the Relief of St. *Andrews*, and *Patrick Lermoth* Bailiff of the Regality, their Chief Officer, levied five hundred more of the Inhabitants of St. *Andrews*, and before Ten of the Clock the next Morning there were above three thouſand Horſe and Foot, which being drawn up to the beſt Advantage upon the Banks of a ſmall River by Mr. *James Halleburton*, Provoſt of *Dundee*, a Man of good Experience and Valour, and therefore made General that day, made ſo formidable an Appearance, that the Regent durſt not hazard a Battel againſt them. By this time ſhe ſaw, to her Coſt, how neceſſary it was for Princes not to break their Faith. For when ſhe would have gladly come to Peace, there could no reliance be made upon her Promiſe, and ſhe had nothing elſe to engage. And when they demanded the *French* might be ſent away, ſhe ſaid that ſhe could not do it without order from the King of *France*. So ſhe was deſired to withdraw the Garriſon out of St. *John's-Town*; which when ſhe refuſed, the *Proteſtants* marched thither the Twenty fourth of *June*, and in a few days took it. From thence they march'd to the Abbey of *Scone*, and took and ſack'd it; and being informed the Regent deſigned to put a *French* Garriſon into *Sterling*, they went in the night from St *John's-Town* thither, and ſurprized it, and ruined all the Monaſteries, Images and Altars. They alſo changed the Religion at *Lithgo*, in the way to *Sterling*, and whereſoever they prevail'd. The Regent and the *French* in the mean time retired from *Edinburg* to *Dunbar*, expecting till this Storm ſhould blow over, and here they heard of the Death of *Henry* II of *France*: The *Proteſtants* rejoyced at it, as a thing that tended to their Safety, but had like to have made it the occaſion of their Ruine, by withdrawing from the Army. The Regent thereupon marched with her Forces to *Edinburg*, and in the way had a fair opportunity to have fought and overthrown the remainder of their Army, which was prevented by the Duke of *Hamilton*, and *James* Earl of *Dowglaſs*. The Twenty fourth of *July* a Truce was made to laſt till the Tenth of *January*, which the Regent obſerved ſo much the more exactly, becauſe ſhe found by Experience that the former breach of Promiſe had involved her in greater Difficulties and Diſtreſſes. Yet even here ſhe could not totally lay aſide her old wont, but broke Faith as far as ſhe durſt.

Linlithgow.

The *Engliſh* Affairs relating to *Scotland.*

It is neceſſary here to Tranſcribe ſome of our *Engliſh* Affairs which relate to *Scotland*, that we may ſee how far, and upon what Provocations Queen *Elizabeth* was concern'd. *Henry* II, of *France* had no ſooner ended his War with King *Philip*, but he began to caſt an Eye upon *England*, as very convenient for the Dauphin King his Son, and *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, and on that Account refuſed to recall the *French* Forces out of *Scotland*, as by the laſt Treaty he had promiſed; but inſtead of that, he ſent more thither by ſtealth, and was very earneſt with the Pope to declare Queen *Elizabeth* an Heretick and Illegitimate, and *Mary* the Lawful Heir of *England*; which yet was diligently but under-hand oppos'd by the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* Agents at *Rome*. However the *Guiſes* never left exciting the credulous and ambitious Hopes of that Prince, of Uniting the Crown of *England* to that of *France*, by the means of Queen *Mary* their Heir, till at laſt they prevail'd on him to aſſert openly the Pretences of his Son and Daughter-in-Law, and to conſent they might uſe this Title, *Francis and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of Scotland England and Ireland*, and to quarter the Arms of *England* with thoſe of *Scotland*, upon their Plate, and on the Walls of their Palaces, and the Coats of their Heraulds. The *Engliſh* Embaſſador complain'd of this, but to no purpoſe, as tending to the great Injury of his Miſtreſs, with whom they had lately made a Peace, they having never done it in the Life of Queen *Mary*, though there was a War between the Nations: That there were great numbers of Soldiers Liſted in *France* and *Germany* to be Tranſported into *Scotland* upon the ſame Continent with *England*. So that Queen *Elizabeth* had juſt reaſon to ſuſpect the Intentions of the *French*, who now breathed nothing but Blood and Death againſt the *Proteſtants*; but that Prince's Deſigns, whatever they were, periſhed with him, to the great Advantage of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had otherwiſe been attack'd by all the Forces of *France* and *Scotland*, both as *Illigitimate* and an *Heretick*. Yet ſhe ordered his Exequies to be celebrated at St. *Paul's* with great Solemnity, and by *Charles* Son to the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* her Envoy, condol'd his Death, congratulated the Succeſſion of *Francis* his Son, and promis'd to obſerve the Peace between them religiouſly.

Fradcis II, of *France*, claims *England* in the Right of *Mary* his Wife.

Yet *Francis* the new King, and *Mary* his Wife, the Queen of the *Scots*, (by the Advice of the *Guiſes*, who now had got the Government of *France*, in a manner, into their Hands) ſtill continued the Claim of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the uſe of the Arms thereof more openly. And when *Throgmorton*, the Engliſh

Embaſſadour

Embaſſadour in ordinany, a Wiſe and Stout Man, ſeverely expoſtulated the Buſi- 1559.
neſs. They replyed, Queen *Mary* might aſſume the Arms of *England* with ſome ſmall Diſtinction, to ſhew her near Relation to that Royal Blood. But he denyed this could be done by the Laws of Heraldry, if the Perſon uſing the Arms of another Family was not derived from a certain Heir. After this they pretended, They only uſed theſe Arms, to force the Queen to lay aſide the uſe of the Arms of *France*. To which he anſwered, That twelve Kings of *England* (as Dr. *Woton* ſhewed in the Treaty of *Cambray*) had worn the Arms of *France*, with ſo undoubted a Right, that no oppoſition had been made to it in any Treaty between *France* and *England*. At laſt, by the Interpoſition of *Montmorancy*, who was no Friend to the *Guiſes*, he prevailed, and the Title of *England* and *Ireland*, and the uſe of the Arms of thoſe Kingdoms was laid aſide, becauſe that great Man thought, It was not for the Honour of *France* to have any other Title or Arms aſſumed or engraven on their Seal than that of the King of *France*. That this one Title was as good as many: And he alſo ſhewed, That the former Kings uſed no other, tho' they claimed the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. But however, from this Uſe of the Title and Arms of *England* impoſed on this young Queen, by the Arts of the *Guiſes*, and the Ambition of *Henry* II, as from a Fountain, ſprung all theſe Calamities, which afterwards ruined her: For from this Time Queen *Elizabeth* was a declared Enemy to the *Guiſes*, and a concealed one to the Queen of *Scots*; which laſt enmity, was by the Malice of cunning Men, a growing Emulation, and new Occaſions, which every day ſprung up, ſo improved, that at laſt it ended in her Death. *For Princes will endure no Rival, and Majeſty is very ſenſible of Affronts.*

The *French* by the Treaty were to give four Hoſtages for the Reſtitution of *Calais* within eight Years; but when it was to be done, they would give but three. The *Engliſh* Merchants were ill uſed in *France*: A Servant of *Throcmorton*'s, the Embaſſadour, was ſent by *Francis*, Grand Prior of *France*, the Brother of *Guiſe*, publickly to the Gallies: A Piſtol was diſcharged againſt the Embaſſadour, in his own Lodgings: And he had no Plate allowed him, for his Table, but what had the Arms of *England* engraven on it, in contempt: *Du Broſſay* was alſo ſent with Supplies of *French* into *Scotland*: And the Gallies of *France* were brought from *Marſille* in the *Mediterrancan* into the *Britiſh* Seas. The *French* Provocations againſt the *Engliſh*.

This was the State of Affairs between *France* and *England*, when the Troubles of *Scotland* broke out, and the Lords of the *Articles* ſent *William Maitland* their Secretary; who made a deplorable Repreſentation of the State of that Kingdom to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſetting forth; That ſince the Marriage of their Queen to the Dauphine of *France*, the Government of *Scotland* had been changed, the *French* Soldiers laid all waſte; *The principal Employments* were given to Frenchmen, their Forts and Caſtles put into their Hands, and their Money adulterated to their Advantage. That the Deſign was apparently to poſſeſs themſelves of *Scotland*, if the Queen ſhould happen to die without Iſſue. *Cecil* (who was the Queens Prime Miniſter) imployed *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, to find out what the Lords of the Articles deſigned; and what Means they had to attain their Ends; and upon what Terms they expected Succours from *England*. They ſaid, 'They deſired nothing but the Glory of Jeſus Chriſt, the ſincere Preaching of the Word of God, the extirpation of Superſtition and Idolatry, the Reſtraint of the Fury of Perſecution, and the Preſervation of their ancient Liberties. That they knew not for the preſent how to effect this; but they hoped the Divine Goodneſs, which had begun the Work, would bring it to its deſired End, with the Confuſion of their Enemies: That they earneſtly deſired to enter into a Friendſhip with the Queen of *England* to the Preſervation of which they would Sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes. The *Scotch* Complaints againſt the *French*.

The Conſideration of theſe things was not warmly entertained in *England*, becauſe the *Scots* had little Money, and were not over-well cemented among themſelves; ſo they were only adviſed, Not to enter raſhly into a War. But as ſoon as the *Engliſh* knew that the Marqueſs of *Elboeuf*, the Queen of *Scots* Unkle, was liſting Men in *Germany* by the *Rhinegrave*, for a War in *Scotland*, That Cannons were ſent to the Ports, and Preparations made to conquer that Kingdom, and that in greater Quantities than ſeemed neceſſary to reduce a few unarmed *Scots*: That the *French*, to draw the *Danes* into this War, had proffered, That the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould renounce his Right to *Denmark*: And that they were renewing their Solicitations with the Pope, To give a declaratory Sentence for the Queen of *Scots* Queen *Elizabeth* holds off at firſt; but,

againſt

1559. at laſt is forced to unite with the Proteſtants of *Scotland*.

againſt the Queen of *England*: Thereupon Sir *Ralph Sadler*, a wiſe Man, was ſent to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Governour of the middle Marches, on the Borders of *Scotland*, to aſſiſt him, and Sir *James Croft*, Governour of *Berwick*. The *Engliſh* Council could not ſee whither all this tended, unleſs the *French* deſigned to invade the Kingdom of *England*, as well as aſſume the Title and Arms of it.

Reaſons aſſigned for the driving the *French* out of *Scotland*.

Upon this the Council of *England* began to conſider in good earneſt, and with great Application of the *Scotch* Affairs, it was thought a thing of very ill and dangerous Example, that one Prince ſhould undertake the Protection of the Subjects of another Prince, who were in Rebellion: But then it was thought impious not to aſſiſt thoſe of the ſame Religion, when perſecuted for it. And it was certainly a great Folly, to ſuffer the *French*, the ſworn Enemies of *England*, when they challenged the Kingdom of *England* too, and were at Peace with all the reſt of the World, to continue armed in *Scotland*, which lay ſo near and convenient for the Invaſion of *England*, on that ſide which had the greateſt number of *Roman* Catholicks, both of the Nobility and Commons. This was thought a betraying the Safety and Quiet of the whole Nation, in a very cowardly manner: And therefore it was concluded, It was no Time now for lazy Counſels; but that it was beſt to take up their Arms, and as the *Engliſh* Cuſtom was, To prevent their Enemies, and not ſtay till they ſhould begin with us. It was always as lawful to Prevent an Enemy as to repel him, and to defend our ſelves the ſame way that others Attack us. That *England* could never be Safe, but when it was Armed and Potent; and that nothing could contribute more to this End than the ſecuring it againſt *Scotland*. That in order to this the Proteſtants of *Scotland* were to be protected, and the *French* Forces driven out of it; and this was not to be done by Conſultations, but by Arms. That the neglect of theſe Methods had not long ſince loſt *Calais*, to our great Hindrance and Shame: That a little before, whilſt the *French* pretended to preſerve the Peace with great Fidelity, they had ſurprized the Fort of *Ambleteul*, and ſome other Places near *Bologne*, and by that means forced the *Engliſh* to ſurrender that important Place. That we muſt expect the ſame Fate would attend *Berwick*, and the other Fronteer Garriſons, if they did not forthwith take Arms, and not rely any longer on the *French* Pretences of maintaining the Peace, which were never to be believed, their Counſels being ſecret, their Ambition boundleſs, and their Revenues immenſe; ſo that it was then a Proverb in *England*, *France can neither be Poor nor Quiet three Years together*: And Queen *Elizabeth* was uſed to ſay that Expreſſion of *Valentinean* the Emperour was good, *Francum amicum habe, at non vicinum: Let a* Frank *be thy Friend, but not thy Neighbour.* So that upon the whole it was concluded, That it was Juſt, Honeſt, Neceſſary, and our Intereſt, to drive the *French*, as ſoon as was poſſible out of *Scotland*.

The War reſolved.

The War begun.

Hereupon *William Winter* Maſter-Gunner in the Fleet, was ſent with a Fleet to *Edinburgh Frith*, who to the great terror of the *French* fell upon their Ships of War on that Coaſt, and their Garriſon in the Iſle of *Inchkeith*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, then Lieutenant of the *North*, was alſo ſent towards *Scotland*, *William* Lord *Grey*, (who had well defended *Guines* againſt the *French*, tho unſucceſsfully) was made Governour of the *Eaſtern* and *Middle Marches*; and *Thomas* Earl of *Suſſex*, who had been *Lieutenant* of *Ireland* in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, was ſent thither again with the ſame Character; and commanded to have a particular care the *French* did not excite the barbarous and ſuperſtitious *Iriſh* to a Rebellion, under the Pretence of Religion.

The *French* in the *interim* were not idle, but the Regent reproach'd the *Lords of the Congregation* (ſo the *Proteſtants* were call'd) in a Proclamation, that they had brought *Engliſhmen* frequently into their Houſes, that came with Meſſages unto them, and returned Anſwers back to *England*; though they made no Anſwer to them, becauſe they did not think it convenient either to deny it, or openly to Avow it for the preſent; and the King of *France* and Queen *Mary* wrote each a diſtinct Letter to the Lord *James Stewart*, threatning him with Puniſhment as his wickedneſs deſerved, and by Word of Mouth let him know, *That he would rather loſe the Crown of* France, *than not be revenged on the Seditious Tumults raiſed in* Scotland. And one *Octavian*, a French Captain, landed ſoon after with a French Regiment, great Sums of Mony and Ammunition of War, and was forthwith ſent back by the Regent for one hundred Horſe, and four Ships of War; and in the mean time ſhe fell to Fortifie *Iſith* or *Leith*, expelling all the former Inhabitants, and making it a Colony of French only, it being a Sea-Port-Town, fit to receive Supplies, and a Place that might

might ſerve the French Companies for a Refuge, if they ſhould happen to be reduced to any great ſtreight. This was done about *September*, as appears by a Letter of the Nobility about it in that Month. The Regent's Reputation was by this time at ſo low an Ebb, that nothing ſhe ſaid was believed, and all ſhe offered ſuſpected. 1559.

About this time, *M. Pelleuce* Biſhop of *Amiens* (afterwards Biſhop of *Sens*) arrived at *Leith*, attended by three Doctors of the *Sorbon*, *Furmer*, *Brochet* and *Feretier*; he pretended he came to diſpute with the Preachers of the Congregation, and he ſent to ſome of the Nobility reſiding then at *Edinburg*, deſiring a Hearing: But for fear their Arguments might not prove ſo effectual as was expected, *Le Broche*, a French Knight, came over at the ſame time with two thouſand Foot to reinforce their *Sylogiſms*. The *Congregation-Nobility* reject however their armed Logick, and would have nothing to do with them. Four Divines, and two thouſand Men, ſent from *France* to Convert the *Scots*.

The Eighteenth of *October*, the Lords aſſembled their Forces at *Edinburg*, and the Regent, with the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, *Glaſgow*, *Dunkeld*, and the Lord *Seaton*, the ſame day entred *Leith*. And ſome Meſſages having paſs'd betwixt them, they proceeded ſo far at laſt as to ſuſpend the Queen-Regent's Commiſſion, diſcharging her of all Authority till the next Parliament, prohibiting the Officers to ſerve under her, or by colour of her Authority to exerciſe their Offices from thenceforth. This Decree bears Date the Twenty third of *October*. The Lords of *Scotland* Arm againſt them, and depoſe the Regent.

The Twenty fifth they ſummoned the Town of *Leith*, commanding all *Scots* and *Frenchmen* to depart within twelve hours. But failing in this Attempt, the Regent took *Edinburg*, and reſtored the Maſs there, and all thoſe of the contrary Religion were forced to flee into *England*, or where they could find ſhelter. Hereupon the Queen ſent for more Forces, and the Marquis *d'Elboeuf* was ſent from *Diep* with eighteen Enſigns of Horſe, which were diſperſed at Sea by Tempeſt, ſo that he arrived not at *Leith* before the Spring of the next year. She prevails over them.

The Lords retired firſt to *Sterling*, and then to *Glaſgow*, where they reform'd all things after their uſual manner; and in the mean time they ſent *William Maitland* and *Robert Melvil* to Queen *Elizabeth*, where at laſt they obtained what they deſigned in the manner I have expreſs'd.

The *French* hearing this, reſolved to ſuppreſs the Lords before the *Engliſh* ſhould come up to their Aſſiſtance, and thereupon began to waſte and ſpoil the Country to *Sterling*; but though they met with little Reſiſtance, yet they could not attain their End.

In *February* an Agreement was made between the *Engliſh* and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, ſent by the Lords for the Preſervation of the *Scotch* Liberties and Freedoms from a *French* Conqueſt, and for the Expulſion of the *French* Forces out of *Scotland*, the Articles of which were Sign'd the Twenty ſeventh of that Month. About this time the *Engliſh* Fleet, under Captain *Winter*, came up, and took all the *French* Ships in the Fyrth of *Edinburg*, which much amazed the *French* who were then marching for St. *Andrews*, by the Sea-ſide; whereupon they returned to *Leith*. About the ſame time, the *Lords of the Congregation* reformed *Aberdene*, but the Earl of *Huntley* coming up in good time, ſaved the Biſhop's Palace, which had elſe been *reformed* to the Ground. 1560. The *Scotch* Lords go on with their Reformation.

The *Engliſh* Land-Forces, to the number of two thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, entred *Scotland*, under the Command of the Lord *Gray*, in the beginning of *April*. The *Engliſh* at firſt beat the *French* into *Leith*, and battered the Town very diligently; but remitting in their Care and Induſtry, the *French* made a Sally out of *Leith*, and cut off a great number of the *Engliſh*, which made them more vigilant. The laſt of *April*, a Fire happened in the Town, which burnt the greateſt part of it, with much of the Soldiers Proviſions. The Seventh of *May* the Town was Storm'd, but the Ladders proving too ſhort, an hundred and ſixty of the *Engliſh* were ſlain, and nothing was gain'd. Soon after there came up two thouſand *Engliſh* more. The *Engliſh* Forces enter *Scotland*, and beſiege *Leith*.

In the mean time the *French* King ſent to Queen *Elizabeth*, that if ſhe would withdraw her Army out of *Scotland*, he would reſtore *Calais* to her: To which ſhe replied, *She did not value that Fiſher-Town ſo much, as to hazard for it the State of* Britain. Thereupon the *French* perceving no Peace could be had without the *French* were recall'd out of *Scotland*, and diſdaining to treat with the *Scots* who were their Subjects, they began a Treaty with the Queen of *England*. The *French* proffer to reſtore *Calais* to the *Engliſh*.

1560. The Death and Character of *Mary* Queen-Regent of *Scotland.*

In the mean time, *Mary* of *Lorain*, Queen Regent of *Scotland*, died in the Caſtle of *Edinburg*, the Tenth of *June*, partly of Sickneſs, and partly of Diſpleaſure: Before her Death, ſhe ſent for the Duke of *Waſtellerand*, the Earl of *Argile*, *Glencarne*, *Marſhall*, and the Lord *James*, and bewailing the Calamities of *Scotland*, prayed them to continue in Obedience to the Queen their Sovereign, and to ſend both the *French* and *Engliſh* out of the Kingdom; ſo asking their Pardon, and granting them hers, ſhe took her leave with many Tears, kiſſing the Nobility one by one, and giving the reſt her Hand to kiſs.

She was a Wiſe, Good, Religious Princeſs, full of Clemency and Charity, and would doubtleſs have prevented the Calamities of *Scotland*, which befel there in the end of her days, if ſhe had been left to her own Meaſures; but being governed by the Orders of *France*, ſhe was forced to do and ſay what ſhe did, to her great diſhonour and diſquiet, which too at laſt ended in the Ruine of thoſe ſhe moſt deſired to Promote, as it always happens in Breach of Faith. She would often ſay, *That if her own Counſel might take Place, ſhe doubted not but to compoſe all the Diſſention within that Kingdom, and to ſettle the ſame in a perfect Peace upon good Conditions.*

The *French* forced to leave *Scotland.*

Soon after her Death (or as *Thuanus* ſaith, a little before it) Embaſſadors from *France* and *England* came to *Edinburg*, who ſending for the *Scoth* Nobility, began to treat about the ſending the *French* out of *Scotland*; which was at laſt agreed, and the Sixteenth of *July* the *French* embark'd on the *Engliſh* Fleet for *France*; and the *Engliſh* Army the ſame day began their march by Land for *Berwick*, and the Fortifications of *Leith* and *Dunbar* were diſmantled; but ſixty *Frenchmen* were left to keep the Caſtle of *Dunbar*; and the ſame number the Ile of *Inchkeeth*, until the States ſhould find means to maintain the ſaid Forts upon their own Charges from all Peril of Foreign Invaſion.

A Parliament in *Scotland.*

In *Auguſt* the Parliament met, which eſtabliſhed a Confeſſion of Faith contrary to the *Roman* Religion, and paſs'd three other Acts, one for Aboliſhing the Pope's Juriſdiction and Authority, another for Repealing the Laws formerly made in favour of Idolatry, and a third for the Puniſhing the Hearers and Sayers of Maſs; and with theſe Acts Sir *James Sandelands* was ſent into *France* for the Royal Aſſent of the King and Queen, which was refuſed, and he ſeverely treated for undertaking that Embaſſy by the *Guiſes.*

A Conſpiracy in *France.*

The Oppreſſion of the Princes of the Blood in *France* by the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and of the *Proteſtants* by the *Roman Catholicks*, cauſed a dreadful Conſpiracy, which drew in all the deſperate People of that once moſt Fouriſhing Kingdom, to the great hazard of its Ruine. The concealed Head of this Conſpiracy was *Lewis* Prince of *Conde*, the apparent *Godfrey de la Barre*, *Sieur de Renaudie*, a Young Gentleman of an Ancient and Noble Family of *Perigort*, who falling into a long and ruinous Suit for a Living, which his Uncle had intercepted and detained from him in *Angoumois*, had not only been overthrown by his Oppoſite, but had alſo, for ſome fraud in the management, been ſeverely Fin'd and Baniſh'd for ſome time; he at *Lauſanne* and *Geneva* had contracted a Friendſhip with ſome others of his Country, who had fled thither on the account of Religion, by whom he had been brought over to that Perſuaſion; and after returning into *France* in diſguiſe, he had wandred over a great part of the Kingdom, and made many Friends of that Religion, and being a Stout, Subtil Man, and exaſperated by the things he had ſuffered, he undertook this dangerous Employment, willingly as a means to revenge the Wrongs he had undergon.

The Conſpiracy of *Blois* formed at *Nantes.*

The Conſpirators met the Firſt of *Febrnary*, at *Nantes*, in great numbers, on diverſe Pretences, and there form'd the fatal Deſign of *Blois*, for the Surprizing the King and the Court the Fifteenth of *March*, and the bringing the *Guiſes* to a Tryal for all their Encroachments on the *French* Privileges, and Abuſes of the Royal Authority. The whole Deſign is ſo well expreſſed in *Davila* his Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of *France*, that I ſhall rather refer the Reader thither for his Satisfaction in it, than attempt to reduce it into a Dark, and ſcarce perhaps Intelligible Compendium.

Thuanus his Reflection on this Conſpiracy.

It was very extraordinary, that before ever this Kingdom had in the leaſt been ſhaken by any Commotion, the Majeſty of the King, the Authrity of the Governors and Magiſtrates being all in their former vigor, that ſuch great numbers of Men, in all Parts of the Kingdom, ſhould enter into ſo unheard, ſo dangerous a Deſign. But ſuch was the Hatred they bore to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and the Deteſtation that all Men began to entertain of the bloody Practiſes againſt the *Proteſtants*, that though ſo very many were engaged in it, yet they all kept Faith each to other an[illegible]

and conceal'd the Secret; ſo that the *Guiſes* had notice of it from *Italy*, *Spain* and *Germany*, before any of their Spies in the Kingdom ſcented or ſuſpected it. 1559.

The diſcovery of the Conſpiracy.

At laſt one *Pierre Avanelles*, an Advocate of the Parliament of *Paris*, and a *Proteſtant*, rather out of pure Conſcience, for the preventing ſo great a Scandal and Miſchief, diſcovered this Conſpiracy to *Stephen L'Allemont Sieur de Vouzay*, Secretary to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, he having got knowledge of it from *La Renaudie*, the Chief Agent in it, who lodged in his Houſe. The King was then gone from *Blois* to *Ambois*, which was a ſmall and ſtrong Town, which had alſo a great and a very ſtrong Caſtle, and eaſily to be defended. Here *de Vouzay* acquainted the King and the Council with it, and was immediately Impriſon'd, to be produced as a Witneſs againſt the Conſpirators, if it proved to be true; and to be treated as an Impoſtor, if it happened otherwiſe. The *Guiſes* were very deſirous that *Andelot*, and *Coligni* the Admiral, ſhould be invited to Court, fearing or hoping rather that they too were in the Plot. And they accordingly came preſently to the Queen-Regent, and *Coligni*, in a Diſcourſe before *Oliver* the Chancellor, inveighed ſharply againſt the violent Proceedings in Matters of Religion, which had exaſperated a great part of the People againſt the Government, and concluded, *That he believed the granting Liberty of Conſcience, and ſuſpending the Severity of the Laws, till the Controverſies of Religion were compoſed by a Lawful and Free Council, would very much appeaſe and quiet them.* *Oliver*, who deſired a Reformation, and hated the bloody Methods then in uſe, was glad of this Propoſition, and recommended to the *Guiſes* the granting of a general Pardon, and Liberty of Conſcience, till a Free Counſel could be had, as an excellent Remedy of theſe Evils: Which was preſently granted, excluding notwithſtanding thoſe who under pretence of Religion had conſpired againſt the King, his Mother, Brothers, or Miniſters: Which was publiſhed the Twelfth of *March* in the Parliament of *Paris*; which yet never ſhock'd the Conſpirators, who were well reſolv'd. The ſame day *Renaudie* came to *Carreliere* in *Vendoſmois*, not far from *Ambois*, and appointed the reſt to meet him the Seventeenth of the ſame Month (the King having changed his Abode, they were forced to change the Day.) That day, *Deligneris* another of the Conſpirators, and a Captain, repenting the Undertaking, diſcovered it to Queen *Catherine*. The *Guiſes* had by this time got a good Body of the Nobility about the King, and a Party of the Conſpirators being met in Arms near *Tours*, the Inhabitants of that City would not endeavour to take them, but ſuffered them to eſcape to *Saumur*; the Seventeenth of *March* was the day now appointed for this great Deſign, and *Renaudie*, who knew nothing of the Diſcovery, marched boldly up to *Ambois*, though great part of his Foot were cut in pieces in the Woods, as they came up in ſmall Parties, or taken Priſoners by the Horſe who were ſent out for that purpoſe, many of which were preſently hang'd on the Battlements of the Caſtle, in their Boots and Spurs, yet *Renaudie* their Chief Commander eſcaped, and was not taken then.

Andelot and *Coligny* come to Court on an Invitation.

Oliver the Chancellor of *France*, hated the Perſecution, and deſired a Reformation.

The Duke of *Guiſe* obtained a Commiſſion to conſtitute himſelf the King's Lieutenant General in *France* the Eighteenth of *March*; and *Oliver* the Chancellor obtained, before he would paſs it, a Pardon for all who ſhould lay down their Arms within twenty four hours, and return home with only two or three Companions, giving them liberty to preſent what Petitions they pleaſed in a peaceable way to the King. The Nineteenth of *March*, *Renaudie* met *Pardaillan*, who was ſent with a Party of Horſe to take up ſuch as he found in Arms. *Pardaillan* would have fired a Piſtol againſt *Renaudie*, but it miſſing, *Renaudie* run him through, but was ſlain in the ſame moment by *Pardaillan*'s Servant himſelf. His Body was brought to *Ambois*, and hang'd on a Gibbet, with this Inſcription, *The Leader of the Rebels.* Two of his Servants were taken at the ſame time, and ſome Papers in a private Character, which proved to be a Petition on the beſalf of the Proteſtants, deſigned to be preſented to the King in an Aſſembly of the States, Begging a Remiſſion of the Severity of the Laws againſt them, and Proteſting the utmoſt Duty and Obedience to him. Many of thoſe who were taken, were examin'd againſt the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*. Who ſaid, They knew nothing of *Navar*, but heard that *Conde* ſhould have been their Captain. Whence the Duke of *Guiſe* concluded, That *Coligni* and *Andelot* were certainly in it, though Queen *Catherine* was of a contrary Opinion; but however *Conde*, who was then in the Caſtle with the King, was commanded not to depart without leave, which he wiſely diſſembled. Some few were Tried for this Conſpiracy, but many more were Hang'd up by Night, and many Merchants were Slain as they travelled about their buſineſs for

Renaudie ſlain.

The King of *Navar*, *Conde*, *Coligni* and *Andelot* ſuſpected.

1559. their Mony, but under Pretence they were in the Conſpiracy, ſo that there was nothing but Slaughter and Murthers to be ſeen.

Oliver the Chancellor dies.

About the ſame time, *Oliver* the Chancellor of *France* died, not ſo much of Old-age or Sickneſs, as Diſcontent at the Cruelcy and Iniquity of the Times; his Death was foretold by ſome of the Conſpirators, who reproached him for his unworthy Complyances. And when the Cardinal of *Lorain* viſited him in his laſt Sickneſs, he expreſs'd his Reſentments againſt him, and died weeping and ſighing for what he had done. *Michel de l'Hoſpital*, a great and a good Man, ſucceeded him, by the procurement of Queen *Catherine*.

Though this Conſpiracy was principally deſign'd againſt the *Guiſes*, yet they deſired the World ſhould believe theſe Men had firſt made a Defection from God by Hereſie, and then had conſpird againſt the King, Queen *Catherine*, and the King's Brothers: The Thirty firſt of *March* the King wrote to all the Governors of the ſeveral Provinces, to take great care that the Reliques of this Conſpiracy did not imbroil their Provinces; after which there was the like Account ſent to the Elector *Palatine*, and the reſt of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*. The Princes of *Germany* thereupon, among other things, *deſired the King to conſider whether he had not yielded more than was fit to ſome about him* (meaning the *Guiſes*) *who out of an inbred Malice and Cruelty exerciſed great Cruelties on Men that were never convicted of any Crime. There they beſeech his Majeſty, that he would put a ſtop to the Sufferings of theſe Innocents, and ſeeing they imbrace the ſame Religion with us, we cannot but deſire an end may be put to thoſe cruel and haſty Executions. This* Germany *has found* (ſay they) *to be the only Remedy, and* France *has no other left to reſtore its Peace, than by granting a Peace to the Minds and Conſciences of Men.*

Coligni ſent into *Normandy* by the Queen.

Coligni the Admiral leaving the Court, Queen *Catherine* ordered him to go into *Normandy*, and to enquire diligently into the Cauſes of the late Conſpiracy: He laid the blame of it on the boundleſs Ambition of the *Guiſes*, and adviſed the Queen to obſerve inviolably the late Edict for Liberty of Conſcience, and to put a ſtop to the Perſecution of the Innocent, as ſhe valued the ſafety of the King, and the quiet of the Kingdom. Some of the Captives who had eſcaped out of the Priſons at *Blois*, wrote Letters to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, telling him, they knew the Eſcape of the Conſpirators was very afflictive to his Eminence: That therefore they were gone to ſeek them, and hoped in a ſhort time to return better attended. This rallery was a great Mortification to that fearful Miniſter, who feared new Commotions, and perſuaded the King to put out a General Pardon for all *Roman Catholicks*. In *May* the King put out another Edict, which was call'd the *Edict of Romoraulin*, by which he took the Cognizance of *Hereſie* from the Civil Magiſtrates, and gave it ſolely to the Biſhops, which about five years before had been ſo vigorouſly oppoſed by the Parliament of *Paris*. *De l'Hoſpital* the Chancellor is ſaid to have conſented to it, only to prevent the violent *Guiſes* from introducing the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, which they had recommended to *Henry* II, and were now promoting with all their might in *France*. From henceforward the Cardinal of *Lorain* became more placable to thoſe of the Religion, and to ſtop the Mouths of thoſe who deſired an Aſſembly of the three Eſtates, perſuaded Queen *Catherine* to call an Aſſembly of the Princes at *Fountain-bleau*, to conſult of the Publick Affairs.

The Clergy labour to bring the Inquiſition into *France*.

Conde leaves the Court.

About this time *Conde* left the Court, and by a Letter gave his Brother the King of *Navar* an Account of the Ill-will the *Guiſes* bore towards him, and that a Debate had been held in the King's Cabinet-Council, for the taking him into Cuſtody: That therefore he had been forced to betake himſelf to him into *Bearne*. This Letter was ſoon after diſcovered to the *Guiſes* who had entertained Spies in the Family of *Conde*, who preſently wrote a Letter to *Conde* full of ſugared Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Affection; which *Conde* preſently ſent to his Brother, who very much approved his Reſolution, but adviſed him to return to Court and clear his Innocence; which *Conde* did not think ſafe. *Perrenot* the Brother of Cardinal *Granvell*, in an Audience he had of Queen *Catherine*, told her, there was no way to reſtore the Peace of *France*, but by Baniſhing the *Guiſes* ſome time from Court, and Recalling the Princes of the Blood and *Montmorancy* to their former Stations.

An Aſſembly of the Princes of *France*.

The Twenty firſt of *Auguſt*, the Aſſembly of the Princes and Notable Men of *France* was Opened at *Founain-bleau*. The Chancellor in his Speech, among other things, complained, *That the Hearts of the People of* France *were incenſed againſt the King and his Principal Miniſters, but the Cauſe of it was not known, and therefore it was ſo difficult to find out and apply a fitted Remedy. For That, the greateſt part of the*

Men

Men of this Kingdom being weary of what is present, fearful of what is to come, divided by different Religions, and desirous of Change, are willing to imbroil the Kingdom. And therefore their principal Business was to find out the cause of this Disease, and apply a fitting Remedy to this Sickly Body. 1559.

Coligni the Admiral, who was present the next day, presented a Petition to the King, which had been given him whilst he was in *Normandy*, by a vast number of his Subjects; desiring that the Severity of the Laws against them, might be mitigated, till their Cause had been duly considered and determined: That they might have Publick Places assigned them for the Exercise of their Religion, lest their Private Meetings should be suspected by the Government: And they invoked God to bear Witness, That they had never entertained any disloyal Thought against his Majesty, nor would do so: But on the contrary they offered up to God, most devout Prayers for the Preservation and Peace of his Kingdom. *Coligni* delivers a Petition from the Protestants to the King.

The Bishop of *Valence*, a Learned, Grave and Experienced Person, confirmed this Opinion, shewing the great Corruptions in the Church had given Birth and promoted these Divisions in the Minds of Men, which were rather exasperated than extirpated by harsh means and bloody Persecutions. Then he shewed the great Use of General Councils, for the composing the Differences in the Church: And therefore he said, *He wondred how the Pope could quiet his Conscience one Hour, whilst he saw so many thousand Souls perish, which God, without doubt, would require at his Hands. But if* (said he) *a General Council cannot be had, the King ought to follow the Examples of* Charles *the Great, and S.* Lewis *his Ancestors, and call a National Council of* France; *commanding the Teachers of the Sectaries to be present in it, and to enter into Conference with the Divines, concerning the Points in Controversie,* &c. That the Sectaries were worthy of Blame for their Rebellion, and the Roman Catholicks for having been too Bloody and Cruel in the Prosecution of them; which had only served to irritate the Minds of Men, and make them enquire more greedily into the Opinions of those they saw suffer so patiently. That the ancient Fathers imployed no other Arms against the Arians, Macedonians and Nestorians, but the *Word of God*, and the Princes then did only banish Hereticks. The Bishop of *Valence* seconds it. And adviseth the King to call a National Council.

The Archbishop of *Vienne* represented the great Difficulties that hindred the obtaining a General Council; *For* (said he) *there is none of us who doth not know what great pains* Charles *V, took to procure a General Council, and what Arts and Stratagems the Popes imployed to defeat that commendable hope this pious Prince had entertained. The Disease is of too acute a Nature to attend long Delays, which are very uncertain; and therefore the best way was to call a National Council; which the King had already promised, and the urgent Necessities of the Church would not suffer him to delay any longer.* Having shewn how this had been constantly practised from the Times of *Clovis* to *Charles* the Great, and so downward to the times of *Charles VIII.* He concluded, *That the Necessity being Great, they ought to delay no longer, nor to regard the Oppositions the Pope would make against this Method.* For the appeasing the Civil Dissentions of *France*, he advised the calling an Assembly of the three Estates.

The third day *Coligni* discoursed of the Petition he had presented; and being asked, why it was not subscribed? He said, There was above fifty thousand Men, in the Nation, ready to subscribe it: Concluding, *That there was nothing more calamitous, than for a Prince to fear his Subjects: And they to be at the same time afraid of him. That the House of God* (the Church) *was to be forthwith reformed, the Army to be disbanded, and an Assembly of the three Estates called as soon as might be.*

The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, was so inraged with *Coligni*'s Speech, that he made a sudden reply to it. *That the whole scope of ill Men was to deprive the King of his military Guards, that they might the more easily oppress him. That the late Conspiracy was against the King, and not against his Ministers, as was pretended: That as to what concerned Religion, he would submit to Learned Men: But then he protested, That no Councils should be of that Authority with him, as to depart in any thing from the Customs of his Ancestors; and especially in the most sacred Mystery of the Lord's Supper: And as to an Assembly of the States, he submitted that intirely to the King.* He concluded, The Sectaries were a Seditious, Proud sort of Men, and that *the Gospel and Faith of Christ was made an occasion of Tumults and Seditions by them, and therefore they were to be severely prosecuted.* Yet he was for mitigating the Severity of the Laws towards such, as met peaceably without Arms, who were to be reduced to their Duty by more gentle Methods, more than by Force. *To which purpose he would freely spend his Life. That the Bishops and Curates should by their presence redeem the Time they had lost,* The Cardinal of *Lorrain* replies to *Coligni*.

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1559. *and the Governours of the Provinces be forced to do their Duties. But then, ſince there was nothing under Debate, but want of Diſcipline, and Corruption of Manners, it ſeemed very unneceſſary, that either a General or a National Council ſhould be called.* The free Confeſſion of this Cardinal, is the Opinion of the whole Party; and though the name of a General Council makes a great noiſe, yet we very well know how they have treated the ancienteſt and beſt Councils, when they have in any thing croſſed their Humors or Intereſts, and from thence may conclude, They will never ſubmit to any that ſhall not be conformable to their Wills.

A Decree paſſed for an Aſſembly of the three Eſtates, and the ſuſpenſion of the Laws againſt Hereticks.

The twenty ſixth of *Auguſt*, a Decree was paſt that an Aſſembly of the three Eſtates ſhould meet before the tenth of *December*, in the City of *Meaux*. And that if a General Council could not be had, a National Council ſhould be aſſembled. And in the mean time all Severities in matters of Religion ſhould be omitted. *Thus* (ſaith *Thuanus*, my Author) *the Proteſtant Religion, which before was ſo much hated, began by degrees to grow up and get Strength with the tacit Conſent of its greateſt Enemies.* Thus ended the Aſſembly of the Princes, and Notable Men of *France*.

A deſign upon *Lyons*.

About this time *Ferrieres Maligni*, one of the Conſpirators of *Amboiſe*, eſcaping out of Priſon, had a Deſign to ſurprize *Lyons*, and had formed ſo great a Party in the Town, as might have done it, but remitting the execution of his Project to a more convenient time, by order of the King of *Navarr*, the thing was diſcovered, and many of his Partizans taken; but yet ſuch was the conſtancy of the Party, that though many were tortured, yet nothing could be found out to prove the King of *Navarr* or Prince of *Conde* concerned in this Attempt. Yet were they invited to Court by the King, to purge themſelves of the Suſpicion, upon a Promiſe they ſhould receive no Injury: But this they wiſely refuſed as not Reaſonable.

This and ſeveral other ſuch alarms procured an Edict, *That no Prince or other perſon, of what condition ſoever, ſhould provide Money, Soldiers, Arms or Horſes; and if any Perſon did otherwiſe, it ſhould be taken for High-Treaſon.* The Cardinal of *Bourbon*, was alſo imployed to bring the Princes of his Family to Court, by paſſing his Faith to them, That nothing ſhould be done againſt them. The three Eſtates, in the interim, meeting at *Meaux*, were from thence adjourned to *Orleans*, and the Marſhal *de Thermes* was ſent to *Poictiers*, with two hundred Horſe, to watch the Motions of the King of *Navar*, if he came to the Aſſembly.

The Proteſtants of *France* increaſe wonderfully, during the Peace. In ſome places they grow inſolent.

The Proteſtants in *France* having obtained a little reſpite from the Preſſures of the Perſecution by the late Edicts, encreaſed, and there were great Aſſemblies of them in all Parts of the Kingdom, eſpecially in *Dauphine*. At *Valence*, which was an Univerſity much celebrated for the Study of the Law, and the fear of the Laws being now removed, there ſucceeded in its ſtead a lawleſs Boldneſs and Petulance; ſo that ſome of the Young Students forcibly ſeized the *Franciſcan's* Church, for the holding their Aſſemblies. At *Montelimard*, they had alſo their Publick Sermons, and at *Romans*: And which was yet more inſufferable, they met armed, and were very injurious and rude to the Roman Catholick: Which as to *Valence* was ſoon after revenged with equal Cruelty and perfidy, by one *Maugiron*, who was ſent for that purpoſe by the Duke of *Guiſe*. At *Romans* about ſixty were taken and committed to Priſon. And at *Montelimard*, the King's Faith was by *Maugiron* pawned and forfeited again; and the Town taken and plundered. The number of the Proteſtants encreaſed very greatly alſo in *Bretagne* and *Normandy*, and they had their Publick Sermons in many Cities, in thoſe Provinces, which were managed with greater Modeſty than thoſe in *Dauphine*.

The King of *Navarr* and Prince of *Conde* promiſe to come to the Aſſembly of the States.

Though the *Guiſes* had given many Teſtimonies of their ſmall regard to their Faith; yet the King of *Navarr*, and Prince of *Conde*, had now paſſed their Promiſe to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, That they would preſent themſelves in the next Convention of the States; and that Cardinal had given the King Aſſurance of it, being then at *Paris*; and the King of *Navarr* was already on the Road. The Archbiſhop of *Vienne* falling ſick about this time, by a Letter ſignified to the Dutcheſs of *Monpenſier*, his great Confident, *That he certainly knew, That if the King of* Navarr *and the Prince of* Conde *came to Court, they would be committed to Priſon; and that* Bourbon *would not be able to make good his Promiſe to them, who was only imployed to deceive his Brothers. That* Montmorancy *was laid at too, and one* la Sague, *a Villain, had been examined againſt him, and had confeſſed a Treaty with the Queen of* England; *That ſo ſoon as the War in* Scotland *was ended, the Soldiers would be imployed in* France. Soon after, this venerable Prelate died of Grief and Vexation. He was a learned

The Archbiſhop of *Vienne* dies.

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and an honeſt Man, not infected with the Leproſie of Flattery; and therefore not very grateful to the Court: And being extremely deſirous of a Reformation, was ſuſpected to be a *Lutheran*. 1560.

The eighteenth of *October*, the King entred *Orleans*, attended by a terrible Guard of Soldiers; which made that City more like a Garriſon than the ſeat of an Aſſembly of the States. *Navarr* arrived the thirtieth of the ſame Month, with a ſmall Retinue and unarmed; and quickly found how little the *Guiſes* did regard their Faith or Promiſe, by the little Reſpect was ſhewn to him and his Brother, at his Entry, and in their firſt appearance before the King: And *Conde* was preſently committed to Priſon, *declaiming againſt the breach of Faith, made by the King and the* Guiſes, *and the Credulity of his Brother, the Cardinal of* Bourbon, *which had betrayed the whole Family into their Enemies Hands.* The King of *Navarr* ſeemed to have more Liberty, but was under the reſtraint of a Guard; deprived of the Attendance of his own Servants, and watched by Men, who had order to obſerve his Looks and Motions; and his Secretary and all his Letters were ſeized. The thirteenth of *November* the Prince of *Conde* was examined by the Chancellor and others, in Priſon: Who told them, It belonged not to them to try or examine the Princes of the Blood, but to the Parliament of *Paris* and the Peers of *France*, and the whole Body of the States. *Bourdin* the Attorney General, at laſt told him, That if he declined the Judgment of theſe Delegates, he ſhould be taken for convict, and Sentence accordingly pronounced againſt him, as guilty of High Treaſon, and the Witneſs ſhould be examined elſewhere. Perceiving by this the head-long-haſt *of the Guiſes*, his Lady delivered a Petition to the King, for learned Council, which was granted him: But his Servants were taken from him, and he was denied a Conference with his Brother of *Navarr* and the Cardinal, though he deſired ſome of the Kings Miniſters might be preſent. Theſe Hardſhips created him much Compaſſion in the Minds of Men, and they thought he was hardly uſed, which made his Enemies yet more hated. They on the other hand deſpiſed the Thoughts of Men, and bent all their Thoughts how they might deſtroy the King of *Navarr*, for they thought they were ſecure of *Conde*. Among other ways, they intended to have aſſaſſinated him in the King's Chamber; of which an account was given him by ſome of *Guiſe* his Creatures. Upon which he reſolved to draw his Sword and dye fighting, if he were thus attacked; and deſired an old Friend to take care to preſerve his Bloody Cloaths, and ſhew them to his Son. When he had thus done, he went unſent for into the King's Chamber, and taking the King by the Hand, ſo by his Looks prevailed upon him, that his Heart failed him, and he either repented, or durſt not proceed in this Deſign. Queen *Catharine* was already weary of the Inſolence of the *Guiſes*, and deſirous to ſave the Houſe of *Bourbon* as a Curb upon them; to this purpoſe ſhe gave order to the Chancellor, to put what Rubs he could in their way. The *Guiſes*, in the mean time, haſtned the Tryal of *Conde*, as much as was poſſible, eſteeming all Delays dangerous to them.

The States meet at *Orleans*.

Navarr and *Conde* ſecured

The ſixteenth of *November*, the King being abroad to hunt, was taken extream ill, which cauſed *Montmorency* to make the more haſte to Court. The twenty ſixth of that Month the Kings Diſeaſe grew very great and hopeleſs: This turned the Rage and Fury of the *Guiſes* into Fear and Conſternation, when they conſidered what they ſhould loſe in the Death of that Prince. Thereupon they began to work upon Queen *Catharine*, by other Methods, to flatter and crouch to her, and to repreſent the King of *Navarr* and Prince of *Conde*, as exaſperated to that height by their late Sufferings, that without doubt they would ſeek her Ruine; but they for their Parts would ſtand by her, and ſerve her with great Fidelity. They deſired therefore *Navarr* might be committed as well as his Brother had been, before the King dyed. The Chancellor prevented this by ſhewing, in a grave Oration, That it would certainly involve *France* in a Civil War. The fifth of *December* the King dyed, having lived ſeventeen years and ten Months, and reigned one Year, five Months and twenty Days. His Youth, and the ſhortneſs of his Reign, makes it uncertain whether he ought to be ranged with the Good or Bad Princes; and the more, becauſe not he but the *Guiſes* governed.

Francis II dies.

This Accident changed the ſtate of things, and ſaved the Life of *Conde*, or rather the Houſe of *Bourbon*: *Charles* IX, his Brother, ſucceeded him; and *Navarr* of a Priſoner, became the ſecond Perſon in that Kingdom, Queen *Catharine* having adjuſted all things with him before the late King died. She

Charles IX ſucceeds.

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1560. ſent Letters alſo to *Montmorency*, who was not yet arrived at *Orleans*, to haſten his coming to the new King, becauſe ſhe was deſirous to uſe his Counſel and Advice. When he came to *Orleans*, he asked the Centinels, By whoſe Orders they were placed there, and for what End, and commanded them to be gone, or he would hang them? The Guards preſently diſappeared, and then it was viſible that the *Guiſes* and not the King needed them.

The Prince of *Conde* fre'd. Though *Conde* was freed the ſame moment the King died, yet he would not go out of his Priſon till he knew his Accuſers and Proſecutors; to which the *Guiſes* replyed; It was by the late King's Order, and would explain the Myſtery no further. About twelve Days after, he went to the Caſtle of *Hane*, in *Picardy*, and there attended the Orders of the new King. *Francis* the Second was buried with ſmall State and leſs Expence, to the great hatred of the *Guiſes*; who in the mean time were very buſie to revive the Differences between Queen *Catharine* and the King of *Navarr*, who wiſely prevented their Deſign, by offering the firſt Place to the Queen, and reſerving the ſecond to himſelf, as Preſident of the Kingdom. This paſſed into a Decree the twenty firſt of *December*.

The Proteſtant Religion breaks out in the *Netherlands*. The Proteſtant Religion, which had got ſuch footing in *France*, that it ſeemed not poſſible to root it out, without the Ruine of that Kingdom, began this Year to ſhew it ſelf more openly in *Flanders* and the *Netherlands*, the Nobility eſpouſing it in great numbers together, with the reſt of the States. Nor could *Margaret* their Governeſs, under King *Philip*, obtain the continuance of the Taxes for the maintenance of the *Spaniſh* Forces: Nor would they of *Zealand* acquieſce, tho the Pay was ſent from other Places, till theſe Troops were ſent into *Spain*: Nor would they grant any Supplies to be diſpoſed of by the Governeſs, but reſerved that to themſelves, that the Soldiers in the Frontier Towns might be certainly and regularly paid. This was vigorouſly oppoſed by the new Biſhops, inſtituted by *Paul* IV, as tending to the remitting the Reins of the *Eccleſiaſtical Government*, as well as the Civil.

The Archbiſhop of *Toledo* ſuſpected to be a *Lutheran*. *Bartholomeo Caranza*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo* in *Spain*, was alſo ſuſpected to incline to the Proteſtant Religion, and on that account was impriſoned by the Inquiſition, and his Revenues were brought into the King's Treaſure. By an Appeal to *Rome* he ſaved his Life; but was never able to recover his See again, but died many Years after at *Rome*, in a Private State. *Thuanus* ſaith, He knew him; and that his Learning, Integrity, and the Holineſs of his Converſation was ſuch as made him worthy of that Dignity.

A General Council deſired by many, and oppoſed by the Pope. The great Progreſs of the Proteſtant Religion in all Places, made all Good Men (ſaith *Thuanus*) deſire that the General Council, which had been intermitted, might be reaſſumed and carried on; but Pope *Pius* IV had the ſame Fears of it his Predeceſſors had; leſt his own Power ſhould be abated. And therefore though he judged this the only means to root out Hereſies, and very neceſſary; yet he delayed it, and unleſs he were compelled by Force, or ſome preſent Danger, it was apparent he would never admit it. But having reſolved, on the other ſide, right or wrong, by Force or Fraud to accompliſh his own Deſires; and hoping to reap great Advantages from the Ruine of the *Caraffa*'s, though he had been much aſſiſted by them in the obtaining of the Papacy; he applied himſelf to this with great Application and Induſtry, and under the Maſk of Friendſhip. And having laid his Plot, he committed *Charles Caraffa* the Cardinal, and his Kinſman, the Cardinal of *Naples*, to the Caſtle of S. *Angelo*. But *Anthony* Marqueſs *de Monte Bello*, being then not at *Rome*, though cited alſo, eſcaped the Danger and fled for his Life. Though daily Accounts came to *Rome* of the Tumults and Diſorders of *France*, the Pope took no notice of them. Though the Duke of *Florence*, who was great with him (for he pretended to be deſcended of that Family) did very much urge his Holineſs to conſider the State of Affairs in *France* and *Scotland*: And told him, It was Uncharitable to ſee ſo many thouſands of Souls Loſt; and Impolitick, to neceſſitate Princes, by the deſpair of a General Council, to betake themſelves to National Synods. This was much inforced by the Noiſe, the Speech of the Chancellor of *France* had made in the late Aſſembly, which was then very hot in *Italy*. He had, among other things, aſſured the *French* Clergy, That if the Pope would not hold a General, there ſhould very ſpeedily be a National Council aſſembled in *France*;

But proſecutes the *Caraffa*'s to ruine.

and

and had exhorted all the Biſhops to prepare themſelves for it. To this the Pope anſwered with great anxiety, ſeeking Pretences of Delay, and pretending he was going to *Ancona*, and that by the way he would ſpeak with the Duke of *Florence*, who was a wiſe Prince, and his Kinſman, and regulate that Affair by his Advice. 1560.

Coſmus Duke of *Florence*, perceiving that this Journey of the Pope to *Ancona* was a Sham, and being invited by the Pope to *Rome*, reſolved to go thither, to promote this and ſome other Private Buſineſs he had with the Pope. Before this, King *Philip* having heard of the National Council, deſigned in *France*, had ſent *Anthony de Toledo* to adviſe the King and Council in this, and lay before them the inevitable Danger of a Schiſm, which would follow upon it. On the other ſide, *Ferdinand* the Emperour inſiſted, That ſeeing the Council was begun on the account of the *Germans*, it ſhould be renewed in *Germany*, and all that was already determined, ſhould be re-debated anew. Others thought it reaſonable, That ſeeing the *French* were now equally concerned with the *Germans*, the Council ſhould be aſſembled in ſome City in the Confines of *France* and the Empire, as at *Conſtance*; or if the *Germans* would agree to it, at *Beſançon*. The Pope was rather inclined to have it at *Trent*, or rather to bring it deeper into *Italy*, and had ſome Thoughts of *Vercelli*, a City in the Borders of *France*; though he could not yet reſolve certainly to hold it any where; for he (good Man) was more deſirous that *Geneva*, which had much infected *France* and *Germany*, ſhould be reduced by a War, than that the Controverſies of Religion ſhould be committed to the peaceable Determination of a Council. And to that end he had perſuaded the Duke of *Savoy* to make a War upon the *Vaudois* his Subjects. Whilſt the Pope was in this incertainty, in *October* the Duke of *Florence* came to *Rome*; and perſuaded the Pope by his Arguments to reſolve on the calling of a Council the next Year, that he might provide a General Remedy for a General Diſeaſe: He ſhewed him, That there was no Danger ſuch a Council would paſs any ſevere Sentence on the Manners and Abuſes of the Court of *Rome*: And that it was fit he ſhould deſire the Diſcipline and Corrupt Manners of the Church of *Rome* ſhould be reformed: That he ought ſincerely to promote it, and cauſe ſelect Divines to be aſſembled out of all Chriſtian Kingdoms, and to hear them favourably; that ſo the Peace of Chriſtendom might be reſtored, which was now torn in Pieces by Diverſity of Opinions. About the ſame time the Death of *Francis* II, the Advancement of the King of *Navarr*; and the great Kindneſs Queen *Catharine*, on his account ſhewed to the *Proteſtants*, very much terrified the Pope; and compelled him to entertain the Thoughts of a Council, in good earneſt, which till then had been talked of with no great ſincerity.

The Duke of *Florence* come to *Rome*.

His Arguments for a General Council.

The Pope thereupon ſent *Lawrence Lenzi*, Biſhop of *Firmo*, to King *Philip*; *John Manriquez* to the Duke of *Florence*, and *Angelo Guicciardin* to the Queen of *France*; who was to condole the Death of her Son, to comfort her, and to entreat her to undertake the Protection of the Religion ſhe was brought up in; and that ſhe would not open a Door to the growing Schiſm, nor ſeek any Remedy for the Diſorders of *France* from any but the Church of *Rome*: And to aſſure her, That in a ſhort time all their Deſires ſhould be gratified by the Calling of a General Council; and therefore they prayed her to take Care, That the flouriſhing Kingdom of *France* might not make a Defection from the Ancient Religion, during her Government, nor any Prejudices be raiſed againſt the Remedies which might juſtly be expected from it.

With other concurrent Accidents, at laſt prevail'd.

The Pope's Ambaſſadors to thee Chriſtian Princes.

The Pope at the ſame time appointed *Hercules Gonzaga*, *Hierome Seripand*, and *Staniſlaws Hoſio*, three of his Cardinals, to be his Legates in the Council; and ſent *Zachary Delfino* Biſhop of *Zant*, and *Francis Commendone*, into *Germany*, to invite the Proteſtant Princes to it. *Canobbio* was ſent into *Poland* on the ſame Errant; and had Orders to go on into *Ruſſia*, to exhort that Prince, who was of the *Greek* Communion, to ſend his Biſhops and Divines to the Council; but there being a War between the *Ruſs* and *Poles* at this time, this Journey was prevented.

The Twenty ninth of *September* this Year, died *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*, which was the Founder of the Line which now reigns in that Kingdom; he was ſucceeded by *Eriek* his eldeſt Son. This Prince reigned Thirty eight Years with great Prudence and Commendation, being only noted for a little too great Severity in his Taxes, which was neceſſary in a Prince that was to Found a

Guſtavus King of *Sweden* dies.

1560. Family; but he was otherwiſe a Prince of great Vertues, and the Reformer of the Church of *Sweden*. The ſame Year died *Philip* Duke of the hither *Pomerania*, and *Albert* Count of *Manſfeild*, a great Favourer of the Reformation; he died the Fifth of *March*, in the Seventieth year of his Age, and Sixtieth of his Government. The ſame Year died the Cardinal *du Bellay*, the Great Patron of *John Sleidan*, a Perſon of great Merit, and employed by *Francis* I, in many Embaſſies: He was a great and hearty Deſirer of the Reformation of the Church, and without all doubt ſhew'd our Author the right way to it, though he miſs'd it himſelf. The Nineteenth of *April* died alſo *Philip Melanethon* at *Wittemberg*: He was born at *Brett*, a Town in the Palatinate of the *Rhine*, and was the great Companion and Friend of *Martin Luther*, but was more moderate, and a great hater of Contentions and Diſputes, and a lover of Peace: By which Vertues he won the Love and Reſpects of both Parties in thoſe troubleſom days; on which account he was ſent for into *France* by *Francis* I.

The Celebration of the States of *France* was interpretted by the ſudden Death of *Fracis* II. But there being great Diſcontents at the numerous Aſſemblies of the Proteſtants in many Places, which were now openly held; the finding out a Remedy for this, haſtned the opening that Convention. The Thirteenth of *December* was appointed for that Purpoſe, and the Chancellor began the Affair with an Elegant and Pious Diſcourſe. In which having ſhewn the Uſe of theſe Aſſemblies, and exhorted all degrees to Peace and Concord, and ſhewn 'em the common Cauſes of Sedition and Rebellion, he tells them, "That in their times, "a new Cauſe, that of *Religion*, had been added to all the former; *As if (ſaith he)* "*Religion* could or ought to be the cauſe of a Civil War, *which is the greateſt* "Miſchief that can befall a Kingdom, and contains all others in it. But then God "is not the Author of Diſſention, but of Peace; and other Religions, becauſe "falſe, may be founded and preſerved by Force and Fraud; but the Chriſtian "Religion, which is the only true, is only to be eſtabliſhed by Patience, Juſtice, "Prayers and Tears: The ancient Chriſtians accordingly choſe rather to be Kill'd "than to Kill, and Signed the Truth of their Religion with their Bloods: And "yet it cannot be denied but that a falſe Religion is a very powerful Exciter of "the Minds of Men, and ſurmounts all other Paſſions, and unites Men more "ſtrongly than any other thing; ſo that we muſt confeſs that Kingdoms are "divided in effect more by their Religions, than by their Bounds; and therefore "it daily happens, that thoſe that are poſſeſs'd by an Opinion of Religion, have "little regard to their Prince, their Country, Wives and Children; and from "hence ſprings Rebellions, Diſſentions and Revolts. And in the ſame *Houſe*, "*if they are divided in Religion, the Husband cannot agree with the Wife* and "Children, *nor one Brother with another. That therefore* a Remedy might be "had for ſo great a Calamity, it had been decreed at *Fountain-bleau*, That there "was need of a Council, and the Pope having ſince declared there ſhould ſuddenly "be one, that Men ought not in the mean time to hammer out for themſelves new "Religions, Rites and Ceremonies, according to their own Fancies. For this would "not only endanger the publick Peace, but the Salvation of their Souls too. That "if the Pope and the Council fail'd, the King would take the ſame Care his An-"ceſtors had, and provide for the Peace and Welfare of his Kingdom: That it "was to be hoped the Biſhops would for the future exerciſe their Functions with "greater Care and Diligence: That the Cure might come from that Fountain "which had cauſed the Diſtemper: That they ought to arm themſelves with Ver-"tues, Good Manners, and the Word of God, which are the Arms of Suppli-"cants, and then go out to War againſt our Enemies, and not imitate unskilful "Captains, who diſfurniſh their Walls to make an Irruption. The Diſcourſe of "one that lives well, is very perſuaſive, but the Sword has no other power over "the Soul than to deſtroy it with the Body. Our Anceſtors overcame their "Sectaries with their Piety, and we ought to imitate them if we would not be "thought rather to hate the Men than their Vices. Let us therefore, ſaid he, "pray daily for them, that they may be reduced from their Errors, and diſcharg-"ing the hateful Names of *Lutherans*, *Huguenots* and *Papiſts*, which were intro-"duced by the Enemy of Mankind, and are too like the ancient Factions of *Guelfs* "and *Gibellins*, let us only retain the Ancient Appellation of *Chriſtians*. But "then, becauſe there are many who only pretend Religion, but are in Truth "led by Ambition, Avarice and Novelty, it is fit to ſuppreſs theſe Men in the

"very

"very beginning: These are the Men that ought to be kept under by the Force "of Arms. 1560.

When the States came to debate, the *Clergy* and the *Commons* were of Opinion, That their Powers were determined by the Death of the late King; and that they ought to return Home: Which was over-ruled by the King of *Navar* and the Council; And they were ordered to proceed; because by the Law of *France* the King never dies; but the Lawful Succession is transmitted without any interruption. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* had design'd in the former Reign to make a Speech in the Name of the three Estates; which was then not opposed, but now the Commons would not suffer it, because contrary to the Ancient Usage: And for that they had some things to object against the Cardinal himself. A Difficulty proposed.

Jean l' Ange, an Advocate of the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, spoke for the Commons, and remarked three great Faults in the Clergy, *Ignorance*, *Covetousness* and *Excessive Luxury*, which had given Being to the new Errors, and Scandal to the People. That the Preaching of the Word of God, which was the chief cause of the instituting Bishops, was totally neglected; and they thought it a shameful thing, and beneath their Dignity: And by their Example, the Curates had learned to neglect their Duty too, and had ordered the Mass to be sung by Illiterate and Unworthy *Stipendaries*. That the excessive Pomp and Avarice of the Clergy (who pretended by it to promote the Glory of God) had raised an Envy and an hatred of them in the Minds of the People. And therefore he desired that a Council might be assembled, by the order of the King, to remedy these Mischiefs. The Deputy of the Commons speaks against the Clergy.

After him *James de Silly Comte de Roquefort*, made a Bold and an Elegant Oration in the Name of the Nobility, and taxed the Clergy for invading the Rights, and oppressing the People, under Pretence of the Jurisdictions granted them by the Ancient Kings of *France*. That therefore the King ought, in the first place to take care to reform the Clergy, and assign good Pensions to those that Preached the Word of God, as had been done by many of his Ancestors, which he named. And is seconded by the Deputy of the Nobility.

Jean Quintin le Bourguinon, made a long tedious Speech in the behalf of the Clergy, to shew; I. That the Assembly of the three Estates were instituted for the providing for the Sacred Discipline. II. That the King might understand the Complaints of his People, and provide for the Necessities of his Kingdom, by their Advice, and not for the Reformation of the Church, *Which could not Err, and which neither hath, nor ever shall have the least Spot or Wrinkle, but shall ever be Beautiful:* But then he ingenuously confest, That the *Sacred Discipline* was very much declined from its Ancient Simplicity. That therefore the Revivers of the the Ancient Heresies were not to be heard; and all that had Meetings separate from the Catholicks, were to be esteemed Favourers of *Sectaries*, and to be punished. Therefore he desired the King to compel all his Subjects, within his Dominions, to Live and Believe according to the Form prescribed by the Church. That the Insolence of the Sectaries was no longer to be endured, who despising the Authority of the Ancients, and the Doctrine received by the Church, would be thought alone to understand and imbrace the Gospel. That this was the next step to a Rebellion, and that they would shortly shake off the Yoak of the Civil Magistrate, and with the same Boldness fight against their Prince, that they now imployed against the Church, if Care were not speedily taken. He desired that all Commerce between them and the Catholicks might be forbidden, and that they might be treated like Enemies, and that those who were gone out of the Kingdom on the account of Religion, might be banished. That it was the King's Duty to draw the Civil Sword, and put all those to Death, who were infected with Heresie; to defend the Clergy, and restore the Elections of Bishops to the Chapters, the want of which had caused great Damages to the Church. That it had been observed, That the very Year the Pope granted the King the Nomination of Bishops, this Schism began, and has ever since spread it self; for in the 1517, *Luther*, *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* set up, and *Calvin* followed them. This Speech incensed the whole Assembly against him, and especially the Protestants, who published so many Libels and Satyrs against him, that he soon after died of Shame and Grief. He was no ill Man, but was a better *Decretalist* than a Divine; and had never well thought whether a Reformation were needfull or no, But then it ought also to have The Clergy apologize for themselves.

been conſidered that he did not ſpeak his own Single judgment, but had his matter preſcribed him by the Clergy for whom he ſpoke.

After ſome days, the King Signified to the Biſhops, that they ſhould prepare themſelves for the Council, which was now recall'd at *Trent*; and the Judges and Prefects were commanded to diſcharge all that were Impriſon'd for Religion only, and leave all that were ſuſpected, the free injoyment of their Eſtates and Goods; And it was made Capital to reproach, or injure one the other, on the Account of Religion. After which the Aſſemly was *Prorogued* to the Month of *May*, of the next Year.

The Perſecution in *Piedmont*, which Occaſioneth a War.

There was in *Piedmont*, a Valley called by the Name of *Peroſia*, and St. *Martin*; Inhabited by about 15000 Souls, whoſe Anceſtors about 400 Years ſince had upon the Preaching of *Waldus*, *Speronus* and *Arnaldus*, made a defection from the Church of *Rome*, and had at times been ſeverely treated for it, by the French, under whom they had been; but by the laſt Treaty were aſſigned to the Duke of *Savoy*. This People about the Year 1555, had imbraced the Reformation, and had ſuffered it to be publickly preached, tho it was forbidden by the Council at *Turin*, which the Year following ſent one of its own Members, to inquire after the Offenders and to puniſh them; to whom the Inhabitants of this Valley delivered the Confeſſion of their Faith; "Declaring that they profeſs'd the Doctrin contained in the Old and "New Teſtament, and comprehended in the Apoſtles Creed; and admitted the "Sacraments Inſtituted by Chriſt; the IV firſt Councils, *viz.* thoſe of *Nice*, *Con-* "*ſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, and *Chalcedon*; and the Ten Commandments &c. That they "believed the Supreme civil Magiſtrates were Inſtituted by God, and they were to "be obeyed, and that who ſoever reſiſted them, fought againſt God. They ſaid they "had received this Doctrin from their Anceſtors, and that if they were in any error "they were ready to receive inſtruction from the Word of God, and would pre- "ſently renounce any heretical or erroneous Doctrin which ſhould be ſo ſhewen to "them.

Thereupon a Solemn Diſpute was in ſhew, appointed concerning the Sacrifice of the Maſs, Auricular Confeſſion, Tradition, Prayers and Oblations for the Dead, and the Ceremonies of the Church and her Cenſures; all which were rejected by them, they alledging that they were humane Inventions, and contrary to the Word of God. This Confeſſion was ſent by the Duke of *Savoy* to the King of *France*, who about a year after return'd Anſwer, That he had cauſed it to be Examin'd by his learned Divines; who had all condemn'd it as Erroneous and contrary to true Religion; and therefore the King commanded them to reject this Confeſſion and to Submit to the Holy Church of Rome; and if they did not do ſo, their Perſons and Eſtates ſhould be Confiſcated. But they on the contrary were reſolved to ſtand by their former Confeſſion. They were thereupon commanded not to admit any Teacher who was not ſent by the Archbiſhop of *Turin*, or the Council there; and that if any Teachers came among them from *Geneva* they ſhould diſcover or apprehend them, upon pain of Death, and loſs of all they had. For three years after this, the people of this Perſwaſion were let alone and no way moleſted; but this Year the Duke of *Savoy*, much againſt his will and Inclination, was drawn by the Pope to make a War upon them. In the begining of *March*, *Jean de Carquignau*, and one *Mathurim* and his Wife were taken and burnt; and ſeveral of the Neighbour Valleys were Plundred, ſeveral of the Inhabitants were put to death; and about Sixty ſent to the Gallies, and ſome recanted and profeſs'd the Roman Catholick Religion. After this one *Thomas Jacomel* a *Dominican*, was ſent with one *Turbis* for his Aſſiſtant, who was a bloody man, to inquire diligently and ſeverely into all that were ſuſpected; but the Nobility interpoſing, there was no great Severity ſhewn. The Monks of the Abbey of *Pignoral*, which was ſeated in the Entry of the Valley, on the other ſide, kept a parcel of Souldiers in Pay; and trapping as many of theſe Poor People as they could, as they paſſed to and fro, they uſed them very cruelly; and ſome others of the Nobility did the ſame thing; and a Sedition following upon it, they fined the poor Inhabitants One Thouſand ſix Hundred Crowns. Upon this a ſharp war inſued, which ended in the Ruine of the Aggreſſors of the Church of *Rome*.

The Paſtor alſo of *Peroſia*, was taken and burnt with a ſlow Fire with many of his Flock, and the Inhabitants were ſpoiled of all they had, and forced to flee to the Mountains. Being thus inraged with hard Uſages, in the Month of *July*, Fifty of them ſet upon One Hundred and Twenty Souldiers belonging to the Abbey of *Pignoral*, put them to flight, and ſlew the greateſt part of them; and about Four Hundred more of their party coming up, they

they took the Abbey of *Pignoral*, and delivered all their people which were imprisoned there. In *October* following News being brought that the Duke of *Savoy* was sending an Army to destroy them; *They resolved that it was not lawful to take Arms against their Prince, but that they would take what they could carry away, and betake themselves to the Mountains, and there attend the good pleasure of God, who never forsakes his own, and can turn the Hearts of Princes which way he pleaseth.* There was not one Man amongst them who repined against this Decree. In after times they had Pastors who taught them otherwise, and *told them it was not their Prince, but the Pope that they resisted, and that they fought not for their Religion, but for their Wives and Children.* The second of *November* the Forces of the Duke of *Savoy* entered their Borders, and the Soldiers attempting to get above them, they betook themselves to their Slings, and maintained a Fight against them (though they were but few in number) the space of a whole day, with no great loss. At last the General finding they were not to be forced, gave them leave to Petition the Duke of *Savoy*, 'That they might live in Peace, assuring 'him that nothing but utter ruin could have forced them to take Arms against 'him: for which they humbly implored his Highness's Pardon, and begging the 'Liberty of their Consciences, and that they might not be forced to submit to the 'Traditions of the Church of *Rome*; but might, with his good leave, enjoy the 'Religion they had learned from their Ancestors. 1560.

This Petition was seconded by the Duchess of *Savoy*, who was a merciful Princess, and had great Power over the Affections of the Duke. It being ever her judgment *that this People were not to be so severely used, who had not changed their Religion a few days agon, but had been in Possession of it from their Ancestors so many Ages.* Upon this they were to be received to mercy; but the Soldiery fell upon them, when they suspected nothing, and Plundered them three days together. The General seemed to be much concerned at this breach of Faith: yet after this they were fined eight thousand Crowns, which they were forced to borrow on great Usury, and they were also commanded to bring all their Arms into the Castles the Duke had Garrisoned in their Country. And at last they were commanded to eject all their Pastors (which was granted with the tears of their People) that they might avoid the fury of the Soldiers. The General pretended not to be satisfied that their Pastors were in good truth gone, and when they suffered them to search their Houses, the Soldiers Plundered them again, and then burnt their Town. There was one Town called *Angrogne*, in a Valley of the same name, the General pretended to shew them more favour, and agreed that they should have one Pastor left them: but they forced *him* also to flee into the Mountains afterwards, and *Plundered his* House, and *all his Neighbours, and then injoyned the Sindicks* (who are their chief Magistrates) to find up, and bring in the Pastor; threatning that otherwise they would burn and destroy the whole Territory; and when they had so done then they withdrew.

In the mean time their Messengers were gone with the Petition, mentioned above, to the Duke to *Vercelli*, where they attended forty days before they could get Audience, and then they were forced to promise they would admit the Mass, and when the Prince had upon these terms forgiven their taking Arms against him, they were commanded to ask Pardon too of the Popes *Nuncio*, which at last they did. During their absence, the Inhabitants of *Angrogne* had suffered no Sermons but in private, that they might not exasperate the Prince, or make the Affairs of their Deputies more difficult. But they resolved when these were returned they would exercise their Religion openly, and not give any thing to the maintaining of the Soldiers, whether their Request were granted or denied.

In the beginning of *January* the Deputies returned, and when their Principals understood what had been done, they wrote to the rest of the Valleys to give them an account of it; and desired a publick Consultation or Diet. At which it was resolved that they should all joyn in a League to defend their Religion, which they believed was agreeable to the Word of God, professing in the mean time to obey their Prince according to the Commandments of God, and that they would for the future make no Agreement, or Peace, but by a common Consent, in which the freedom of their Religion should be saved. Upon this they grew more Confident, refused the Conditions offered by the Duke of *Savoy*, and the promises made by their Deputies. And the next day they entered into the Church of *Bobbi*, in Arms, and broke down all the Images and Altars, and after a Sermon, 1561.

1561. marching to *Villar*, where they intended to do the like, they met the Soldiers (who had heard what was done) going to Plunder *Bobbi*, ſtopped them, and with their Slings ſo pelted them, that they were glad to ſhift for their lives, and left theſe Reformers to do the ſame thing at *Villar*. The Captain of *Turin* attempting to ſtop this Rage was beaten, and the Dukes Officers were glad to ſeek to their Paſtors for a Paſport. After this they beat the Captain of *Turin* in a ſecond Fight. By this time the whole Army drew into the Field, and the Inhabitants of theſe Valleys not being able to reſiſt them, they burnt all their Towns and Houſes, and deſtroyed all the People they took. In theſe Broils *Monteil*, one of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Chief Officers, was ſlain by a Lad of eighteen years of age; and *Truchet*, another of them, by a Dwarf. The Duke of *Savoy* had ſent ſeven thouſand Soldiers to deſtroy this handful of Men; and yet ſuch was their Rage and Deſperation, and the Advantage of their Country, that they beat his Soldiers whereſoever they met them. And in all theſe Fights their Enemies obſerved that they had ſlain only fourteen of the Inhabitants, and thence concluded that God fought for them. So the *Savoyards* began to treat of a Peace, which at laſt was concluded to the Advantage of theſe poor deſpicable People. The Duke remitting the eight thouſand Crowns they were to pay by the former Treaty, and ſuffering them to enjoy the Liberty of their Religion: *So that he got nothing by this War but loſs and ſhame, the ruin of his People on both ſides, and the deſolating of his Country.*

A

A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

BOOK III.

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THIS Year there began a ſharp Perſecution againſt all that were ſuſpected to favour the Reformation in the *Netherlands*, and for the greater terror they burnt the Houſes of all thoſe they Convicted for holding private Meetings. *Perrenot* Biſhop of *Arras*, and Cardinal *Granvel*, hoping by this means to prevent the ſpreading of a Religion in that Country, which had made ſuch progreſſes in *Germany* and *France*. They that imbraced this Religion, were no leſs ſcandalized by the multiplying the Biſhopricks, and there-

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A Perſecution in the *Low-Countries.*

1561. thereupon drew up a Confeſſion of their Faith, to be exhibited to King *Philip*, beſeeching him, in the end of it, that he would put a ſtop to the bloody Executions, which deſtroyed ſo many of his innocent People. This Confeſſion was the ſame in ſubſtance with that publiſhed by the *French* Proteſtants; and amongſt other things, they took particular care to inſert *That the Civil Magiſtrate was the Ordinance of God, and therefore was to be obeyed. Their Tributes to be duly paid, and all manner of Reſpect and Reverence to be ſhewed to them; and that Prayers were to be made to God for their preſervation.*

The *French* Affair. In the month of *February*, the new King of *France* left *Orleans*, and went to *Fontainbleau*, where the Prince of *Conde* waited upon him, and being introduced into the Privy Council, asked the Chancellor if there were any Accuſation depending againſt him, and was told by him and the whole Council, they were intirely ſatisfied of his innocence, and leave was given him to demand an Acquital in the Parliament of *Paris*. And a Decree was made to that purpoſe, and Publiſhed by the Order of the Council *March* 13. after which he went to *Paris* to proſecute his Diſcharge before that Court.

Queen *Catharine* favoureth the Proteſtants. In the mean time Queen *Catharine*, the Regent of *France*, ſeemed very much to favour the Proteſtant Party, and by her Arts and Diſſimulation, ſo far prevailed upon the ſpirit of the King of *Navarre*, who was their Head, that he told the *Daniſh* Ambaſſador, he did not doubt but he ſhould ſee the Reformed Religion ſettled in *France* within one year. The Queen, on the other ſide, told *Montmorency*, *That ſhe connived at them for the preſent, that ſhe might the more eaſily elude the deſigns of the King of* Navarre, *by ſeeming to comply with him. But then* (ſhe ſaid) *he and the other great Men of that Kingdom ought to oppoſe them, and to complain that the Religion of their Anceſtors was every where violated and deſpiſed.* She deſigned by this, Firſt, To divide the great Men in the Point of Religion. Secondly, To weaken the Intereſt of the King of *Navarre*. And thirdly, To preſerve the *Romiſh* Religion in *France*. But *Montmorency*, who was her Inſtrument, deſigned only the laſt, yet he was very active in it. The Queen in the interim carried her diſſimulation ſo far, that ſhe ordered *Jean de Monluc*, Biſhop of *Valence*, who was a great favourer of the Reformation, and no Enemy to the Proteſtants Doctrine, to Preach frequently at Court, and She and the King were ſometimes preſent at his Sermons. He would ſometimes ſpeak very freely againſt the Corruptions that were in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, and obliquely tax the Papal Authority. The favour the Queen ſhewed to this Biſhop, made *Montmorency* ſuſpect that in her Heart ſhe had a kindneſs for the Proteſtant Party, and that underhand ſhe and *Navarre* had one and the ſame deſign. And thereupon he deſerted her, and joyned with the *Guiſes*, his (till then) Mortal Enemies, the Ducheſs *de Valentois* procuring the Reconciliation. *Magdalen of Savoy*, Wife to *Montmorency*, was alſo an implacable enemy to the Reformation, and hated *Coligni* the Admiral, for that and other cauſes, and therefore ſhe perpetually ſtimulated him againſt the Proteſtants.

The younger *Montmorency's* Advice to his Father. 'Francis *Montmorency*, Son of the Conſtable, was a perſon of great Prudence, 'and he wiſely adviſed his Father not to loſe the leaſt of his friends in ſo neceſ-'ſary a time (for he foreſaw a Tempeſt would ariſe in *France*) of what Religion 'ſoever they were: that it did not become a wiſe Man to endeavour to gain 'new friends with the loſs of his old ones, and to prefer the uncertain friendſhip 'of reconciled enemies before the tried affections of his old Acquaintances. That 'if he rejected *Conde*, *Coligni*, and *Rochefoucault*, on the Account of Religion, 'he would deprive his Family of the aſſiſtance of three great Men, and perhaps 'the Queen would think never the better of him: therefore his advice to his Fa-'ther was to ſit ſtill, and let *Coligni*, and the *Guiſes* fight it out, without taking 'part on either ſide, and in all probability *Guiſe* would be worſted; and he would 'become the Arbitrator of the two contending Religions. And in the mean time, 'it was moſt certain, there were many great Errors, by length of time crept in-'to the Church, which he ought not to defend, becauſe they were injurious to 'the Majeſty of God. The good old Gentleman was much moved at this Advice from his Son, but made no other anſwer to it, than That *he certainly knew that if the Religion were changed, the Civil Government would be changed too. That he cared not what became of him, if his little Maſters did well, and the Actions of* Henry II. *might not be called in queſtion; who was a wiſe Prince, and his good Maſter.* So he periſhed in his firſt reſolves, believing he was obliged to defend the Cauſe of Religion againſt his beſt, and moſt ancient, and tried friends.

The Pope seeing his Jurisdiction and Authority decline so fast in *Germany*, *England*, and *France*, greedily embraced a pretended Overture made by one *Abraham*, a *Syrian* Impostor, who pretended he was sent by the *Cophthites*, an Eastern Sect of Christians, to make a submission to the Holy See; whereupon he sent *Christopher-Roderick*, and *John Baptista Elianus*, two Jesuits, to them; who gained nothing by this Mission, but an exact Account of the Opinions of these *Cophthites*, and a certainty of the Frauds of this pretended Ambassador *Abraham*, who had feign'd this Mission to the Pope for his own Ends. 1560. The pretended Submission of the *Cophthites*.

This Mortification was soon after attended by another, not less afflictive to his *Holiness*, for *Gothard Ketler*, Master of the *Teutonick Order* in *Livonia*, intirely submitted to *Sigismond* King of *Poland*, which put an end to that Order; when it had flourished there 357 years. He was thereupon made Duke of *Curland* and *Semigallen*, and Governor of *Livonia*, and, Marrying a Wife, withdrew himself and his Subjects from the See of *Rome*. The Archbishoprick of *Riga* was also about the same time changed into a Dukedom, *John Kothewick*, the last Archbishop of that See, embracing the *Augustane* Confession, put himself under the Protection of the Crown of *Poland*, and was by *Sigismond* made Duke of *Lithuania*. This Archbishoprick was founded in the year 1215, by the procurement of the Knights of the *Teutonick Order*, the City being then and a long time after, the Seat of the Master of it, who divided the Sovereignty and Administration of Justice with the Archbishop. After this short Digression, which the Reader is desired to Pardon, I shall now return to the prosecution of the *French* Affairs. *Livonia* falls off from the See of *Rome*.

The new Friendship between *Montmorency* and the *Guises* was a very frightful thing to the *Queen Regent*, who sought all the way she could possible to divide their Affections, for the preserving her own Authority, and therefore she was very Anxiously inquisitive to find, whether this new Kindness between two such Ancient Enemies tended. The Prince of *Conde* in the mean time was declared Innocent by the Parliament of *Paris* the Thirteenth of *June*, and his Discharge Recorded. The Differences in Religion not only disquieted the Court, but the Provinces also, the two Parties reproaching each other with the Names of *Papist* and *Huguenot*. There were frequent Tumults raised also by the *Roman Catholicks*, to shew that *Coligni* was out, when he said, The Protestant Religion might be divulged throughout all the Provinces without any Disturbance. And at *Amiens* and *Pont-Oise* things came to a Sedition, the Catholick Artificers beginning the Quarrel, and falling upon some of the Houses of some of the Protestants, and they slew one *Hadrian Fourre* a Priest, because he was reported to favour the Reformation, and afterwards burnt his Body publickly, for which only two were hanged. This necessitated the Council to forbid all Reviling Expressions, and all Tumults on the Accounts of Religion; And by it, all that had been banished for Religion in the Reign of *Francis* II. were invited to return, and promised, they should enjoy their Goods and Estates, if they would live like good Catholicks for the future, or otherwise might sell them, and retire elsewhere; which was after opposed by the Parliament at *Paris*, but yet many returned on that account, and many that were in Prison were discharged, so that the Protestant Party appeared numerous. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* was Alarm'd at this, and represented to the King and Queen: *That the whole Kingdom was fill'd with* Conventicles; *That the meaner sort ran to the Sermons out of curiosity, and were easily corrupted*; *That the Ancient Ceremonies were little frequented or regarded, and that they were already derided and scorn'd by many*; *That great numbers every day forsook the Church, and went over to the Protestants.* So he would needs have had a new Edict forthwith published, to prevent these Inconveniences. This being Debated in the Council in the Month of *July*, there was another Edict published. *That all should live peaceably, and without any fury each to other, or reproaching one the other*; *That there be no Listing or Inrolling Men on either side*; *That the Preachers should use no Seditious or Turbulent Expressions upon pain of Death, and the Presidents of the Provinces should determine of these Affairs, and execute the Edict*; *That no Sermons should be frequented by Men Armed or Unarmed, in publick or in private, nor any Sacraments Administred, but according to the Rites of the Church of* Rome; *And, That if any Man was Convicted of Heresie, and delivered to the Secular Power, he should only* The Queen suspects the designs of the Nobility. The Differences of Religion occasion Tumults. An Edict to restrain them. The Edict of *July*.

1560. *only be Baniſhed; and this was to ſtand till a General or a National Council ſhould determine otherwiſe.* This was called the Edict of *July*.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain* procures the Conference of *Poiſſy*.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain* had ſo good an opinion of his own Abilities, that he was fondly perſwaded, he could confute all the Doctrines of the Proteſtants out of the Fathers, and thereby acquire a great Reputation to himſelf, if he could procure a Conference with their Paſtors. It was therefore reſolved, that there ſhould be a Meeting for that purpoſe at *Poiſſy* near St. *Germain* the Tenth of *Auguſt*, and that *Paſports* ſhould be granted to their Miniſters which were to come thither on that account. All of both ſides being invited thither at the ſame time. The Queen Regent was very much for this Diſputation, but the greateſt part of the *Roman Catholicks* were againſt it, as thinking it a dangerous thing to ſuffer the Doctrine, which had hitherto been received, to be brought under debate, and the Religion of their Anceſtors to be diſputed.

Mary Queen of *Scotland* leaves *France*.

In the Interim *Mary* Queen of the *Scots* left *France*, and return'd into *Scotland*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* attending her as far as *Calais*. There was alſo a Theatrical Reconciliation between the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Guiſe*, by the Order of the King; the later proteſting, That he had no hand in the Impriſonment of the Prince, and the Prince telling *Guiſe*, *That the Adviſer and Procurer of his Commitment was a Wicked Man and a Villain*; To which *Guiſe* Anſwered, *That he believed ſo too, but was not concern'd in it.* After which, by the King's Command, they embraced each other as Kinſmen and Friends, and promiſed a firm and ſincere Friendſhip each to other, and there was great Rejoycing in the Court. The Aſſembly of the States was Prorogued laſt year till *May* of this, and then was, on the account of the great Affairs, prorogued to *Auguſt*, and Appointed to be opened at *Pont-Oyſe*.

The Three Eſtates of *France* Aſſembled at *Pont-Oyſe*.

In this Aſſembly, the Agreement between the Queen Regent and the King of *Navar* was Confirm'd by the three Eſtates, which was very difficultly obtain'd by the later. This Aſſembly was opened at St. *Germain*, where *James Bretagne d'Autum*, who ſpoke for the Commons, declaiming ſharply againſt the Ignorance of the Prieſts, and the Corrupt Manners and Depraved Diſcipline of the Clergy, ſo that they were unfit to Lead or Inſtruct the People, but rather diſguſted and diſpleaſed them, doing all things for Hire, and nothing as their Duty, enſlaving themſelves to Pleaſures, and wallowing in Luxury and Idleneſs. To this he aſſigned the Calamities which at preſent oppreſs'd *France*. He therefore moved the King to take away all their Juriſdiction, that he ſhould employ their over-great Riches to Pious Uſes, and call a National Council, which was the only preſent and certain Cure of thoſe Evils; That free Paſports ſhould be given to all that would come to it, and, that the King or ſome of the Princes of the Blood ſhould preſide in it, whilſt Buſineſs of Religion was debated; That the late Decree againſt Conventicles ſhould be no prejudice to thoſe of the Reformed Religion, who rejected the Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, nor any Preſcription as to length of time, *which could not make what in it ſelf was falſe, true; and the Buſineſs of Religion was to be quietly and friendly debated according to the Word of God, and not with the Sword and Reproaches.* He that ſpoke for the Nobility, excuſed the Clergy, and deſired the King to preſerve their Priviledges and Dignities. But then he moved, to have the greateſt part of the Church Lands ſold to pay the Debts of the Crown, pretending, that a third part of the Purchaſe Money put out to Uſe, would be as good to them as the whole Land. That the Edict of *July* might be recall'd, and only multiplicity of Sects, and ill Language, under the pretence of Liberty, prohibited. That a National Council might be call'd, in which the King ſhould preſide. That all Juriſdictions ſhould be taken from the Church, and annexed to the Crown. There were alſo many other things demanded in this Aſſembly, which tended to the Ruine of the Clergy, the Papal Authority growing into Contempt, and the greateſt part, either out of a deſire to promote Piety, or of Love to Novelty, favouring the Proteſtant Party, and daily increaſing their numbers by joyning with them.

The Clergy of *France* give the King Taxes to ſave their Revenues and Juriſdictions.

The Clergy to prevent this Storm wiſely gave the King four Tenths for ſix years, which very much appeaſed the King and the Principal Courtiers towards them.

The

The Queen, by the Advice of *Monluc* Biſhop of *Valence*, wrote about this time a long Letter to the Pope, dated the 5th of *Auguſt*, 'In which, ſtating the dan-'gers which attended the differences in Religion, ſhe exhorted him to provide 'ſpeedy Remedies, becauſe they were become ſo numerous, that they could no 'longer be ſuppreſſed by the Sword; that many of the Principal Nobility and 'Magiſtrates embraced that way, and had drawn over ſuch Numbers, and ſo 'united them, that they were become formidable to the State; yet by the Rare 'Bleſſing of Heaven, they had no *Anabaptiſts*, *Libertines*, *&c.* none that denied 'the Apoſtles Creed, or the Interpretation of it received in the Seven General 'Councils; That therefore moſt were of opinion, that notwithſtanding theſe 'differences, they ought to be received into the Communion of the Church, which 'would end in the Peace of the Church; That the uſe of Images, which was for-'bidden by God, and, as to Adoration, diſproved by St. *Gregory*, ought to be taken 'away; That Exorciſms and ſome of the Prayers uſed in Baptiſm, might be o-'mitted; The Lords Supper Adminiſtred to all the Laity in both Kinds, and the 'Decree of the Council of *Conſtance* ought not to be preferred before the Com-'mand of God; That the Prayers might be uſed in the Vulgar Tongue, and all 'that would Communicate might do ſo the firſt *Sunday* of every Month; That the *Pſalms* might be ſung in the *French* Tongue; A Publick Confeſſion of Sins, Pray-'ers for the Prince, the Magiſtrates, Clergy, Good Weather, Fruitful Seaſons, 'and all Affliction might be in the ſame Tongue; That the late invented 'Feaſt of the Holy Sacrament might be aboliſhed, it being unneceſſary, and the 'cauſe of great Scandal and Offence; and that this Myſtery was Inſtituted for a 'Spiritual Worſhip, and not for Shew and Pomp; That the uſe of the *Latine* 'Tongue, which was foreign and unknown, was a great fault, the Prayers of the 'Church belonging not only to the Clergy, but to all; but as now it ſtands, Who 'can ſay *Amen* to a Prayer in a Language he knows not? That if yet the *Latine* 'muſt be uſed, it were fit an Interpretation ſhould be made of the Prayers in the 'Vulgar Tongue; That the Receiving of the Prieſt in the Sacrifice of the Maſs, 'the People only looking Idely on, is contrary to the Inſtitution; That the 'Pſalms ought to be in the Vulgar Tongue, and alſo the Private Prayers of the 'People; That theſe things might be granted without derogating from the 'Papal Authority. The Pope was infinitely offended with this Letter, and the more, becauſe of the fame of a National Council ſhortly to be holden in *France*; but then he diſſembled his Reſentment, and became the more ſincere in the Aſſem-bling a General Council, which he had rather promiſed than deſigned before. 1560.

The Conference was to be begun the Firſt of *Auguſt* at *Poiſſy*, and the Biſhops and Divines were already arrived there, and had entered into a Debate, what Points were to be Diſputed; where they ſpent the time to no great purpoſe, diſputing amongſt themſelves concerning the Office of a Biſhop, the Dignity of Cathedral Churches, of Colleges and their Exemptions, of the Ordination of Curates and Prieſts; concerning allowing them Competent Penſions, abating their number, reforming the Diſcipline of the Monaſteries, of Commendam's and Benefices, of cutting off the Pleaſures and Luxuries of the Clergy, and of Cenſures. And they thought the Anſwering ſuch like Queries was of great uſe to the Church in theſe confuſed times. There appeared for the Proteſtants *Auguſtin Marlorat*, *Francis de S. Pol*, *Jean Remond Merlin*, *J. Malo*, *Francis de Mureaux*, *N. Tobie*, *Theodore Beza*, *Claud Briſſon*, *J. Bouquin*, *J. Viret*, *J. de la Tour*, *Nich. de Crallas*, and *John De l'Eſpine*, who abjuring the Dominican Order did then firſt openly profeſs the Proteſtant Religion. Soon after *Peter Martyr* came to *Zurich*: Theſe Asked four things; 1ſt. That the Biſhops ſhould be Parties and not Judges; 2d. That the King and Council ſhould Preſide; 3d. That all things might be determin'd only by the Word of God; 4th. That whatever was agreed, ſhould be ſet down by Notaries. The Queen yielded all theſe, but would have one of the Secretaries of State be the only Notary, and ſhe would not conſent that the King ſhould Preſide in the Conference. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* had before objected againſt *Beza*, That he ſhould ſay, that Chriſt was no more preſent in the Sacrament, than in a Muddy Ditch. This Expreſſion is ſaid to have been urged by *Melanchthon* againſt *Oecolampadius* as the Conſequence of his Doctrine, and was by a miſtake of the Cardinal wrongfully charged on *Beza*, who denied and deteſted it as Blaſphemous. The Firſt of *September* the Conference began, the King, the Queen, his Younger Brother, and Siſter, and about Eleven Biſhops being preſent, and the Cardinals of *Bourbon*, *Tournon*, *Chaſtillon*, *Lorrain*, *Armagnac*, and *Guiſe*. The King opened it with a ſhort Speech, which was ſeconded by the *Chancellor* with a

The Conference of *Poiſſy*.

The Proteſtant Miniſters.

Their demands.

The Conference began.

1560. longer. 'In which he preferr'd a National Council before a General, and ſhewed 'that the Errours of many General Councils had been corrected by National Sy- 'nods, particularly the *Arrian* General Council of *Ariminium* was condemn'd by 'a Private Council held by St. *Hillary Biſhop of Poictiers*, and baniſhed out of 'France. He ſaid, they neither needed much Learning nor many Books, the *Bible* 'alone being ſufficient by which Religion was to be Tried and Examined. That 'the Proteſtants were their Brethren, and to be treated as ſuch; if out of Am- 'bition or Avarice they did otherwiſe, God would judge and condemn them, and 'their Decrees would be rejected. That they ought to Amend and give God 'Thanks for any Errour that was diſcovered, and if they did not, God would 'Puniſh them.

The Chancellor's Speech.

After him, the Cardinal of *Tournon* ſpoke, and Thanked the King, Queen and Princes for being preſent, and approved highly of what the Chancellor had ſaid, but deſired a Copy of it, which the Chancellor refuſed, though it was ſeconded by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, becauſe he perceived they craftily deſigned to miſchief him by it. *Theodore Beza*, being next commanded to ſpeak, fell upon his Knees, and after a Prayer, and reciting his Faith, complained to God, that they had been injuriouſly treated as Enemies of the Publick Peace. Then he ſhewed, wherein they agreed with the Church of *Rome*, and wherein they differed, and diſcourſed of the way of attaining Salvation, of Faith, Good Works, the Word of God, the Authority of the Councils and Fathers, of the Sacraments, and of their uſe and true Interpretation; of Tranſubſtantiation and Conſubſtantiation; and laſtly, of the Eccleſiaſtical Order and Diſcipline, and obedience to Princes; he was ſo long and ſo ſharp in ſome of theſe things, that they had ſcarce patience to hear him out, and the Cardinal of *Tournon* preſently replied with a Voice trembling for Rage; 'That he and the other Prelates had done violence to their Con- 'ſciences by condeſcending to this Conference in compliance with his Majeſties 'Commands, by hearing theſe new Evangeliſts. That he foreſaw, if they were 'heard, many things would be ſpoken by them injurious to the Majeſty of God, 'which would offend the Ears of the King, and of all good Men. And there- 'fore he beſeeched his Majeſty not to believe what was ſaid, That if he could have 'prevented it the King ſhould not have been preſent, but, however, he deſired he 'would not ſuffer his Mind to be pre-ingaged in their falſe Opinions, but to ſuſ- 'pend till the Biſhops had Anſwered it, and the King and the reſt there preſent 'ſhould know the difference between Falſehood and Truth. He Asked a Day to 'Anſwer in, and prayed the King that he would perſevere in the Religion of his 'Anceſtors. Laſtly, he added, that, but for the reſpect they bore to the King, 'the Biſhops would have ariſen and put a ſtop to thoſe horrible and abominable 'Words. The Queen calmly ſaid, ſhe had done the thing without the Advice of the Parliament of *Paris*, the Princes, and Privy-Council; That no change was deſigned, but that the Diſturbances of *France* might be appeaſed, and Men friendly brought from their Errors into the Old Way, which belonged to them to effect.

Beza ſpeaks.

Tournon replies with rage.

The Queens Anſwer.

The Points debated.

The firſt Diſpute was, about the *Lords Supper*; The ſecond, which was the 17th of *Auguſt*, was about the Church, which, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* ſaid, could not Err, That if any particular Church did, Recourſe was to be had to the Head, the Church of *Rome*, and the Decrees of a General Council, and the Concurrent Opinions of the Ancient Fathers; and before all, to the *Sacred Scriptures* explain'd by the Right Senſe and Interpretation of the Church. As to the *Lord's Supper*, in effect, he ſaid, That if the *Proteſtants* would not embrace their Opinions, there was no hope of an Agreement. The Cardinal of *Tournon* thereupon applauded his Harangue, and ſaid, he was ready to lay down his Life for this Faith, intreating the King to continue ſtedfaſt in it, and was contented (Good Man!) that if the Proteſtants would ſubſcribe theſe two Points, they ſhould be admitted to diſpute all the reſt; but if they refuſed this, all hearing was to be denied them, and they were to be expell'd out of his Dominions. *Beza* deſired to Anſwer him Extempore, but the King delayed the Anſwer to the next day.

Upon a Petition, the Miniſters were heard at laſt again the 24th of *September* before the Queen only; when *Beza* diſcourſed of the Church and its Notes, which, he ſaid, were the Preaching of the Word, and a Pure Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. As for the Succeſſion of Perſons and Doctrines, it had been often interrupted; He diſcourſed of the Ordinary and Extraordinary Vocation, of the Univerſal Church and her Authority, of Councils, which he affirm'd had, and

might

might err, of the Dignity of Scripture, and whether the Scriptures were to be preferr'd before the Church, or did borrow their Authority from the Church. 1560.

Claud d' Eſpence, a learned Man, who deſired very much the Church might regain her former Peace, being Commanded by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, to anſwer *Beza*, began with a Declaration, that he had a long time wiſhed, that there might have been Conferences, and ſaid, he had ever abhorred thoſe Bloody Proceedings which had been uſed againſt thoſe miſerable Men. Then he ſaid, he wondered by what Authority the Proteſtants took upon them the Office of the Miniſtery, and by whom they were Ordain'd and Inſtituted; and that ſeeing they had received Impoſition of hands from no body, how could they be accounted lawful Miniſters; for it was manifeſt, they had no Ordinary call: And they muſt prove an Extraordinary Vocation by Miracles, which they had not. And thence he concluded, they never came into the Church, either by an Ordinary or an Extraordinary call. As to *Traditions*, if any Controverſie aroſe about the Senſe of Scriptures, which could not be otherwiſe adjuſted, they *muſt* of neceſſity have recourſe to the Fathers, who had their Authority from their lawful and ordinary Call or Succeſſion, becauſe upon them the Guifts of the Spirit were beſtowed: As it was written of the *Levites*, whoſe Anſwers were not to be queſtion'd. That many things were ſetled by Traditions, which were not written in the Scriptures. As, that the Father was not begotten; That the Son was of the ſame Subſtance with the Father; That Infants were to be Baptized; That the Bleſſed Virgin continued a Virgin after ſhe brought forth; That the Decrees of General Councils ſhould be valid, and that they cannot err in Matters of Faith; and that it cannot be ſhewn, that any of the later Councils have corrected the former.

Claud d' Eſpence oppoſeth *Beza*.

The Ordination of the Proteſtant Miniſters Queſtion'd.

Beza replied, that the Impoſition of hands was no neceſſary note of a lawful Call, The two principal were, a due Inquiry into the Doctrine and Manners of the Perſon, and an Election of them to the Miniſtery. That they were not to expect Impoſition of hands from the Biſhops who oppoſed the Truth, and perſecuted thoſe that Preached it. And that Miracles were not always neceſſary to an extraordinary Call, which he endeavoured to prove by *Iſaiah*, *Daniel*, *Amos*, *Zachariah*, and St. *Paul*. In the next congreſs, *Beza* ſpoke much about the Calling of the Proteſtant Miniſters, but in ſuch a manner as tended more to the exaſperating of the Prelates, than the appeaſing them; ſo that theſe two days were ſpent in mere ſquabble, without order, and to no purpoſe.

Beza Replies.

There was then in *France John Laines*, a Spaniard, General of the Jeſuits, who came thither with *Hippolito d' Eſte* Cardinal of *Ferrara*, ſent by Pope *Pius* IV. as Legate to the King. This *Laines*, being preſent this day at the Conference, call'd the Proteſtant Miniſters *Monkeys*, *Foxes*, and *Monſters*; and ſaid, they were to be turn'd over to the Council call'd by the Pope: Then he fell upon the Queen, for medling in *things that did not belong to her, but to* the Pope, Cardinals, and Biſhops; and he ſaid, it was not lawful, whil'ſt a General Council was in being, for the Queen to appoint by her private Authority a Conference here. The Queen was much enraged at the Inſolence of this Man, but, out of Reverence to the Legate, ſuppreſs'd her reſentment; after this Day there were no more Publick Conferences, but they Drew out three of a Side, and endeavoured to form ſuch an Expoſition of the Lord's Supper as both Parties might agree in, which in the End proved impoſſible to be done, and ſo the Conference of *Poiſſi* ended, which was the firſt Liberty that was granted to diſpute the Eſtabliſhed Religion in *France*; and was blamed by ſome as a thing of ill Example, and approved by others as the only means left to prevent the Storm which hung over their heads. But it had not that effect, ſo the Miniſters, and eſpecially *Beza*, (who was invited by the Queen) were honourably diſmiſs'd.

Laines General of the Jeſuits his Rudeneſs in the Conference.

The Fame of this Conference being diffuſed through *Italy* and *Spain*, *Philip* the Second was ſtrangely ſurprized at it; ſo the Queen ſent *Jacques de Maulbrun*, * a Perſon of good Birth and Repute to excuſe it. That Prince would hardly be induced to hear the reaſon of it, and turning him over to the Duke *de Alva*, he blamed their fearfulneſs, and adviſed them to return to the ſame Severities which had been uſed in the Reigns of *Henry* II. and *Francis* II. promiſing his Maſters Aſſiſtance for the Extirpation of the Proteſtants. Adding, *That the King had been ſolicited to it by the Catholick Nobility and People of* France, *and that he could not neglect their Petition, but he muſt be wanting to himſelf; That he did not fear ſuch vain reproaches, as that with foreign Forces he invaded what was anothers; becauſe in this Cauſe the Spaniſh Forces were no foreigners, when the Religion of their Anceſtors was at the ſtake.* By this

* In the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, call'd *Jaques de Montbrun*.

it

1560. it appeared to the Court of *France*, That there was a Correſpondence between their Catholicks and the *Spaniards*, and one *Arthur Deſier*, a Prieſt, was taken much about this time near *Orleans*, going into *Spain* with a Letter from ſome great Men to King *Philip*, to perſuade him to undertake the Protection of their Infant King, and of the Catholick Religion, which was in great danger to be ruin'd; for which he was ordered to do Penance by the Parliament of *Paris*, and committed to the Carthuſian Monks to be kept a Priſoner for ever; but afterwards he made his Eſcape. This Sentence was pronounced againſt him the 14th of *July*.

A Popiſh Poſition gives great Offence in *France*.

In the End of this Year, one *Jean Tanquerel*, a young Divine, propoſed as his Theſis in a Diſputation, *That the Pope as Chriſt's only Vicar and the Monarch of the Church, can by his Spiritual and Secular Power, command all faithful Princes as his Subjects; and if they diſobey his Precepts, deprive them of their Dignities and Kingdoms*; which being complain'd off to the King, the Chancellor ſent a Commiſſion to inquire into it, and *Tanquerel* being fled, it was ordered, that the Patritor of the Theological Faculty ſhould make a Recantation of it in his Name in the School of the *Sorbonne*, before the Dean, and all the Fellows and Students of that Faculty, in the Preſence of the Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, the King's Counſel and Solicitor, and for the future, the Parliament forbad all ſuch queſtions to be given. And ordered the *Sorbonne* to ſend two of their Fellows to beg the King's Pardon. This Decree paſſed the 2d of *December*, and was put in Execution ten days after.

The Council of *Trent* recall'd.

The Pope had till now dreaded a General Council, as tending to the abatement of his Power, and on that ſcore had delayed it till *Coſmus* Duke of *Florence*, and the fear of a National Council in *France*, prevail'd upon him to reaſſume that which was began by *Paul* III. continued by *Julius* III. and was at laſt interrupted by the Commotions of *Germany*: In order to this, the 19th of *November* 1559. he Publiſhed a Bull for the recalling this Council to *Trent* at the Feaſt of *Eaſter* of this Year, vehemently Exhorting all Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops and Abbats, and all others who had the Right or Privilege to Sit and Vote in a General Council by common right, or any Privilege or Ancient Cuſtom; that at that Day they would be preſent in the ſaid Council: He alſo Admoniſhed the Emperor Elect, and all other Chriſtian Kings and Princes, that if they could not be perſonally preſent, they ſhould ſend their Ambaſſadors thither; affirming beforehand, that he deſigned nothing by this Council but the Glory of God, the Reduction and Salvation of the ſcattered Sheep, and the laſting Peace of Chriſtendom. There was ſoon after a ſharp Invective Printed at *Ausburg* by *Paulus Vergerius* Biſhop of *Cabo di Iſtria* in *Friuli*, who was a Cardinal, and had been imployed by ſeveral of the preceding Popes in great Ambaſſies, and had lately left that Church, and betaken himſelf to the Proteſtants of *Germany*. "In it he ſet forth the Pride, Pomp, Luxury, "Ambition, Bribery, and corrupt Manners of the Court of *Rome*. which he vow'd "he well knew, and from his heart deteſted. That the Council was not call'd by "the Pope, to eſtabliſh the Doctrine of Chriſt, but thoſe Human Inventions "which they had brought in contrary to the Commandments of God, not to Purge "God's *fold*, but to diſſeminate their inveterate Errors, not to reſtore Chriſtian "Liberty, but to introduce a miſerable Servitude and Oppreſſion on the Souls of "Men; none but the Biſhops and Abbats, who ſhould take an Oath preſcribed "by the Roman Ceremonial, *Lib.* 1. *c.* III. §. XIV. being permitted to ſit there: "That all the inferior Clergy, and ſecular Princes had only a right to come, be "inſtructed, but not to deliberate or vote, by which it muſt needs come to paſs "that not only all thoſe who had ſeparated from that Church on the account of "her groſs Errors would not be heard; which was promiſed at firſt by *Paul* III. "but that alſo many of the moſt Skilful and moſt Learned Doctors of that Church "would be excluded from giving any Vote; and all Liberty, in which only there "was any hope of reſtoring the Peace of the Church, would be taken away, and a "Door opened to let in a Schiſm which would never have an end.

The Pope's Bull.

Vergerius oppoſeth the Council.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the Proteſtant Princes to invite them to the Council.

The Pope, perceiving that this Complaint would irritate the Minds of the *German* Princes, for whoſe ſake the Council was firſt Indicted, ſent Ambaſſadors to them; *Zachariah Delfino* Biſhop of *Faro*, and *John Francis Comendon* Biſhop of *Zant*, being by his order directed to all the Princes with Letters of Credence. They went, firſt to *Ferdinand* the Emperor, who was then at *Vienna*; from thence, they went by his Advice, to meet all the Princes of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*, who were then Aſſembled at *Naumberg* upon the River *Saole* in *Saxony*: whom they were to treat very gently and modeſtly, ſtudying to avoid whatever might give occaſion of Exaſpera-

Exaſperation or Offence, by the Counſel of this great and excellent Prince; he telling them, this was the eaſieſt way to do their Buſineſs, and to get a Poſitive Anſwer. He alſo reminded them of the Conditions upon which the Proteſtant Princes had in the laſt Dyet declared, they would conſent to the Council of *Trent*. That if they hap'ned to be mentioned, the Ambaſſadors might not be deſtitute of an Anſwer. He alſo ſent Three Ambaſſadors of his own with them, 1. *Otho* Count of *Eberſtin*. 2. *Felix Bogiſlaus*, Baron of *Haſſenſtein*; And 3. *Chriſtopher Meela*, Vice-Chamberlain of *Bohemia*. Theſe being admitted the day after their Arrival at *Naumburg*, into the Aſſembly of the Princes, exhorted them to be preſent in the Council to be ſhortly holden at *Trent*, that an end might ſo be put to the lamentable Differences of Religion, and the Calamities of *Germany*. When they had deliberated on the Propoſal, they return'd this Anſwer; "That they "were very Thankful to the Emperour for his Care of, and Love to the Empire. "As to the Council, they did not refuſe a Free, General, and truly Chriſtian "Council, in which, not the Pope, but the Word of God ſhould ſit as Judge, "the Oath of the Biſhops being diſcharged, and a Liberty allowed to thoſe of "the *Auguſtane Confeſſion* to Vote: But on the contrary, they perceived the Pope "pretended to continue the Council of *Trent*, and only to allow thoſe Biſhops to "Vote, who were Sworn to him, againſt which they had already Proteſted in "many *Dyets* of the Empire: They concluded with a Promiſe of a more parti- "cular Anſwer when they had conſulted the Princes aſſembled at *Newburg*, they "having as yet no Inſtructions concerning this Point, from them, or their Depu- "ties. And in the mean time, they prayed the Emperour that he would preſerve "inviolably the League of *Paſſaw*, and the Peace of Religion. 1561. Their Anſwer to the Emperor.

After this, both the Pope's Legates were heard one after another, who ſaid very much in Commendation of *Pius* IV. his great Care of Religion, and good Affection towards them: That to this end, he had recall'd the Council to *Trent*, for the *Extirpation of Hereſie* and *Sects*; in which he promiſed all things ſhould be tranſacted with Chriſtian Charity, and Brotherly Affection, and all ſhould be fully and ſweetly heard, and Determinations made, and Suffrages given, with the utmoſt freedom and liberty. Therefore they exhorted them to ſend Ambaſſadors with Plenary Inſtructions, and lend their Aſſiſtance to the bringing ſo commendable a Deſign to its deſired end; which was, the reſtoring Peace to Chriſtendom. They delivered alſo the Pope's Letters to the ſeveral and reſpective Proteſtant Princes, which being Superſcribed with the word *Son*, were all return'd Seal'd, to the Legates. The laſt day of the Meeting, the Electors, and other Princes, in the Morning return'd an Anſwer to the Pope's Legates. That they did not acknowledge the Popes Juriſdiction; nor think themſelves bound to give him any account what they intended in the Buſineſs of the Council, the Calling and holding of which belonged not to him; but they had fully declared their Minds to *Ferdinand*, the Emperour, their gracious Lord. That as for them, (the Legates,) they eſteemed them for their Noble Birth, and great Learning, and ſhould have ſhewn them greater reſpects, if they had not come on the Pope's Errand. Being thus diſmiſſed, they went to *Lubeck*, and ſent to *Frederick* King of *Denmark* for leave to come to him; but had for an Anſwer, *That neither he, nor his Father, had never had any Buſineſs with the Pope, nor did he deſire now to know their Errand.*" And *Martinego*, who was ſent to Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, was forbidden to come over. 1561. The Pope's Legates Admitted. Their Anſwer to the Legates.

To give the Reader a certain and clear knowledge of this Meeting at *Naumburg*. The 13th of *January*, *Frederick* the *Elector Palatine*, *Auguſtus* Duke of *Saxony* and *Elector*, *Jo. Frederick* of *Saxony*, *Wolfang*, of the *Palatine Family*, *Erneſt* and *Philip* Dukes of *Brunſwick*, *Ulrick* Duke of *Meckleburg*, *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Wirtemburg*, *Charles* Marquis of *Baden*, *Erneſt* Prince of *Henneberg*; and the Ambaſſadors of *Joachim* Duke and Elector of *Brandenburg*, and of *John* and *George Fredirick* of that Family, of *Philip* Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, and of *Barnim* and *Jo. Frederick* Dukes of *Pomerania*, upon the report of a *Council* ſuddenly to be aſſembled, met at *Naumburg*, to which place the King of *Denmark*, and the Princes of *Lunenburg*, ſent only Letters of Friendſhip, to aſſure thoſe that met, that they would ſtand by them. The deſign of it was, to put an end to thoſe Controverſies which had ariſen amongſt the Proteſtants themſelves, to renew their Subſcriptions to the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*, to conſider, and by mutual Conſent to reſolve, whether they ſhould go to the Council, or refuſe it. They had great Controverſies amongſt themſelves about the various Editions of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*, which had been explained, enlarged, The occaſions of the meeting at *Naumburg*.

1561. enlarged, and as to the Expreſſions very often changed, and the Elector of *Saxony* was for the retaining the firſt Edition, and putting the *Smalcaldick* Articles, by way of Preface to it; but the reſt not conſenting to it, he left *Naumburg*, and return'd. When they came to conſider the Council of *Trent*, they were no leſs divided in that too: Some were for an abſolute rejection of it, others were for the ſending Ambaſſadors from the ſeveral States, who ſhould propoſe the giving an Account of their Faith in a free and truly Chriſtian Synod; and enter a great Complaint againſt the Pope and Court of *Rome*, make their Exceptions to the Council on the account of the Suſpition of the Judges, the perverſe Method or Order of Proceedings, and the Inconvenience of the Place, this they conceived would mitigate the Envy had been raiſed againſt them, and ſhew, that their Enemies, and not they, were the obſtructers of Concord and Union. After this they ſent Deputies to the Duke of *Saxony*, deploring his departure before the End of the Conference, and giving him an Account of the Form of Confeſſion they had Agreed to Subſcribe, and deſiring him that he would alſo ſubſcribe it, or at leaſt reſtrain his Divines from traducing and defaming it, as they had before done by ſome things agreed at *Frankford*. Soon after *Auguſtus* Duke of *Saxony* Married *Anne* Daughter of *Morice* of the Family of *Naſſaw*, and Brother to *William* Prince of *Orange*.

The *Engliſh* reject the Council.

Jerolamus Martinego, who was ſent to Treat with Queen *Elizabeth* for the ſame end as I have ſaid already, came into *Flanders*, and from thence, according to the ancient Cuſtom, ſent for Leave to come into *England*, but was denied it, the Council of *England* not thinking it fit to admit a *Nuncio* from the Pope, when there were ſo many *Roman* Catholicks in the Nation, who, being brought up in that Religion, would be apt upon ſuch an Encouragement, to Imbroil our Affairs at home and abroad. The Biſhop of *Viterbo*, the Popes Legate at *Paris*, thereupon began to Treat with *Throcmorton* our Ambaſſador in that Court; That Queen *Elizabeth* would be pleaſed to ſend her Ambaſſadours to the Council, in which he was ſeconded by Letters from the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, and the Cardinal of *Portugal*, and the Duke *de Alva*. To which ſhe replied, 'That 'from her Heart ſhe deſired a General Council, but ſhe would have nothing to do 'with a Papal.' That ſhe would have nothing to do with the Pope neither, whoſe 'Authority was baniſhed out of *England* by the conſent of the Three Eſtates. 'That it belonged not to him, but to the Emperour to call a Council; and, that 'ſhe acknowledged no greater Authority in him than in any other Biſhop.

Erick King of *Sweden* Crown'd.

The Twenty fifth of *July Erirk* King of *Sweden* was Crown'd with great Pomp at *Stockholme* upon the *Baltick* Sea. *Charles* Cardinal of *Caraffa* and Nephew of the laſt Pope, was ſtrangled the Sixth of *March* in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, upon pretence, That he had Exaſperated *Paul* IV. his Uncle with his falſe Stories, and put him upon a War; That he had cauſed the Truce between *France* and *Spain* to be broken, had entered underhand Treaties with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, and alſo with the *Turk*, the Enemies of Chriſtianity; but in reality, becauſe the Pope was much offended with the ſharp Anſwers the Cardinal made after he was impriſon'd; The Pope being thereupon made ſenſible, that the Cardinal was a Perſon of great Spirit and Intereſt, and if ever he were diſmiſs'd, he would at one time or other Revenge the Quarrel upon the Popes Relations, ſo that his Holineſs contrary to his firſt Intentions, found it was needful to cut him off, though againſt Law, as his own Canoniſts generally ſaid. The Count *de Paliani*, Brother of the Cardinal of *Caraffa*, had the ſame fate, but on other pretences.

The Cardinal of *Caraffa* Hanged.

A National Council deſired in *France*.

In *France* all that deſired the Peace of the Church and the Reformation of Religion, concluded, the Pope would not hold a Council whatever he pretended, and therefore urged the having of a National Council; which was oppoſed by the *Guiſes* and their Faction, for fear the Proteſtant Party ſhould prevail in it againſt the Catholick. They did whatever they could to perſwade the King and Council from it, and procured the Pope to perſwade *Philip* King of *Spain* to intereſt himſelf in it, who ſent *Anthony* Biſhop of *Toledo* to perſwade the Queen to ſend the *French* Clergy to the Council of *Trent*; and that in the mean time, to prevent a Schiſm, the thoughts of a National Council ſhould be laid aſide. He had Orders alſo, as occaſion offered, to threaten thoſe who favoured the *Proteſtants*, and to give aſſurances of his Maſters readineſs to ſupport the young King; which was ill taken in *France*, as a kind of uſurping a Right to interpoſe their *Spaniſh* Pride in the *French* Affairs. *Toledo* died in *France*, and *Maurice* his Succeſ-

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for became very importunate with the Queen to begin a Perſecution againſt the Proteſtants, which was as ſtiffly oppoſed by the King of *Navar*; who demanded his Kingdom, and interrupted all the *Spaniſh* Proceedings by his frequent Complaints to the young King. King *Philip* finding, to his Coſt, that this Princes Power was greater in *France* than he imagin'd, began a Deſign upon him to make him more pliant to his Deſires. This was to reject his Wife, and Marry *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, and then declaring himſelf Head of the Catholicks in *France*, the King of *Spain* was to give him *Sardinia* for *Navar*, and to help him to Conquer *England*; and ſo two Heretical Queens were for Hereſie to be laid aſide, and the Pope was to Conſecrate and Bleſs the Buſineſs. The King of *Navar* deteſting the Project of Repudiating his Queen, the Exchange of *Sardinia* was driven on with more eagerneſs, pretending it was the greateſt Iſland in the *Mediterranean Sea*, next *Sicily*, and the moſt fruitful, rich, and populous, and ſituate very conveniently for a Conqueſt of *Barbary*. This Project being alſo ſeconded by the Popes *Nuncio*, the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, prevented the calling of a National Council, which Wiſe Men thought was the only thing that could have prevented the Civil War, which after broke out to the almoſt total Ruine of *France*. 1560. The King of *Navar* drawn over to the Popiſh Party, by the King of *Spain*'s Arts.

Though the Edict of *July* had forbidden all Meetings of the Proteſtants, yet their Number daily increaſing, and with it their Confidence; not only Sermons were openly made, but the Prieſts were in many places forcibly expell'd, and the Churches ſeized for the uſe of the Miniſters, which gave being to the Edict of the 3d of *November*, for the Reſtitution of thoſe Churches upon pain of Death; which by the Perſwaſion of the Miniſters themſelves, was obeyed throughout the Kingdom. But when notwithſtanding Men ſeem'd rather enraged than appeaſed by the Edict of *July*, and the Conference of *Poiſſy* was broken up without any effect, there being every day news brought of new Commotions, they began to think of ſome more effectual Remedy, which that it might meet with the greater approbation, and by conſequence be the more univerſally executed, the Preſidents and ſome choſen Members of all the Parliaments of *France* were ſummon'd before the King to St. *Germain*, by whoſe Advice it was to be drawn and Moddel'd. Upon which the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Duke of *Guiſe* left the Court, conceiving the thing would do it ſelf, now *Montmorancy* and the King of *Navar* had eſpouſed that Intereſt. 1561. A new invented Convention for the Regulating matters of Religion in *France*.

About the ſame time there was a dreadful Tumult at *Dijon*; whil'ſt the Proteſtants were aſſembled at their Sermon, the Rabble thought fit to make themſelves the Executioners of the Edict of *July*, and having procured a Drum to beat before them, they marched againſt the *Huguenots*, but the Meeters made uſe of their Weapons, and repell'd Force with Force; The Rabble thereupon turn'd their fury againſt the Private Families, and plundered ſeveral Houſes. There were alſo ſome Tumults at *Paris* on the ſame ſcore, and towards the end of the year all things tended to a general Revolution. A Tumult at *Dijon*.

Having thus repreſented the State of Religion in all the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, as ſhortly, and as well as I can, I return now to *Scotland*. The Meſſengers they had ſent into *France* to procure the Royal Conſent to the Acts they had made in their laſt Parliament, were no ſooner return'd with *a poſitive denial, and a dreadful Reprimand*, which frighted and exaſperated the Nation both at once; but they had the Joyful News of the Death of King *Francis* II. to their great ſatisfaction, and the no leſs affliction of the *French* Faction in that Kingdom. On the other ſide, the Nobility, who had lent their Aſſiſtance to the Expulſion of the *French*, immediately met at *Edinburg*, and after a Conſultation, ſent the Lord *James* to their Queen to perſwade her to return into *Scotland*; *Leſley* however prevented them, and got to her ſome days before the Lord *James*. She was then at *Vitrie* in *Campaigne*, whither ſhe was retired to lament her Loſs: His buſineſs was, to beſpeak her favour to the Catholick Party, and return into *Scotland*; The firſt ſhe readily promiſed, and as for the other ſhe ordered him to Attend till ſhe had reſolved what to do. It was ſoon after reſolved, that ſhe ſhould leave *France*, ſo that the Lord *James* found her fixed to return when he came into *France*, yet his Aſſuring her of the great deſires the Nobility of *Scotland* had to ſee her there again, much confirm'd her. So ſhe ſent him back with Orders, to ſee that nothing ſhould be attempted contrary to the Treaty of *Leith* in her abſence. *Scotch* Affairs. Queen *Mary* reſolves to return into *Scotland*.

1561. In *March* following, M. *Giles Noailles*, a Senator of *Bourdeaux*, arrived at *Leith*, with three Demands from the new King of *France*: 1. *That the old League between* France *and* Scotland *ſhould be renewed.* 2. *That the late Confederacy with* England *ſhould be diſſolved.* 3. *That the Church-men ſhould be reſtored to all they had been deprived of.* But the Council replied, That it did not befit them, to treat of things of that Conſequence, before the Aſſembly of the States, which was to be held the 21ſt of *May*, when the Lord *James* made anſwer, That the *French*, and not the *Scots*, had broke the old League, by endeavouring to enſlave them. 2. That they could not violate the Treaty made with *England*; and, as to the third, That they did not acknowledge thoſe he interceded for, to be *Church men*, and that *Scotland*, having renounced the Pope, would no longer maintain his Prieſts and Vaſſals. About the ſame time, the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencarn* returned from *England*, whither they had been ſent, with Aſſurances, That the Queen *would aſſiſt them in the Defence of the Liberties of the Kingdom, if, at any time, they ſtood in need of her Help*; which was heard with much Joy.

As the Lord *James* returned into *Scotland*, he waited upon Queen *Elizabeth*, and adviſed her to ſtop Queen *Mary*, if ſhe came by *England*, (as he expected ſhe would) 'till he had ſecured the State of Religion in *Scotland*; for tho' ſhe had promiſed, She would continue all things in the State ſhe found them, yet he would not intirely rely upon her Promiſe, having ſo often heard the old Maxim from the late Regent. To make ſure work therefore, he procured an Act to be paſſed in this Convention, for the Demoliſhing all the Cloyſters, and Abby Churches, which were yet left ſtanding in that Kingdom; the Execution whereof, as to the Weſtern Parts, was committed to the Earls of *Arran*, *Argile*, and *Glencarn*; as to the North, to the Lord *James*; and as to the Inland Counties, to ſome Barons that were thought the moſt Zealous: Whereupon enſued a moſt deplorable Devaſtation of *Churches*, and Church-buildings, ſaith *Spotiſwood*, throughout all the Kingdom; for every one made bold to put to their Hands, the meaner ſort imitating the Example of the greater, and thoſe who were in Authority. No difference was made, but all the Churches were either defaced, or pulled down to the ground. The Church Plate, and what ever Men could make Money of, as Timber, Lead, and Bells, were put to ſale, and the Monuments of the Dead, the Regiſters of the Churches and Libraries were burn'd or deſtroyed, and what eſcaped the Fury of the firſt Tumults now periſhed in a common Shipwrack, and that under the colour of publick Authority. *John Knox* is ſaid to have very much promoted this Calamity, by a Maxim he publiſhed, That the *ſure way to drive away the Rooks, was to pull down their Neſts*, which, in probability, he meant only of the *Monks*; but now their Hands were in, was extended to all the Church Buildings: *Noailles* was then in *Scotland*, and carried the News of this dreadful Reformation to the Queen into *France*.

The Proteſtant Religion ſetled in Scotland.

The Queen angry with the Proceedings.

She was much enraged at it, and ſaid to ſome of her Confidents, that ſhe would imitate *Mary* Queen of *England*; but however, ſhe had wit enough to diſſemble her Reſentment for the preſent.

Queen Mary goes into Scotland.

In order to her return, ſhe left *Vitri*, and went to *Paris*; and having waited upon the King, and Queen-Regent, to take her leave of them, ſhe took her Journy towards *Calais*, Queen *Elizabeth* had ſent the Earl of *Bedford*, to condole the Death of *Francis*, her late Husband, and to deſire her Ratification of the Treaty of *Leith*; but this, ſhe ſaid, ſhe could not do, 'till ſhe had conſulted with the Nobility of *Scotland*; and when the Ambaſſador replied, They could not but approve of what they had made, ſhe replied, *They did, but not all*; *and when I come amongſt them, it will appear what mind they are of.* The Duke of *Guiſe*, and the reſt of the great Men of that Family, attended her to *Calais*, and the Marqueſs of *Elboeuf*, and *Francis*, , Grand *Prior* of *France*, went with her. She took Ship the 14th of *Auguſt*, and arrived at *Leith* in *Scotland* the 20th. She was much concerned, for fear Queen *Elizabeth* might intercept her in her way home, and therefore, ſent again for the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador; but when he ſtill inſiſted, to have the Treaty of *Leith* ratified, ſhe delayed it. Her Uncle, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, adviſed her, to leave her Jewels and Treaſures in *France*, 'till ſhe were ſafe in *Scotland*; but ſhe ſaid, It was folly, to be more concerned for her Jewels, than for her Perſon, which ſhe muſt hazard. The truth is, her Fear was well grounded, for Queen *Elizabeth* ſent a Fleet to way-lay her; but the two Navies paſſed by one another, in a dark foggy day, unperceived, and ſhe ſafely arrived at *Leith* the 21th of *Auguſt*.

The

The beginning of her Government was very gracious, and she condescended to grant, *That no Change or Alteration should be made in the present State of Religion*; only, she said, she would use her own Religion apart, and have a Mass in private, which was, and by many was thought, very reasonable, she having been Educated in the *Roman* Church, and being a Sovereign Princess: Yet the Preachers, in their Sermons, publickly condemned that Toleration of their Queen, as unlawful; and the Earl of *Arran*, being exasperated by his Imprisonment, on the account of Religion, in *France*, by the Order of the *Guises*, from whence he made his Escape, replied, *That he did neither agree to Publick nor Private Mass*; which highly displeased the Queen. And *Archimbald Douglas*, Provost of *Edinburg*, put out an Order, commanding all Papists to be gone; for which, the Queen committed him to the Castle of *Edinburg*: And one of the common sort of Men broke the Tapers in the Court, which were prepared for her Chapel, and a Tumult had ensued to the Ruine of the other Preparatives for her Chapel, if some wiser Men had not interposed; amongst whom, the Lord *James* was one of the greatest and forwardest, to suppress this insolent Disorder: On the other side, the Marques of *Elboeuf* was much offended, to see the Protestant Religion exercised openly in *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Huntley*, a vain Man, proffer'd the Queen his Service, to reduce all the North Parts of *Scotland* to the Popish Religion, which was wisely rejected. 1561.

Her beginning very gracious to the *Protestants*.

The Preachers would not Tolerate the Queen.

See *Spotiswood*, pag. 182.

In the middle of *September*, the Duke of *Aumarl*, and the rest of the *French*, which had come home with the Queen, went back to *France*, but the Marques of *Elboeuf*, who stayed with her all the Winter. She sent *William* Lord *Maitland* to Queen *Elizabeth*, with Letters full of kind and friendly Expressions, and desiring the like Returns from her: And, amongst other things, that she would declare her *the lawful Heir to the Crown of* England, *in case she* (Queen *Elizabeth*) *should dye without Issue*; which Queen *Elizabeth* denied, but said, *She would never wrong her, nor her Cause, if it be just in the least point; and that she knew not any, whom she would prefer before her, or who* (*if the Title should fall to be controverted*) *might exclude her.*

Great Kindness in shew, between Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Queen of *Scots*, in the mean time, caused a new Provost of *Edinburg* to be Elected, changed the Common Council, and put out a Proclamation, That *all her good and faithful Subjects should repair to, and remain within, the Birgh, at their pleasure, for doing their lawful Business*; which was in opposition to the Provost's Order. She kept her Masses too, more publickly, and with greater pomp; of all which, the Ministers complain'd in vain in their Sermons. The Nobility had divided the Church Lands amongst them, and had now another Game to persue, and were striving who should be most in the Queen's Favour.

Queen *Mary* begins to favour the Romish Party.

The Queen's Expences being soon found too great, for the poor Revenues of the Crown of *Scotland* to maintain. The Remainder of the Church Lands was divided into three parts, one was assigned to the Queen, one to the Ministers, and the third was left to the Bishops and Parsons of the *Romish Communion*, which they were forced to yield to, to prevent the loss of all, they now subsisting merely by the Queen's Favour. The Earl of *Huntley*, to be made Lord Chancellor, turned *Roman Catholick* again, which encouraged one *Winyet*, a Priest, to write a Book against the Reformation, for which, he was censured and forced to leave *Scotland*. Not long after which, she created the Lord *James*, her Brother, first, Earl of *Marr*, and then of *Murray*, the Lord *Ereskin* claiming, and at last obtaining, the Earldom of *Marr*, which much offended *Huntley*, which had enjoyed both these Titles ever since the death of *James* the Fifth. This made *Huntley* enter into many base and unworthy Designs to murder *Murray*, which were all, by one means or other, discovered, and, at last, ended in the Death of *Huntley*, and the Execution of *John Gordon*, his eldest Son, a hopeful yonng Gentleman, in the Year following. 1562.

Yet she augments her Revenues out of the Church Lands.

The beginning of the Year 1562, was very unquiet in *France*. The King had called an Assembly of the Delegates of all the Parliaments of *France*, in the end of the last year, which was to meet at St. *Germain* the 17th of *January* of this year, to consider of the means of appeasing these Broils, and preserving the Peace of *France*. The King opened this Assembly with a short Speech, which was seconded by a larger, made by the Chancellor; who having given a short account of the several Edicts, that had been made before in the business of Religion; and shewn how they had all, by one means or other, been defeated. He added, That *Laws were of no use, if they were not Religiously observed. But then*, (said he), *if the*

The *French* Affairs.

1562. *Queſtion is put, Why are not the Laws executed? Muſt not you, that are the Judges, bear the blame? For if they excuſe themſelves, and ſay, That it was not in their power to execute them, I will accept the Anſwer, upon condition they will ingenuouſly confeſs, That neither was it in the King's power: And that this Affair of Religion, by a ſecret Judgment of God, for the Chaſtiſement of our Luxury, Indevotion, and Neglect of his Glory, is ſo diſpoſed, that we may, by the ſeverity of the Puniſhment, be brought to Repentance. In the year 1518, when theſe Commotions firſt began, there is no Man but knows, how corrupt the Manners, and how looſe, or rather profligate, the Diſcipline of the Church was throughout the World: For, to omit the Court of* Rome, *in which, there was nothing right and ſound, we had here in* France *a young King, brought up in Pleaſures, tho' he afterwards was much improved, but he was then very diſſolute; nor was* Henry *of* England *any better: And after all the Judgments God has ſent from Heaven upon us, we have not repented or amended; and therefore, there is no wonder, that this ſad difference of Religion cannot be compoſed, and the Peace of the Church reſtored. No, on the contrary it is now apparent, that our Enemies are become ſo numerous, that they are almoſt able to oppreſs us. As to thoſe who pretend, that we have encreaſed them by our Connivance, I can anſwer, That during the minority of the King, they are bolder, and I would have them conſider too, that, for our Sins, God has ſet a Child over us. There are ſome, who would have the King arm one part of his Subjects againſt the other, which, I think, is neither Chriſtian, nor Human.* After very much to the ſame purpoſe, he told them, the Thing propoſed by the King to their Conſideration, was, *Whether it was the beſt way for the King to Suppreſs the Meetings, or to Tolerate them?*

A Debate concerning Toleration.

Thereupon followed a very great Debate between theſe Deputies of the ſeveral Parliaments of *France*, but, at laſt, they came to a Reſolution, to remit ſomething of the Severity of the *Edict* of *July*, and to allow the *Proteſtants* the liberty of Publick Sermons; and accordingly a new Edict was made, which was called, *The Edict of January*, the principal Heads of which, were theſe: 'That the *Proteſtants* ſhould 'reſtore the Eccleſiaſticks to their Churches, Houſes, Lands, Tithes, and other goods 'whatſoever which they had taken from them forthwith, and ſuffer them peaceably 'to enjoy their Images, Croſſes, and Statues, without any moleſtation, or endeavouring to deſtroy them; or doing any other thing that may diſturb the publick 'Peace, upon pain of Death, without any hope of Mercy. That the *Proteſtants* 'ſhould have no publick Meetings, Sermons, and Prayers; or adminiſter any Sacraments, publickly or privately, by Night or by Day, within any City, in any manner 'whatſoever: *Yet*, in the mean time, till the Controverſies of Religion ſhall be compoſed by a General Council, or the King ſhall otherwiſe order it, Thoſe, who 'ſhall go to, or frequent, their Sermons, ſhall not be moleſted, provided they be 'had without the Cities. And the Magiſtrates were accordingly commanded, not 'to diſquiet, but to protect and preſerve them from all Injury. That all Seditious 'Perſons, of what Religion ſoever they were, ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed, and all 'ſhould be bound to diſcover and deliver them up to Juſtice, a thouſand Crowns 'being impoſed upon any perſon, who ſhould receive, abet, or conceal, ſuch Riotous Offender, and the Offender to be whipp'd, if not able to pay the Penalty. 'That the ſaid Meetings ſhould be without Arms, and that no perſon ſhould Reproach another on the account of Religion, or uſe any Factious Names. 'That the *Proteſtant* Miniſters ſhould admit none into their Number, till they had 'diligently examined their Lives, Converſations, and Doctrines. That the Magiſtrates might freely go to their Meetings, to ſee what was done, or to apprehend 'any Criminal, who ſhould be treated according to their Dignity, and obeyed. That 'the *Proteſtants* ſhould hold no Synods, Conferences, or Conſiſtories, but in the 'preſence of a Magiſtrate. That they ſhould create no new Magiſtrates, or make 'any Laws or Statutes: And if they deſire any thing by way of Diſcipline, it ſhould 'be referred to their Authority, or, if need be, be confirmed by them. There 'ſhall be no Levies of Men or Monies made by them, nor any Leagues entered into 'for their private Defence. And as to Alms, they ſhall only take them of ſuch as 'are willing to give. The Civil Laws, eſpecially thoſe concerning Holy Days, and 'the Degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity in Marriages, ſhall be obſerved. That 'their Paſtors ſhall give Security to the Magiſtrates, for the Obſerving this Edict, and 'promiſe, That they will not preach any Doctrine contrary to the *Nicene* or *Apoſtles* '*Creeds*, or the Books of the *Old* or *New Teſtament*, nor uſe any Reproaches againſt 'the *Catholicks* in their Sermons: And the ſame is injoyned the *Catholicks*, in relation 'to the *Proteſtants*. No man ſhall publiſh any Libels to defame another, or ſell, 'or cauſe them to be ſold. Laſtly, the Magiſtrates are hereby commanded to be 'very

The Edict of *January*, which granted Liberty of Conſcience to the Proteſtants.

'very diligent, in caſe any Sedition happens, to ſearch out the Offenders, and puniſh 1562.
'them, without any Appeal to be allowed to ſuch Offenders.'

A Debate being made concerning the Worſhip of Images, theſe Propoſitions were publiſhed by the Queen, by the Advice of the Biſhops of *Valence* and *Seez*, and Monſieur *Bouthillier*, *d'Eſſence*, and *Picherel*. 'That ſeeing Errors are, ac-'cording to St. *Auguſtin*, rather to be rooted out of the Minds of Men, than out of 'Churches, and other places, the Biſhops ſhould take order with the Curates, to 'have the People well Inſtructed, and diligently Admoniſhed, concerning the right 'uſe of them, that all Offence or Scandal might be prevented, both by the Royal 'Authority, and that of the Church; and that if any oppoſed this, he ſhould be 'treated as a Violater of the Royal Edicts, and of the publick Peace. That all 'Figures of the *Holy Trinity* ſhould be immediately removed out of all Churches, and 'all other publick and private Places, as being forbidden by the Holy Scriptures, the 'Councils and Teſtimonies of the Fathers, and only Diſſembled or Tolerated by the 'Sloth of the Biſhops and Paſtors. That the Pictures of all prophane Perſons, and 'others, who were not to be found in the Authentick Martyrologies of the 'Church, all laſcivious and diſhoneſt Pictures, and thoſe of Brutes, ſhall be abo-'liſhed. That no Crowns, Garlands, or Veſtments, ſhall be put upon any Images, 'nor Incenſe, nor Candles, burnt before them; nor ſhall they be carried in Pro-'ceſſions, nor any Prayers or Oblations be made to them, nor ſhall they be wor-'ſhipped with bended Knees, becauſe all theſe things are parts of Worſhip. That 'all Images, but that of the *Venerable Holy Croſs*, ſhall be taken from the Altars, 'and either placed on the Valves, or Walls, of the Churches; ſo that from hence-'forth, they may neither be ſaluted, kiſſed, prayed to, or preſented with Gifts. 'That all Images, which were wont to be carried on the Shoulders of Men in the 'Churches and Streets, ſhould, according to the late Canon of *Sens*, be for ever 'aboliſhed. *Beza* oppoſed the retention of the Croſs, as brought into uſe by *Conſtantine* the Great, and one *N. Mallard*, Dean of the *Sorbonne* in *Paris*, tho' he confeſſed, ſome ill things had crept into the Church; yet he was of opinion, that all this Worſhip of Images ought ſtoutly to be defended and retained, and put out a Book to that purpoſe; ſo the Thing fell. This Order was made the 14th of *February*.

Injunctions publiſhed by the Queen's Order, concerning Images.

Images of the Trinity forbidden.

'The ſame Month, but ſome few days before it, the King of *Navar* wrote a Letter 'to the *Elector Palatine*, in which, he teſtified his great deſire to promote a Reforma-'tion, and that he hoped to have found a way to reconcile Differences, by the 'Conference of *Poiſſi*. But that this Affair had not ſucceeded according to his 'wiſh; and that, even in the Diſpute about Images, which ſeemed to have leſs of 'Difficulty, they had yet not been able to agree. But that, whatever Men pre-'tended, he would, by the help of God, endeavour, that the Confeſſion of Faith, 'which could not be deſtroyed, without the Ruin of the Peace of the Nation, 'ſhould inſenſibly be eſtabliſhed as far as the Infancy of the King, and the preſent 'State of Things would permit. He wrote alſo, to the ſame purpoſe, to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and to *Philip Landtgrave* of *Heſſe*. The *Elector Palatine* wrote an Anſwer, dated the 20th of *April*, from *Heidelburg*, wherein he ſaid, he was ſorry to ſee the Affections of the *Proteſtants* cool in this Affair; and therefore, he exhorted him to go on in this commendable Deſign of Reforming Religion.

The King of *Navar* pretends ſtill to promote the Reformation.

When the Edict of *January* came to be publiſhed, the *Guiſes* and *Montmorancy*, who were now reconciled, and were abſent at the time of making it, employed all their Induſtry, to prevent its having its effect; alledging, it was not made as it ought, and would prove deſtructive to the Kingdome of *France*; and having brought over *Navar* to their Party, tho' they foreſaw they ſhould meet with great, and almoſt inſuperable, Difficulties; yet, they thought, they ſhould at laſt gain their Ends. The Duke of *Guiſe* went therefore to his Country Houſe, and his Brother *Charles*, the Cardinal, ſoon after followed him thither: So they both went to *Zaberen*, a Town belonging to the Biſhop of *Strasburg*, where *Chriſtopher*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*, met him, on pretence he came to viſit a Lady that was his Kinſwoman, bringing with him *John Brent*, and *James Andrea*, two eager defenders of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion againſt the *Zuinglians*, (whoſe Doctrine was generally followed by the Proteſtants in *France*;) here they conferred together three days. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* pretended to have a great affection for the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the reſt of the *German* Princes; he ſaid alſo, That ſince the Conference of *Poiſſi*, he had a good opinion of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*, and that he had often perſuaded the *Proteſtants* to ſubſcribe it, and they had ever refuſed it.

The Edict of *January* oppoſed by the *Guiſes* and others.

1562. it, becauſe they did not ſo much deſire the Reformation of Religion, and of the Church Diſcipline, as the ſpreading lewd and monſtrous Opinions, which tended to the filling *France* and *Germany* with new Tumults. That the King of *Denmark* wiſely foreſaw this, who congratulating, by his Ambaſſador, the attempt, to reform the Church, expreſſed at the ſame time his fear, that they ſhould embrace the *Zuinglian* and *Geneva* Confeſſion, inſtead of the *Auguſtane*; and thereupon carefully adviſed the King of *Navar*, to conſider this. That the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; and the other Princes of *Germany*, ought to fear the ſame thing, if they deſired the Peace of *Germany*, or that of the Church: For that as *Germany* and *France* were near each other, ſo their Intereſts were ſo interwoven, that the Good or Evil would be common to them. That as they were derived from one of the Illuſtrious Families of *Germany*, and enjoyed one of the principal Stations in *France*; ſo they had left that Kingdom to confer with him (the Duke of *Wirtemburg*), and to ſettle, by mutual Conſent, what might be uſeful and ſalutary to both theſe States, and that they might conjointly oppoſe the Endeavours of the *Zuinglians*, and their Doctrine. They pretended, they did not do this, with intention to hinder the Reformation of Religion, and the Worſhip of God, *For that they deſired above all things*; but that they ſought to prevent that Tempeſt, which theſe Sectaries were raiſing, both in *France* and *Germany*: And therefore, they deſired the Duke, to interpoſe his Authority with the Princes of *Germany*, and to induce them to have a good Opinion of their Deſigns.

The Duke of *Wirtemburg* (having conſulted with *Brent* and *Andrea*, his two Divines, who were very deſirous, the *Helvetian Confeſſion* ſhould not be entertained in *France*) commended the Cardinals affections towards himſelf and the Empire; and ſaid, he approved of his Counſel, for the hindering the Reception of that Confeſſion in *France*, which, without doubt, would cauſe great Commotions. But then, he ſaid, this was upon condition, that the Reformation ſhould be carried on in *France* in the mean time; and that no Severities or Proſcriptions ſhould be employed againſt thoſe, who had made defection from the See of *Rome*. The Cardinal was thought to have ſaid this, to the intent, to diſpoſe the *German* Proteſtant Princes to ſend Supplies againſt the *French Proteſtants*, when it ſhould come to a War; or, at leaſt, to make them leſs apt to ſuccour the Prince of *Condé*, and the Proteſtants. Thus that Conference ended

The Duke of *Guiſe* called to Court by the King of *Navar*.

The Maſſacre of *Vaſſy* happen'd accidentally

The Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal, returned to *Joinville* in *Champaigne*, where, ſoon after, he received a Letter from the King of *Navar*, that he ſhould come to Court as faſt as was poſſible, whither he forthwith went. In the Borders of *Champaigne*, there is a Town, called *Vaſſy*, which has high Walls, and is the Capital of a Prefecture: The Proteſtants had a Meeting-place in this Town, able to contain twelve Hundred perſons, in which, at times, they preached, and adminiſtred Sacraments after their way, becauſe they had, as yet, no ſetled Miniſter, but procured one from *Troyes*; (The Biſhop of which place was a favourer of them.) But now there was one *Leonard Morel* come from *Geneva*, to ſettle there, which was ill taken by *Claude de Sainctes*, the Governour of the Town, and by the Prior, Curate, and Neighbours, who had frequently complained of it to *Jerome de Burgos*, Biſhop of *Chaalon ſur Marne* in *Champaigne*, under whom, the place was. The year before, the Biſhop came thither, and had a diſorderly Diſpute with the Miniſter, about impoſition of Hands, managed by one of his Divines, which he brought with him before the People, Governour and Biſhop, which had no good effect. *Antonia de Bourbon*, the Mother of the *Guiſes*, a zealous *Roman Catholick*, was alſo much offended with the nearneſs of this place, and deſired very much to be rid of it; and ſhe reproached her Son, for his over-great patience in a thing, wherein the Glory of God, her own Honour, and the Religion of his Anceſtors, was concerned. Hereupon, the firſt of *March*, he went to *Vaſſy*, with *Lewis* the Cardinal his Brother, *Du Broſſay*, and his Son, and a great Retinue, deſigning rather to ſuppreſs and diſſipate this Conventicle by his Preſence, than to offer Violence to any private perſon. As he went, he heard a Bell ring at an unuſual time, and asking the reaſon of it, was told, It was to call the *Proteſtants* to their Meeting. Hereupon, his Foot-men began to make a Noiſe, as if there had been a Military Enterprize; but the Duke went on, and entred *Vaſſy*, where there were 60 Horſe ready to receive him, and he was to dine that day at *Sclaron*. The *Curate* and *Prior* were very earneſt with him, to go by the Conventicle; but whilſt he delayed them, and ſeemed unwilling to do it, the meaner part of his Attendants ran thither, and began to call the *Proteſtants*, who were there aſſembled,

Dogs,

Dogs, and *Rebels to God and the King*. The Proteſtants alſo return'd their reproaches upon them: and ſo at laſt they fell from words to flinging ſtones, after which thoſe that were on Horſeback lighted and broke into the place where the Meeting was, which was a Granary, and was for ſome time defended, by thoſe within, but they at laſt prevailing, drew their Swords, and began to ſtab and wound the Proteſtants. A great Cry ariſing, *Guiſe* was forced to go thither, to put a ſtop to the Maſſacre, but he by Accident receiving a ſmall Wound, this ſo inraged his Retinue, that he could not reſtrain them; in this Tumult about 60 perſons were kill'd, and 200 wounded, amongſt which laſt was *Morell*, who was ſent Priſoner to *Diſier*. 1562.

Though this Tumult happened againſt his will, and contrary to his expectation, yet the Duke of *Guiſe*, to excuſe himſelf and his Servants, ſent for the chief of the Proteſtants who were taken, and ſeverely chid them, for having by this unlawful Meeting given occaſion to this Tumult, and blamed the Queen of *Scots* Bailiff, (for to her the Place belonged) for ſuffering ſuch Conventicles to be held there. *And cauſed ſeveral Depoſitions to be made, that the Tumult was begun by the Proteſtants, though it was in truth begun by his own Servants.* Fame encreaſed the Fact, and made it appear worſe in all the Circumſtances than in truth it was, and every one judged of it as he ſtood affected; the Proteſtants blaming it, and the Catholicks defending it, as neceſſary to put a ſtop to the Inſolence of a few ill Men to prevent worſe: But Wiſe men ſaw, it would not ſtop here, but that Seditious Men would take the ſame Methods throughout the Kingdom. The Duke of *Guiſe* went to *Reims*, and from thence to *Nantueil*, the King being then at *Monceaux*, in the Dioceſs of *Meax*, whither *Conde* came and made a great Complaint of the Maſſacre of *Vaſſy*, aggravating it above the Truth; adding, That it was a thing of ill Example, and ought to be ſeverely Puniſhed. The Queen on the other ſide was very much troubled, and wrote to the King of *Navar* to take care of this Affair, who was then at *Paris*; and adviſed the Duke of *Guiſe* not to go to *Paris*, till he had been with the King; to which he made no other Anſwer, than, *That he was ſo taken up with entertaining his Friends, that he was not at leiſure to wait upon the King*. And his next care was to excuſe it to the Duke of *Wirtemburg*, to whom he ſent a Letter to that purpoſe, laying the fault on the Inſolence of the Rabble, which truſting in their number, had begun to fling Stones at his Servants. The King of *Navar* went to *Monceaux* in the mean time, where he met with ſevere Complaints againſt this Tumult, and ſtifly averr'd, that the Proteſtants had been the beginners of the fray, excuſing the Duke of *Guiſe*, and entertaining thoſe that complain'd of it, with very great roughneſs. *Beza*, who was there, replied, That if it were ſo, the Duke of *Guiſe* ought to have complained to the King, and not to have permitted his Servants to have become their own Judges; and turning to the King of *Navar*, he ſaid, He was ſent by the Church to complain of this wrong, which has ever been readier to ſuffer, than to act Injuries; and that yet he ought to remember, *that Anvil had broke many Hammers*; in the mean time, the Duke of *Guiſe* went to *Paris*, without taking any notice of the King, where he was entertain'd with greater Ceremony and Reſpect, and had a greater Attendance than became a Subject; the Queen began to fear the King of *Navar*, *Guiſe*, and *Montmorancy*, would, under the Pretence of Religion, ſet up a *Triumvirate*, which would bring her and the King under their Power; ſo that ſhe had no other remedy, but to put her ſelf and her Son under the Protection of the Prince of *Conde*, and by her Letter, to deſire him to ſtand by them. But then ſhe did this very privately, and by her *Emiſſaries*, that ſhe might not alienate the hearts of the People, and of a great part of the Nobility, from her, by ſeeming to promote the new Religion; and by the Envy of that, be excluded from having any ſhare in the Government. In the mean time, that ſhe might conſult her own ſafety, ſhe went with the King of *Navar* to *Melun*, whither *M. de Marle*, and *Claude Martel*, one of the * Officers of *Paris*, who was in great eſteem amongſt the People, came to her, and repreſented the great Danger *Paris* was expoſed to by the Forces of the Prince of *Conde*, and ſaid, it was neceſſary She and the King ſhould come thither forthwith, and he having many armed Men about him, he deſired the Citizens might have their Arms reſtored to them, which had been taken away by *Montmorancy*: which laſt, ſhe rather delayed, than denied, becauſe ſhe ſaw they would have them whether ſhe would, or no. From thence ſhe went to *Fontain-bleau*, to gain time to conſider what was to be done, and was in ſuſpence whether ſhe ſhould go for *Orleans*, whither *Conde* was going, or truſt to the Regal Authority, and go to *Paris*. *Navar* went in the mean time from *Melun* to *Paris*, and

The Duke of *Guiſe* uſes ill Arts to ſecure his Servants who began the Tumult.

The Prince of *Conde* complains of it to the King.

The Duke of *Guiſe* entereth *Paris*.

The Queen upon this, puts her ſelf and the King into the Protection of the Prince of *Conde*.

* *Ædilis*.

1562. and Lodged with *Montmorancy*, where, there was a Council held every day, without the Prince of *Conde*: And the Government of the City was taken from young *Montmorancy*, by the Advice of his Father, and given to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

All things in *France* tend to a Civil War.

Every thing now tended to an open rupture, and rumours were ſpread abroad, that the Catholicks, in all Parts of the Nation, were ill uſed by the Proteſtants, which Reports were (true, or falſe) ſet on foot by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. The Populace was exaſperated, and having regain'd their Arms, were the more enraged for the having had them taken away; and therefore could no longer be kept in order. The Prince of *Conde* ſeeing his Danger, that he might not ſeem to expoſe his own Party to the fury of their Enemies, propoſed to the Cardinal, that he would leave the City, if *Guiſe* and the other Confederates would do ſo too at the ſame time, that it might not be endangered by an inteſtine Sedition; which was accepted, and the Duke of *Guiſe* went to *Fontainbleau*, with a great Retinue, to the King and Queen, and the Prince of *Conde*, went to *Meaux*, and *la Ferte Aucoulph* upon the *Marne*. As ſoon as they were thus gone, M. *de Marle* took into the City MD men for its Security, which *Montmorancy* the younger had refuſed to do whileſt the City was under his Care: The Duke of *Guiſe*, when he went to *Fontain-bleau*, carried with him many Armed men, that he might fright the Queen from her Cabals with the Prince of *Conde*, and ſo draw her, by a ſecret Fear, to joyn with him; and the Stratagem took. She had before carefully enquired into the Numbers and Riches of the Proteſtants, that ſhe might know, what ſhe and the King might expect from them, but ſhe could not be aſſured of any thing, only that there were 2150 Aſſemblies in the Nation, the Delegates of which proffered her and the King their Services in caſe of Neceſſity; but when ſhe deſired a more particular and exact account, they ſuſpected, ſhe had ſome ill deſign againſt them, and declined giving her an exact account of their Secrets, reflecting on her inconſtancy which they much ſuſpected.

The Queen out of Fear joyns with the Catholick Lords commonly call'd the *Triumvirate*.

Conde comes up towards *Fontain-bleau*.

In the mean time, *Conde* was coming to Court as the Queen had ordered him, and was at *Pont Sainct Clou*, within two Miles of *Fontain-bleau*; which when the Queen heard, all things were put into Confuſion, as if a Siege had been expected, the Populace running into diſorder, and the Magiſtrates conniving at it. Nor was the diſorder leſs in the Court. The Queen fearing, not without cauſe, that ſome miſchief would enſue if *Conde* came up; the Confederates being in poſſeſſion of the King, and reſolving to carry him and the Queen to *Paris*. The Queen would gladly have ſtood Neuter, but the Confederates told her plainly, they knew *Conde* was come to get the King into his Power, and they were reſolved to carry him to *Paris*, and if ſhe pleaſed, ſhe might follow him; and ſo they carried him to *Melun*, not giving her any time to conſider of it. The Queen followed, and took ſuch Lodgings as they aſſigned her in the Caſtle. Here ſhe would have made her Eſcape with the King, if the Jealouſie of the Confederates had not prevented it; They knowing this would give a great Reputation to the Party that could gain it, and make the oppoſite Party look like Rebels. Next Morning the Queen fell to flatter the Confederates to get them to go back to *Fontainbleau*, and that ſhe might ſpeak with *Conde*. But the Duke of *Guiſe* diſappointed all her Projects, and carried the King and his Brother to the Caſtle *de Vincennes*, within two Miles of *Paris*, the *King weeping, as if he had been carried into Captivity by force.*

The *Triumvirate* ſeize the King.

The next Morning, *Montmorancy* entred *Paris*, pull'd up the Seats and Pulpit of the Proteſtant Meeting-Houſe near Port *St. Jean* in the Suburbs, and burnt them publickly, the people rejoycing greatly at it. And in the Afternoon did the ſame thing without *Port de St. Antoine*, to another ſuch Houſe, but here the Fire took the next Houſes, which abated the Joy, though there was at laſt too much beſtowed on ſo ridiculous an Enterprize. Upon this, many good Men were injured by the Rabble in the Streets, as being ſuſpected in the Point of Religion, yet it came not to Blood.

Montmorancy appears very zealous againſt the Proteſtants at *Paris*.

The next day after, the King and the Queen were brought up to the *Louvre*, the Confederates pretending they were not ſafe elſewhere. And here they began to talk of Declaring a War againſt the Prince of *Conde*, which was oppoſed by the Chancellor, whoſe Judgment was ſlighted by *Montmorancy*, becauſe he was a Gown-man. But he replied, That tho he was no Soldier, yet he knew very well, when War was fit, and when not; but the violence of the Confederates at laſt excluded him from that Conſultation.

The

The Prince of *Conde* was coming towards the Court, but hearing that the Queen out of levity or fear was joyned with the *Triumvirate*, and was gone to *Paris*, he seeing the Enemy in poſſeſſion of the King's Perſon, concluded they had got a great Advantage over him, and yet that the Die being caſt, it was too late to go back, ſo he went to *Orleans* to meet *d' Andelott*, and ſent to *Coligni* the Admiral to come thither to him. *Innocent Tripier de Monterud* was then Governour of *Orleans* for *Charles de Bourbon Prince de la Roche-ſur-Yon*, he, in the beginning had been very favourable to the Proteſtants, and had equally imployed them with the Catholicks in the Guard of the City; but ſeeing the Queen was now joyned with the Confederate *Catholick Lords*, he changed his Mind and took in more Forces by ſtealth, that he might thereby over-power the Proteſtants. But *Andelott* entering the place with a ſmall Attendance quickly got together 300 of the Proteſtants, and ſeized St. *John*'s Gate, and immediately ſent to the Prince of *Conde* to come up, ſo that though Mon. *de Monterud* endeavoured to recover this Poſt, yet it was in vain, and the Town fell into the Hands of the Prince of *Conde*, and *Monterud* was forced to obtain the Prince's Leave to be gone. 1562.

The Prince of *Conde* betrayed by the Queen into a diſadvantageous War.

Orleans ſurpriſed by the Prince of *Conde*.

The Seventh of *April* the Prince of *Conde* ſent a Letter to all the Proteſtant Churches and Nobility in *France*, to bring to him all the Forces and Moneys they were able to raiſe, for the Reſcuing of the King out of Captivity, and the delivering him out of the Hands of ſome great Men, who had firſt violated the Laws or Edicts of *France*, and then, ſeizing the Perſon of the King by force, Abuſed his Authority, to the breaking the Peace of that Kingdom. The next day he put out a *Manifeſto*, wherein he largely unfolded the Truth, that the bottom of their Deſign was, to deprive the Proteſtants of *France* of that Liberty which had been granted them by the *King's Edict*, which he proved amongſt other things by the Maſſacre of *Vaſſy*, which he ſaid was deſign'd for a Signal to the whole Nation to do the like. He call'd God to Witneſs his only Intentions were, to reſtore the King and his Brothers, and the Queen and the Council, to their Liberty; to preſerve the Veneration due to the Royal Edicts, and eſpecially that ſolemn Edict of *January* laſt, and to prevent the Moneys given by the States in the laſt Aſſembly, for the payment of the Debts of the Crown, from being miſpent, or turned to other uſes; for as for him and his, they would manage this War at their own Charges. He deſired, that whileſt the King was in their Power, no Credit ſhould be given to any Edict, Warrant, or Commiſſion, though under the great Seal, or Signed by the King. As for his Brother the King of *Navar*, he ſhould pay him always the Reſpect that was due to his Character and Place, but he deſired, the Duke of *Guiſe* and his Brothers, and *Montmorancy* ſhould lay down their Arms, reſtore the King and his Council to their liberty, and ſuffer the Edict of *January* to continue in force till the King were of Age, and then he would lay down his Arms, and he and his would return to their own homes. If they refuſed theſe juſt and equal Conditions, and attempted any thing with force againſt him, he ſaid, he would not bear it, but would reſcue the King and his People from their violence; and they ſhould anſwer for all the Calamities and Miſeries which ſhould follow. He wrote two days after this to the Princes of *Germany*, and ordered the Miniſters to do ſo too, that the greater Credit might be given to his, to the ſame purpoſe. And in the Concluſion, deſired they would not be wanting to the King, Queen and Kingdom at a time of ſo much need, nor ſuffer themſelves to be prejudiced by the falſe pretences of his Enemies, but rather would ſupport and ſtrengthen him in the War which he had engaged in, for the Glory of God, and the Safety of the King and Kingdom. The 11th of *April* he cauſed the League which the Proteſtants had entred into, to be printed alſo, which was to laſt only till the King ſhould be of full Age to undertake the Government of his Kingdom in his own Name; and at the ſame time, he cauſed that entred into by the *Triumvirate* to be printed, which they pretended was Confirm'd by the Authority of the Council of *Trent*, which was about that time opened.

Conde Juſtifies the War.

The Catholicks begin the War to deprive the Proteſtants of the Liberty granted them by the Edict of *January*.

The Prince of *Conde* and the Miniſters write to the Princes of *Germany*.

The ſame Seventh day of *April*, the King and Queen put out a Declaration at *Paris*, wherein they affirmed, that the report of their Captivity was falſe, and ſcandalouſly feigned by the Prince of *Conde*, for a colour to his Seditious Practiſes: And that they came willingly, and not by force, to *Paris*, that they might conſult of the means of ſettling this Commotion. The Third day after, another Paper was Publiſhed by the *Queen*, *Navar*, *Bourbon*, *the Cardinal and Duke of Guiſe*, and *Montmorancy*, by the Advice of *Aumale*, *the Chancellor*, *St. Andre*, *Briſac* and *Montmorancy* the Younger, for the Confirming the Edict of *Janiuary*, the Pardon of all paſt offences,

The King and Queen affirm they were at Liberty in their Declaration.

1562. and forbidding the troubling or endangering any Man on the account of Religion. And giving liberty to the Proteſtants to meet and Preach any where, except in *Paris*, and the Suburbs thereof. At the ſame time an Envoy was diſpatched to the Elector Palatine, and the reſt of the Princes of *Germany*, to conſult them about the Council of *Trent*.

The Maſſacre of *Sens*.

About the ſame time there was a Barbarous Maſſacre made of the Proteſtants at *Sens*, by the Procurement of *Hemar*, Preſident of *Sens*, and, as it was believed, not without the knowledge of the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, who was Archbiſhop of that See, who was thereupon ſaid to have had a hand alſo in that of *Vaſſy*. There was a report ſpread in the City, that the Proteſtants had a deſign to ſurprize the City and deface the Images, whereupon the Rabble roſe and drowned in the River, and Slew, in all, 100 People of all Ages and Sexes, Plundered and pull'd down their Houſes, and rooted up their Vines; of which *Conde* made a grievous Complaint to the Queen, in a Letter of the 19th of *April*. But there being many Complaints of the like nature, brought from other parts of the Nation againſt the Proteſtants, the thing was neglected. And *Davila* takes no notice of it. About the ſame time many Cities, throughout the Kingdom of *France*, were ſurprized by the Proteſtants, which was in many places not poſſible to be done without Slaughter and the Profanation of the Churches, though their Captains at firſt carried themſelves as moderately as they could.

The Princes of *Germany* much divided about the true cauſe of this *French* War.

The Prince of *Conde* underſtanding by a Letter he received from the *Elector Palatin*, That the Princes of *Germany* were much divided about the Cauſes of this War, and Eſpecially the Catholicks: He wrote a Letter to *Ferdinand* the Emperor the 20th of *April*, to inform him of the Cauſes of theſe Tumults, aſſerting the King and Queen were carried away againſt their wills, and that he had been forced to betake himſelf to Arms, to reſtore them to their former Liberty; and therefore he beſeeched the Emperour to favour him, as an Aſſerter of the Royal Intereſt.

Roan taken very eaſily by the Proteſtants.

The 15th of *April*, *Roan* was taken by the Proteſtants almoſt without any Tumult or Reſiſtance; And when *Henry Robert de la Mark* Duke *de Bouillon*, Governour of *Normandy*, was ſent thither by the King of *Navar*, to Command them in the King's Name to lay down their Arms, they ſlighted his Authority, and gave Reaſons for what they had done, alledging, amongſt others, the Attempts upon the Proteſtants at *Amiens* and *Abbeville*, which, they ſaid, were ſufficient to terrifie the moſt Peaceable from laying down their Arms; but then they were willing to deliver the Keys of the City to him, and to keep it for his uſe, and in his Name. He leaving the City thereupon, they took St. *Catherine*'s, a Monaſtery without the City, and put a Gariſon into it. A Tumult ariſing the next Night, ſome of the Catholicks were ſlain, and others put into Priſon. So from the Third of *May* till the City was re-taken, the Exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion was totally omitted. Soon after they took *Pont de l'Arche*, which, being taken by the *Roman Catholicks*, the Proteſtants took *Caudebec* beneath *Roan*, and when they might have demoliſhed it, they endeavoured to keep it, but it was ſoon after re-taken by the *Roman Catholicks*, and ſo the City was reſtrain'd on both ſides. Upon this, 300 Horſe and 1500 Foot were ſent againſt them, which for ſome time had the better of the Citizens. The Proteſtants took *Diepe* the 21th of *April* without any Reſiſtance, and pull'd down the Images and Altars in the Churches. The 21th of *June*, *Aumale* left *Roan* and Beſieged *Diepe*. In the County of *Calais* the Proteſtants were the ſtronger. *Caen*, *Bayeux* were alſo taken and Reform'd by the Proteſtants.

And after that *Pont del'Arche* and *Caudebec*.

Diepe.

Caen and *Bayeux*.

Mans was taken by the Proteſtants the Third of *April* without Reſiſtance, and in the mean time Forces were raiſed by both Parties, the Queen in her Heart being pleaſed to ſee the Prince of *Conde* Eſpouſe her Cauſe, and deſiring to abate the Pride of the *Guiſes*, and therefore ſhe was earneſt to have a Treaty, hoping by this means to have both the Parties at her Devotion. The Prince of *Conde*, the firſt of *May*, had ſent her a Letter with ſome Terms for an Accommodation, which were, That the Edict of *January*, which had been violated by the Conſpirators, ſhould be obſerved. 2. The Injuries committed upon the Proteſtants, ſeverely puniſhed by the Magiſtrates. 3. *Guiſe* and his Brothers, and *Montmorancy*, *&c.* who had raiſed this War, ſhould leave the Court, and return to their ſeveral Governments, till the King was of Age to undertake the Government, and determine himſelf this Controverſy. And then he would lay down his Arms, and retire to his home. The Fourth of *May* it was Anſwered, That the King would ob-

Mans taken by them.

ſerve the Edict of *January* every where but at *Paris*. That all Slaughters, Spoilings and Injuries committed, ſhould be inquired into and puniſhed, but he would not ſend *Guiſe*, *Montmorancy*, and St. *Andre* from the Court, becauſe he was ſatisfied as to their Loyalty, needed their Counſel, and ought not to ſet any Mark of Diſhonour on them. But then they were willing for the ſake of the Publick Peace to retire, if thoſe that were in Arms in *Orleans* and all over the Nation would firſt go home, reſtore the Places taken by them to their former Liberty, and yield that Obedience to the King they ought, and that the King of *Navar* ſhould ſtill retain the Command of the Army. The Prince of *Conde* perceiving by this Anſwer that the *Triumvirate* were reſolved not to leave the Court, and that they only pretended the Danger of laying down their Arms before him, without taking any Notice of the *Hoſtages* he had offered for their *Security* in that caſe, ſuſpected there was fraud in the bottom, and would not comply neither, alledging, That the King's Preſence was their ſecurity, whereas he had nothing but the Equity of his Cauſe to Plead. 1562.

After this the Triumvirate put in a Petition to the King, Deſiring that an *Edict* might be made, 1. That no Religion but the *Roman* Cathólick ſhould be Admitted in the Kingdom. 2. That all the King's Domeſticks, Captains, Governours and Magiſtrates ſhould be of that Religion, and whoever did not publickly profeſs it, ſhould be deprived of all Honour and Publick Employments, ſaving to them their Eſtates. 3. That all Biſhops and Clergymen ſhould profeſs the ſame, or be deprived of their Revenues, which ſhould be brought into the Exchequer. 4. That all the Churches which were deſtroyed, ſpoil'd, or defaced, ſhould be reſtored, and thoſe that were guilty of theſe Sacriledges puniſhed. 5. That all ſhould lay down their Arms, upon what pretence ſoever they had been Liſted, or by whom ſoever. And they that had no Commiſſion from the King, ſhould be treated as Traitors. That the King of *Navar* only ſhould have the Right of Levying Men, till theſe Troubles were ended by a Treaty or a Victory, and they to be paid out of the Treaſury. And on theſe Terms they were willing not only to leave the Court, but the Nation, and to go into Exile: And till this was done, they could not leave the Court. This was Anſwered at large by another Paper Printed the 20th of *May* with great ſharpneſs. The Triumvirate deſire no liberty ſhould be granted to the Proteſtants.

The 26th and 27th of *May* the King of *Navar* commanded all the Proteſtants to depart from *Paris*, ordering that no injury ſhould be done to them or their Goods in their retreat or abſence on pain of Death: And perceiving that nothing could be effected by Treaties, the Triumvirate drew their Forces out of *Paris*, conſiſting in Four thouſand Foot and Three thouſand Armed Horſe, about which time the Queen invited the Prince of *Conde* to a Conference, and they met in the beginning of *June* at *Thoury* a Village in *la Beauſſe*, with all the Cautions uſual in ſuch Caſes. But that Treaty proving ineffectual, the Prince of *Conde* drew his Army out too, which was then Four thouſand Foot and Two thouſand Horſe. The Prince of *Conde* had more of the Nobility of *France* in his Army than the other ſide, either out of Love to the Religion, or hatred to the *Guiſes*, or by the ſecret Orders of the Queen. Beſides his Army had a ſevere Diſcipline, and Publick Prayers were ſaid Morning and Evening at the head of each Company: There were no Oaths, no Quarrels heard of, but the *Pſalms* were devoutly Sung in the Camp, there was no Dice, no Tables, no Rapines, all was Modeſty, and the leaſt Faults were ſeverely puniſhed, ſo that the Country Man or Merchant might live or travel by the Army in perfect ſecurity; and their great deſire was, that they might be led againſt *Paris*. The 21th of *May* the Army marched from *Orleans*, and there was another Treaty for a Peace, and another Conference with the Queen, who *thanked him and all the Great Men that came with him for the good Service they had done her and the King, in a time of ſuch great need; ſaying they were worthy of the higheſt Rewards and Honours, and praying them to perſevere in it, and to Conſult the good of the Kingdom.* She excuſed what ſhe had done in the mean time for the other Party, by ſaying, They were more in number who embraced the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and therefore it was neceſſary there ſhould be no other Religion ſuffered in *France* than that. At this *Conde* replied he could not ſubmit to ſo hard a Condition. *For if the Peace of Religion were taken away, a War would follow, which would be very difficult and laſting.* This proving ineffectual too, the Prince of *Conde* marched to *La Ferte Alez*, and took and ſack'd *Boigency*, a Town upon the *Loire*. The Triumvirats Army marched right to *Blois* which the Proteſtants had taken not long before, and Gariſon'd, but the Place being The Triumvirate draw out of *Paris*. The Prince of *Conde* maintain great Order in his Army at firſt. A ſecond Treaty between the Queen and *Conde*. *Boigency* ſack'd. *Blois*.

1562. ing weak, they retreated to *Orleans*, and left it to the Catholicks, who Exerciſed unheard of Cruelties, and put moſt of the Proteſtants to the Sword, or drown'd them in the River, though they recovered the Town without one blow ſtriking.

Tours. From thence they marched to *Tours*, which had but a little before been ſurprized and reformed by the Proteſtants, contrary to the will of the Wiſer People, who foreſaw the ill conſequence of it. The Country in the mean time was expoſed to Rapine, under pretence of Extirpating Hereticks, the great Men conniving at it, or being well pleaſed? And a War was Proclaimed againſt the Proteſtants, and all Men were commanded to treat them as the Enemies of Mankind, on the account of the Sacriledges committed in the Churches, becauſe the Church Plate was taken to be Minted for Money to pay the Army, and the Images and Altars were generally beaten down where the Proteſtants prevail'd. Whereupon the Peaſants left their Work, and fell to Rob and Plunder their Neighbours, and to exerciſe unheard of Cruelties and Barbarities, they thinking the Proteſtants were to be treated like Mad Dogs. This forced the Gentry in a ſhort time to Arm againſt them, and they treated the Monks and Prieſts in their own Kind, and Hang'd up thoſe *Catholick Peaſants.*

Angers taken by the Proteſtants. The *Proteſtants* took *Angers* the 5th of *April*, almoſt without any oppoſition, and both Parties lived peaceably to the 21th, when they pulled down the Images in the Churches; which ſo incenſed the *Roman Catholicks*, that, the 5th of *May*, they let in Succours in the Night; whereupon followed a Fight, in which, the *Proteſtants* were worſted, and the *Roman Catholicks* prevailed. The other Party were plunder'd, whereupon ſome Women were raviſhed, and others ſlain, to the Number of about eleven.

Tours retaken by the *Roman* Catholicks. *Tours* being retaken, all the *Proteſtants* were, by one means or another, made away, the Preſident of the City not eſcaping their Cruelty, becauſe he was ſuſpected to be a *Proteſtant*, tho' he had never declared himſelf ſuch; ſo that the Governours were forced to erect Gallows, to put a ſtop to the bloody Barbarity, which they themſelves had raiſed in the People.

Mans deſerted by the Proteſtants. The Proteſtants of *Mans* were much affrighted, when they heard of the Maſſacre of thoſe of *Tours*, becauſe they alſo had broken down the Images, and pulled up and defaced ſome of their Tombs. Whereupon, the 12th of *July*, they left the City in the Evening, to the number of 800, and went to *Alenzon.* The Biſhop, upon this, put in 500 *Roman Catholicks* for a Gariſon, who reacted all the Cruelties upon the *Proteſtants*, and ſuborned Men to ſwear againſt ſuch, as, they ſuppoſed, had defaced the Images, or prophaned the Churches, whereupon they were ſeverely puniſhed for others Faults: The Biſhop had a great hand in this, and was turned a Soldier, and treated all ſuch as he ſuſpected, of the Clergy, very hardly; nor did he ſpare the Churches Treaſures more than the *Proteſtants* had done, but took them to pay his Soldiers, raiſing, beſides, great Contributions on the People for that purpoſe. There were, in the Cathedral Church, the Images of the twelve Apoſtles, of Silver, of great Weight, and adorned with many Jewels, and the Biſhop had carried them to his Caſtle *de Trouvoy in Maine*, for their greater Security; but that being taken afterwards, they were loſt, and the Biſhop was ſuſpected of having converted them to his own uſe; and going, after this, to the Council of *Trent*, it was ſaid, *He muſt needs have the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe he carried the twelve Apoſtles with him:*

Amiens. The 18th of *May*, the Proteſtants were forbidden their Meetings at *Amiens*, their Books ſought out and burnt, and, amongſt them, all the Bibles they found in *French*, and the Pulpit with them, and ſome few of them were ſlain in the Tumult. At *Abbeville*, there was a greater Tumult raiſed by the Roman Catholicks, and many of the Soldiers in the Caſtle, and of the Inhabitants of the Town, were murdered, upon a pretence they favoured the Prince of *Condé*'s Intereſt, and the Governour of the Town was aſſaſſinated in his Houſe, and his naked Body was dragged about the Town; and another Gentleman moſt barbarouſly murdered.

Senlis. At *Senlis*, many of the Proteſtants were aſſaſſinated, and ſome were put to death by the Decree of the Parliament of *Paris* on other pretences. I have tranſcribed only a very few of the horrid and inſufferable Villanies, committed by the Roman Catholicks of *France*, in this War, from *Thuanus*: For ſo madly did they dote upon their Images and Altars, that when ever they got any of the Proteſtants into their hands, they treated them with unheard-of Cruelty and Rage; whereas, all their Fury ſpent it ſelf on the Statues, Pictures, Altars, and Relicks, of their Churches, or in ſome places on their Tombs; and if ſome few Slaughters happened, in was in the Surprize, or taking of Places, before they were maſters of them; but the Roman Catholicks raged moſt, where the Proteſtants were leaſt able to reſiſt them.

The

The Prince of *Condé* hearing, that his Party was worſted in *Normandy*, ſent *Lewis de Lanoy* with three hundred Horſe, who, with ſome difficulty, arrived at *Roan* the 11th of *June*, and rectified the Diſorders he found in that place; the Proteſtants would have expell'd the Roman Catholicks out of the City, but he perſuaded them only to diſarm them, and ſwear them to live peaceably. *Roan*, in a ſhort time after this, was beſieged, from the 29th of *June*, to the 11th of *July*, by the Roman Catholicks, but then they were forced to withdraw, and the City remained in the Proteſtants hands. In the interim, a Treaty was carried on by the *Vidame de Chartres*, with Queen *Elizabeth*, for Succours, which diſpleaſed many, tho' the Roman Catholicks, in the mean time, had called in *German* and *Swiſs* Auxiliary Forces, to ſupport their Quarrel. The Roman Catholick Army, in the mean time, took *Poictiers*, after a ſharp Siege, which yet might have holden out longer, where they plundered the Proteſtants, and put many of them to the Sword: And after that, *Bourges*, being beſieged by the Duke of *Guiſe*, was, at laſt, ſurrendered by the Cowardize or Treachery of Mr. *de Yvoy*, the chief Commander, when the Roman Catholicks had almoſt ſpent all their Ammunition, and the Admiral had taken that which was ſent to ſupply them from *Paris*. The taking this place, ſo far diſcouraged the Proteſtants, that a great many places yielded upon the firſt Summons.

1562. *Normandy.*

The *Roman* Catholicks retake *Poictiers* and *Bourges*.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Party, after they had taken *Bourges*, were divided in their Opinion, ſome adviſing, the Army ſhould march to the Siege of *Orleans*, as the Capital of the adverſe Party; and others, that they ought firſt to take in *Roan*, as more eaſy to be reduced, and of no leſs advantage, becauſe preventing the *Engliſh* from powering great numbers of Men into *France*: So at laſt this Party prevailed, and that Siege was undertaken.

The Siege of *Roan* reſolved on.

Montgomery, who by misfortune ſlew *Henry* the Second, was, by the Prince of *Condé*, appointed to command here in Chief, who entered the place the 18th of *September*, with 300 Horſe; and having added ſome new Works to St. *Catherins*, he built a new Fort at St. *Michaels*, which he called by his own Name. About the ſame time, a League was concluded between the *Engliſh* and the Proteſtants, at *Hampton-Court*; by which, the Queen was to ſend 6000 men into *France*, 3000 of which, were to keep *Haure de Grace* in the King's Name, for a place of Safety for thoſe of the Religion, and the reſt were to be employed in the Defence of *Diep* and *Roan*, and ſhe was to ſupply 140000 Crowns for the Charge of the War; the Forces were immediately ſent from *Portſmouth*, and landed at *Haure de Grace*, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*. The 28th of *September*, the Forces of the *Triumvirate* came before *Roan*, being then 16000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe. *Montgomery* had, beſides the *Engliſh* and the Townſmen, 800 Veterane Soldiers, for the Defence of the City. The Beſiegers would have ſtopped the paſſage of the River, by ſinking Ships in it; but the violence of the Tide cleared the Chanel, ſo that the Frigates came from *Haure de Grace*, with Canon, Ammunition, and Victual, notwithſtanding. The 6th of *October*, St. *Catherins* Fort was taken by Storm and Surprize, and 300 Townſmen beaten back, who came to relieve it. The 9th of *October*, 500 *Engliſh*, under the Lord *Gray*, entered the Town. The 13th of *October*, the Beſiegers ſtormed the City, from 10 'till 6 at Night, the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* ſuſtaining the brunt, and at laſt repelling them, the next day they ſtormed it 6 hours more, to the loſs of 600 men. The 15th of *October*, the King of *Navar* was ſhot in the left Shoulder with a Musket Bullet in the Trenches. The 25th of *October*, there was a ſharp Fight at St. *Hillary*'s Gate, three Mines being ſprung to ſmall purpoſe. The next day, the City was taken by Storm, the greateſt part of the brave Men having been ſlain, or wearied out, in the continual labours of the Siege. *Montgomery*, and the greateſt part of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, ſhipped themſelves in a Galley, and breaking the Chain, which the Beſiegers had drawn croſs the River, they eſcaped to *Haure de Grace*. There were ſlain in this Siege, about 4000 Men on both ſides. The 17th of *November*, the King of *Navar* died of his Wounds, having received the Sacrament according to the Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*; but blaming his own wavering and unconſtant temper in the matters of Religion, and ſaying, If he recovered, he would embrace the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*, *and live and dye* in it. He was a perſon of great Beauty, of a generous and liberal Diſpoſition, a good Soldier, juſt, and fit for buſineſs, but too much addicted to Pleaſures, which at laſt proved fatal to him, and drew him into this War.

The Terms of the Proteſtants League with *England*.

The King of *Navar* ſhot at the Siege of *Roan*.

He dyes.

The

1562. The Queen had entered a Treaty with the Inhabitants of *Diep*, for the recovery of that place, before *Roan* was taken, and they were amazed with the Dangers that City was in, and the depredations the *German* and *French* Horſe made upon them; that ſo ſoon as they heard *Roan* was taken, they ſent a Petition to the King, who granted them all that they deſired, but the publick Exerciſe of their Religion: Whereupon, part of them went away with the *Engliſh*, and the reſt retired to *Antwerp*, and other places in the Low-Countries; So the Town was delivered up to the young *Montmorancy* the ſecond of *November*, who obtained leave from the Queen, for them to meet privately for the Exerciſe of their Religion. The ſame Conditions were granted to them of *Caen*. The next Care, was, to clear *Haure de Grace* of the *Engliſh*, whither the Earl of *Warwick* came, two days after the ſurrender of *Roan*. The 20th of *December*, the Proteſtants ſurprized *Diep* again, without any conſiderable oppoſition, the Inhabitants no way conſenting to it, and excuſing it to the Queen, as done without their aid, knowledge, or conſent, and thereupon great numbers of them went into the *Low-Countries*, fearing they ſhould be treated with the ſame Cruelty, as they of *Roan* had been, when that City was taken, for which, they were ill uſed by *Montgomery*, who was the procurer of this Surprize.

Diep ſurrender'd to the King.

And alſo *Caen*.

Diep retaken by the Proteſtants.

The News of the loſs of *Roan*, was brought to the Prince of *Condé*, when he was in great pain for *Andelott*, ſent by him into *Germany*, to bring him ſome Proteſtant Forces: This ill News came attended with the defeat of Monſieur *de Burie*, in which, 2000 were ſlain in the Field, and many more loſt in the Retreat the 9th of *October*. The ſame day this Victory was won at *La Ver* in *Guienne*; Monſieur *de Bazourdan* attempted to ſurprize *Montauban* in the night, which proved ineffectual, and he loſt 200 of his Men in this deſign. From thence, they marched to *Tholoſe*, which was then alſo in the hands of the Proteſtants, and reduced to great Extremities; but the Inhabitants being ſupported by the frequent Sermons of their Paſtors, were encouraged to hold out, and, on the contrary, the Sieur *de Terride* thought it a great diſparagement to be baffled here too, and grew ſtubborn in his Reſolves to carry this place, becauſe his Forces had miſcarried at *Montauban*, and ſo the Siege was continued, till the Pacification in *April* following. In this Siege, *Sazourdan* was ſlain, the 22th of *October*, by a Shot from the Town.

The Proteſtants beaten in *Guienne*.

The Sieur *d'Andelott*, who was ſent into *Germany* to obtain Succours, met with great Difficulties, the Court of *France* having ſent one Envoy after another to break his Meaſures, and render the Proteſtant Princes averſe to War: And when the Emperour had called a Diet to meet in *November*, for the chooſing *Maximilian*, his Son, King of the *Romans*, the Prince of *Condé* ſent one *Jaques Spifame*, heretofore Biſhop of *Nevers*, an eloquent and brisk Man, who gave in the Confeſſion of Faith, publiſhed by the *French Proteſtants* in the Aſſembly of the States, for the vindicating them from the aſperſions of thoſe monſtrous Opinions, which their Enemies had raiſed from them. He alſo made three elegant Speeches, one to the Emperour, one to *Maximilian* in his Bed-Chamber, and one to the three Eſtates, to purge the Prince of *Condé* of the Suſpicion of Rebellion, and ſhew, that the War was began by the Order of the Queen, and for the delivery of the King out of Reſtraint. The *Landtgrave* of *Heſs* in the mean time, the 10th of *October*, had aſſembled at *Bucarat* 3000 Horſe, and 4000 Foot; to which, the Prince *de Porcean* brought in 100 of the *French* Nobility on Horſe-back, as far as *Strasburg*. *D'Andelott* was then afflicted with a Tertian Ague, yet he travelled with that Induſtry, that he arrived at *Orleans* the 6th of *November*, bringing up with him beſides 300 Horſe, and 1500 Foot, which had eſcaped from the Rout at *Ver*. And very welcom they were, the taking of *Roan*, and the defeat of *Ver*, having reduced their Reputation, Forces, and Hopes, to a very low ebb: The Prince of *Condé* hereupon marching out of *Orleans* the firſt of *November*, with the whole Army, and a Train of Artillery, conſiſting of 8 Pieces, the 11th of *November*, he took *Pluviers*, in the Forreſt of *Orleans*, a populous Town, by Surrender; and becauſe they had preſumed to defend it with 4 Foot Companies; he hanged two of the Captains, and all the Prieſts he found in it, and diſarm'd the Common Soldiers, and made them take an Oath, that they ſhould not hereafter bear Arms againſt him. In this place, he found great quantities of Proviſions, part of which, he ſent to *Orleans*, and reſerved the reſt for the uſe of his Army. The Terror of this prevailed ſo far upon the Gariſon of *Baugy*, that they durſt not ſtay for a Summons, but retired to *Chaſteaudun*. *Montmorancy*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, were, by this time, returned from *Roan* to *Paris*; and the Mareſchal *de St. Andre* having in vain endeavoured to ſtop the paſſage

Andelot hardly obtains Succours in *Germany*.

The Prince of *Conde* takes the Field.

Pluviers taken by the Prince of *Conde*.

of Monſieur *d'Andelott*, was come back to *Sens*, a City he ſuſpected, from whence he went to *Eſtampes*; but hearing the Prince of *Condé* was near, he left two Companies to defend that place, (who ſoon ſurrendered it) and retired towards *Paris*. Here alſo the Prince found great quantities of Proviſions, which were of great uſe to his Army. Here the Prince of *Condé* entered into a Conſultation, whether they ſhould march away for *Paris*, and take and ſifle the Suburbs of that great City: But the King, Queen, and a numerous Army, being there, they concluded the City could not be taken; and conſequently, that this Ravage would turn to their damage and diſgrace, and make a Peace difficult, if not impoſſible, when ſo many innocent People had been ruin'd and undone. To all this, *Francis Lanoy* added, that there was an apparent danger, whilſt the Soldiers were diſperſed, and eager upon the Prey; that the Army might make a Sally out of *Paris*, and cut them in pieces, with little or no reſiſtance. Having therefore taken *La Ferte Aucoulph* upon the *Marne*, *Dourdan*, and *Mont-Leheri*, he ſate down before *Corbeil*, which was under the Government of Monſieur *Pavan*, with the Regiment of *Picardy*, and ſome Companies of that of *Champagne*; The taking of which place, and cutting off the Proviſions, would have very much incommoded the City of *Paris*. 1562.

Corbeil beſieged by the Prince of *Condé*.

The 17th of *November*, the Prince of *Condé* ſummoned the place, and being denied it, a ſmall Skirmiſh enſued, and the next day *S. Andre* entered it with Succours from *Paris*. About the ſame time, the News of the death of the King of *Navar* was brought into the Proteſtant Camp; and the Queen's Emiſſaries began to give out Speeches, that the Prince of *Conde* ſhould ſucceed in his Poſt: And the Queen her ſelf ſent to invite him to a Conference, which was rejected. The 22th, there was another Conference deſired, which ſerved for a pretence to withdraw the Army from *Corbeil*, which, by this time, was too well mann'd for the Prince to deal with; whereupon he marched towards *Paris*, the Catholick Army being then come up, and in ſight, ſo that the two Armies pelted each other with their Cannon: Two days after, the Prince came to *Juvicy*, and the next to *Sauſſaye*; there the motion for a Conference was again renewed, and the Queen was to come as far as *Port Angel* for that purpoſe: But the Prince either not being well, or fearing ſome Treachery, excuſed himſelf, and ſent *Coligni* to treat with *Montmorancy*, his Uncle. *Montmorancy*, on the other ſide, to diſſipate the Prince's Jealouſie, croſſed the *Seyne*, and came to him. From thence, the Prince marched on towards *Paris*, and, three days after, *Coligni*, who led the *Vangard*, attack'd the Suburbs of St. *Victor*, which cauſed a grievous Conſternation in *Paris*; ſo that if there had been then no Gariſon in the City, the Inhabitants would have opened their Gates, and fled for their Lives; and *Jacques Gillis*, Preſident of the Parliament at *Paris*, a violent Perſecutor of the Proteſtants, died, for fear they were come to take Revenge on him for the Blood he had ſhed, and he was ſucceeded by *Chriſtopher de Thou*, a perſon of great moderation and integrity, and a lover of his Country, but addicted to none of the Factions that embroiled *France*, who was promoted by the Queen. The Prince's Army conſiſted then in 8000 Foot, 5000 Horſe, and 7 Cannons. The 2d of *December*, the Queen, attended by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Prince of *Roche ſur Yon*, *Montmorancy* and his Son, and the Seigneur *de Gonnor*, met the *Prince*, *Caligni*, *Genly*, *Gramont*, and *Eſternay*, at a Conference. The Prince demanded, that the Proteſtants might freely meet, wherever they deſired it, and not elſewhere. That then the *Engliſh*, and other Strangers, ſhould depart the Nation, and the Cities ſhould be reſtored into their former State. That no perſon ſhould be called to account for any thing done during the War. That there ſhould be a free General Council held (if it might be had) within ſix Months; and if not, then a National Council of *France*. The Queen, as to the firſt, excepted *Paris*, *Lyons*, the Cities on the Fronteers, all thoſe that had Parliaments, and all that had no Meetings ſince the Edict of *January*; the Churches to be reſtored, and no Exerciſes in them, but what was according to the ancient form, and *Conde* deſired, they might meet in the Suburbs of the Fronteer Cities. The Conference was continued four days, and then ended without any Agreement, the Proteſtants, by that time, being reſolved to try the Fortune of a Battel.

The two Armies come in view of each other.

A Treaty with the Queen, and the Terms propoſed by the Prince of *Conde*.

The 10th of *December*, the Prince withdrew the Army from *Paris*, and retreated to *Paloyſeau*; the next day, he marched to *Limoux*; and the third, to *Valenza*, a place of Pleaſure; the fourth, to St. *Arnoul*, the Inhabitants of which, out of fear, ſhut their Gates, whereupon it was taken and plundered, and the Prieſt ſeverely treated, and here the Army ſtayed two days. The King's Army (for ſo now it was called) marched to *Eſtamps*, and finding it Gariſon'd by the Princes Forces,

The Prince marcheth towards *Normandy*, to meet the *Engliſh* Succours.

1562. Forces, they left it, and marched to *Chartres*, which was a ſtronger place, and had a greater Gariſon. The Prince of *Conde* was enraged, to be thus deluded by a Sham-Treaty, and had ſome Thoughts to have return'd to *Paris*, which was wiſely prevented by *Coligni*, who adviſed him to march towards *Normandy*, and joyn with the *Engliſh* at *Havre de Grace*, who had a good Body of Foot, which they wanted moſt of all, and where they expected Money from *England*; which, tho' it was very difficult, yet the *Germans* beginning to be mutinous for their Pay, it was reſolved upon. The 15th of *December* he marched to **Ably*, and the next day to *Gallardon*, which, refuſing him entrance, was taken, and the Inhabitants ill uſed; from hence, he went to *Mintenon*, where he croſſed the *Seyne*, and went to *Aulnay*. Here the King's Army overtook them, and paſs'd the *Eure* before him unperceived; there was in it 16000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, which lay encamped between the Villages of *L'Eſpine* and *Blainville*, and the Horſe, being fewer than thoſe with the Prince, was divided into four Squadrons, and placed between the Foot, which were covered by theſe two Villages on both ſides, and on the right hand with Wagons too; but the Duke of *Guiſe* was with a Party of Horſe on the left Wing. *Andelot* had that day a fit of his Tertian Ague, yet he took his Horſe, and went to view the King's Army, and finding it very dangerous to attack them in that Poſt, adviſed they ſhould turn toward *Treon*; but *Montmorancy* ordered the Cannon to play juſt as they were going to march that way, which cauſed ſome diſorder in the firſt Troops of *Conde*'s Army: Whereupon he fell in upon the *Swiſs*, whereas he ought to have charged the oppoſite Horſe, and by this means, beſides, he expoſed his own Foot naked to the Van-Guard of the Enemy, which paſſed by untouched; however, the *Swiſs* were broken into, and diſperſed, and the *German* Horſe made a great Slaughter of them. *Danville*, eldeſt Son to *Montmorancy*, came thereupon with three Troops to their Relief, in which Action, *Gabriel Montmorancy* his Brother was ſlain; *Rochefoucault* fell upon the next Squadron of *Swiſs*, but was repulſed by their Pikes, with loſs. At the ſame time, *Coligni* fell upon *Montmorancy*, who was in the Rere, and broke it all in pieces. *Montmorancy* had his Horſe ſlain under him, and as he mounted another, was wounded in the Face, and taken by one *R. Sewart*; *Beauvais* was alſo taken, but died ſoon after of his Wounds: And *Anglure de Givry*, and the Duke *de Aumale*, were beaten down, and trod to Death by the Horſe. The Regiment of *Bretagne* was alſo diſperſed, ſo that there was only one Squadron of *Swiſs* entire, which repelled the *Germans*, and there were ſome *French* Horſe which make a Front; but at length they were charged in the Rere by *de Mouy*, but then he alſo was charged by *Biron*, with three Troops in the Flank, and ſoon after taken, his Horſe being ſlain.

* *Ablium.*

The King's Army overtake the Prince.

The Battel of *Dreux*.

Montmorancy taken Priſoner.

The Van-Guard, in which the Duke of *Guiſe* ſtood, was all *this while* entire; he was in the Army as a private Gentleman, and had no Command, becauſe he would not fight under *Montmorancy*: At his Advice, St. *Andre* fell then upon the Prince of *Conde*, when all his Forces were weary and diſperſed, and firſt broke the Prince's Foot, which were very much ſlaughtered by the *Spaniards* that followed the *Gaſcongners* and *Germans*, who firſt broke in upon them. After this, *Guiſe*, *Danville*, and St. *Andre*, all united with the reſt of the King's Horſe, fell upon the Prince's Horſe, which, being diſordered by three Field-pieces fired upon them, was ſoon broken, *Andelot* doing all that was poſſible to rally the *Germans*, but it proving impoſſible, he rode to *Teron*, and at laſt eſcaped. *Conde* and *Coligni* got together 200 Horſe, but could not perſuade the *Germans* to return to the Charge, they pretending, their Piſtols were loſt: They alſo diſordered and diſcouraged the *French* Horſe, ſo that the Prince of *Conde* was forced to flee; he had received a wound in the Hand, and his Horſe was ſhot in the Thigh, and fell; and *Danville* coming up, as he was remounting, he was taken Priſoner: Soon after this, *Montmorancy* was in vain endeavoured to be recovered. In the interim, *Coligni* rallying 300 Armed Horſe, and 1000 *Germans*, charged St. *Andre*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, with greater Fury than they had ſhewed in the firſt: In this Rencounter, St. *Andre* was ſlain by one *Baubigny*, whom he had injured, after he was taken and carried off. He was a Perſon of great Natural Parts, but very lewd and wicked, tho' a Man of Courage; under *Henry* the Second he had been in good Eſteem, and was now employed on the account of his Abilities, 'till the Divine Vengeance overtook him for his Crimes, and cut him off, by the Hand of one he leaſt feared of all the World; which may give great Men a good hint, not to do Injuries, on preſumption of their Power, but to revere Fortune. The King's Army was again declining, when the Duke of *Guiſe* came up with a Party of Foot, and charging *Coligni* in the Flank, he retreated, be-

St. *Andre*, by the advice of the Duke of *Guiſe*, turn the Fortune of the day, and gains the Victory on the King's ſide.

The Prince of *Conde* taken Priſoner.

St. *Andre* ſlain by *Coligni*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* force *Coligni* to Retreat.

becauſe not ſupported with equal Numbers, but with a ſoft pace, and carrying off two Pieces of Cannon. The Duke of *Guiſe* followed him a while, but Night coming on, he was forced to give over the Purſuit. *Coligni* went to *Neufville*, and *Guiſe* returned to the Camp. The fight laſted four hours. It was obſerved, there was no *Forlorn Hope*, tho' the Armies faced each other an hour before the Fight began. That both the *Generals* were taken, and the Victory changed ſeveral times between them, and was at laſt doubtful, to whom it belonged. *Coligni* would have perſuaded the *Germans* to fight the next day, which had certainly ruined the King's Army, if they would have done it, but they would not. The Duke of *Nevers* was mortally wounded by a Servant of his own, by accident. There was about 8000 ſlain, of which, 3000 were Proteſtants. 1500 *Germans* were taken by the Duke of *Guiſe*, and ſent home without Arms. *Montmorancy* was hurried to *Orleans*, and *Conde* was kindly treated by the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was now become General in the King's Army: That Night, they two lay together in one Bed, as well as ſupped at one Table, to both their great Commendations. The next day, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſent an account of what had happen'd to the Queen to *Paris*, who, by this time, was ſufficiently afraid of his prevailing Fortune, tho' ſhe had no great Good-will for the Prince of *Conde*; but then ſhe rarely diſſembled her Thoughts, and ordered publick Thanks to be given to God for the Victory, and ſent the Duke of *Guiſe* a Commiſſion, to be General of the King's Forces. 1562.

Coligni would have fought the next day.

The day after the Fight, *Coligni* drew up the remainder of the Proteſtant Army in Battel array, and marching towards the Enemy, that he might obſcure the Fame of the overthrow, and recollect ſuch as had eſcaped: He lodged that Night at *Gailard*, and the next at *Aunea*, a Caſtle in *Beauſe*, where he was by common Conſent made General, during the abſence of the Prince of *Conde*. From thence, he marched to *Puiſet*, and ſo to *Patey*, where he ſtayed two days, and then deſigned to ſurpriſe ſome Forces he heard were ſent to *Blois*; he followed them as far as *Freteval* in *Vendoſme*, and arrived at *Baugy*, with a deſign to repair the Bridge, and diſperſe his Forces into Winter Quarters in *Sologne* and *Berry*, whither he heard the Duke of *Guiſe* intended to ſend his, that they might be the nearer to beſiege *Orleans* in the beginning of the Year.

Coligni General of the Proteſtants.

Tho' there are ſome Particulars relating to the Year 1562, which I ſhall hereafter return to; yet I think it the beſt way, to carry on the Thread of the *French* Affairs to the end of the War here, and then return back to the other.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, in the beginning of *January*, thought fit to ſolicit *Frederick Rolſhouſe*, a Subject of the Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, who ſaid, He was ſent by his Maſter, an old Friend and Allie of the Crown of *France*, to deliver the King from the Reſtraint he was put under by the Enemies of his Government, and to aſſiſt the faithful Defenders of the *French* Intereſt: Thereupon, the 22th of *January*, the Queen went to *Bloiſe*, where ſhe publiſhed a Declaration in the King's Name and her own, to aſſure the Landtgrave, That all thoſe Reports, which had been ſpread abroad of the Reſtraint of her and her Son, were falſe, and ſet on foot by the Proteſtants only, as a colour of their Sedition, that they might arm and raiſe Forces in *Germany*; and therefore ſhe hoped, that when he, and the reſt of the *German* Princes, ſhould underſtand the truth of this, they would not aid or abet the Rebels of *France* againſt their lawful Prince, contrary to the Oaths given by their Anceſtors. This Declaration was ſigned, for the greater confirmation, by *Alexander*, the King's youngeſt Brother; *Henry*, Prince of *Navar*; *Charle*, Cardinal of *Bourbon*; *Lewis de Bourbon*, Duke *de Monpenſier*; and *Charles de Bourbon*, Prince *de Roche-ſur-Yon*. Soon after the Fight alſo at *Dreux*, there was a General Pardon publiſhed, to all that ſhould return to their Allegiance to the King. When the Pope heard of this Victory, he was ſtrangely joyed at it, conceiving, this one Battel would put an end to the Power of the *Proteſtants* in *France*, he expecting that effect from Force and Violence, which the *French* hoped for only from a Council. But however, he thought himſelf now delivered from a great part of his Cares, and made it his buſineſs to precipitate the Council, tho' he knew, the *Germans* would proteſt againſt it, whom he did not at all regard; and as for the King of *France*, he thought, the Joy of the Victory would give him ſatisfaction enough. The Council was as much joyed as any body, but eſpecially the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, for his Brother's good Fortune in this Battel, to whom all was aſcribed in a Speech made there the 10th of *January*. 1563.

The Pope fondly overjoyed with the Victory at *Dreux*.

Coligni entering *Berry*, led his Army to *Ceel*, the ſecond of *January*, a place, which the Prieſts of that Province had choſen, to ſecure the Church Treaſures in,

1563. which now, to their great damage, they perſuaded the Townſmen to defend, it being ſoon taken, and all that Plate melted down, and the Inhabitants very ſeverely uſed for their Reſiſtance, and ſeveral of them hanged, the Prieſts eſcaping in the Tumult. In *Beauſſe*, the Duke of *Guiſe* took *Eſtampes*, after which, he beſieged *Pluviers* with 800 Horſe, who took the Suburbs; the Gariſon of which, ſallying out, retired to *Orleans*, leaving their Carriages behind them. Whilſt the Duke of *Guiſe* was buſie in preparing Neceſſaries for the Siege of this great City, *Andelot*, who had undertaken the Defence of it, was as intent in fortifying and ſtoring the City with all things that were neceſſary. There were in it 14 Companies of *Germans*, and 4 of Townſmen, and many of the Nobility, all well Armed.

The Prince of *Conde* carried to *Blois*.

The Queen, when ſhe had ſtayed a while at *Chartres*, went with the King to *Blois*, (as is ſaid) carrying with them the Prince of *Conde* under a ſtrong Guard; from whence, ſhe ſent him to the Caſtle of *Onzain*, a ſtrong place in *Angoumoiſe*. *Coligni* was, in the mean time, wholly intent on the appeaſing of the *Germans*, fearing they would mutiny for their Pay, which, he ſaid, would be ſent in a ſhort time from *England*; ſo that, at laſt, he obliged them to promiſe, they would not deſert him. The Duke of *Guiſe*, having quitted *Beauſſe*, was by this time come to *Baugy*, where there were ſome Skirmiſhes of no great conſequence between him and the Proteſtants. Some mention was made alſo of a Peace, the Princeſs of *Conde* propoſing, That her Husband, and *Montmorancy*, ſhould be ſet at liberty to that end, but there was nothing done in it. The Sieur *Boucart*, a Commander under *Coligni*, was coming before, *Trimoville*, a Town upon the *Loire*, which was under one *Potin*, commanded it to ſurrender; which being refuſed, he took it by force, and put the Inhabitants to the Sword; amongſt whom, were 36 Prieſts: From whence, he went to *Gien*, which was preſerved out of his hands by three Companies of *Spaniards*, who were ſent thither for the approaching Siege of *Orleans*. *Coligni*, in the mean time, left *Gergeau*, and went to *Orleans*, to conſult with the other Commanders what was beſt to be done, and there it was reſolved, the *Germans* ſhould be ſent into *Normandy*, to be ready to receive their Pay out of *England*, which their Commanders readily accepted; *Coligni* went with them, and *Gramont* undertook the defence of *Orleans*, *Andelot* being ſick. *Coligni* was all the way plied with Meſſages from the Queen, for a Peace, to hinder his Journey: The firſt of *February*, he arrived with 4000 Horſe at *Treon*, and took a view of the place, in which the late Battel was fought, from thence he went to *Eureux*: He took ſoon after St. *Pere de Melun*, a rich Monaſtery, and finding great Riches in its Church, which had been given by the Sea-men, he took its Wealth, and, which was worſe reſented, deſtroyed thoſe Images which were moſt addreſſed to in Diſtreſſes. Soon after, eight *Engliſh* Ships came to *Havre de Grace*, in which, were five *Engliſh* Companies, eight Cannon, great quantities of Ammunition and Money; whereupon he reſolved to take the Caſtle of *Caen*, before he went back to *Orleans*, and, the firſt of *March*, raiſed a Battery of four Cannon againſt it, and took it in a few days, tho' the Duke of *Elboeuf* was Commander of it, who muſt have been taken too, but that *Coligni* was in haſt to relieve *Orleans*.

The Siege of *Orleans*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* began the Siege of *Orleans* the 7th of *February*, and attack'd the Suburb de *Olivet*, which *Andelot* had ordered to be deſerted; but, by the negligence of the *Germans*, had like the next day to have proved the loſs of the City, *Guiſe* his Forces getting into it, before the *Germans* and *French* could withdraw, and fire the Houſes; many of them periſhed in the Crowd, at the paſſage of the Bridge which led to the City, and was then imbaraſſed with the Goods the *Germans* had heaped up there: But *Andelot* making a ſharp Sally at the Head of a Troop of Gentlemen, opened the way, and kept off the Enemy; it's ſaid however, 800 of the Beſieged periſhed in this Tumult; others ſay, not half the number: But yet, however, it was a great loſs, and much incommoded the City. Two days after, the other Suburbs were taken. The 18th of *February*, the Duke of *Guiſe* wrote to the Queen, That the Siege was very forward, and that, in a few days, he ſhould ſend her the joyful News it was taken; but the ſame day, towards night, as he was riding with ſome Officers, he was ſhot in the Side by one *John Poltrot*, near his Armpit. This perſon was a Gentleman of *Engouleſme*, and brought up as Page in the Family of *Francis Boucart* Baron *d' Aubeterre*, and having in his Childhood lived in *Spain*, could imitate that Nation to a wonder, and was commonly called, *The Little Spaniard*, he had long ſince reſolved to be the death of this great Man, and had foretold it publickly, and was ſo much the leſs ſuſpected, becauſe *he* was thought a cloſe diſſembling Fellow. Being ſent by his Maſter to learn an Account

The Duke of *Guiſe* wounded by one *Poltrot*.

of

of the Battel of *Dreux*, he found *Coligni* at the Siege of *Ceel*, who gave him Money to buy a fleet Horſe; after which he never returned to his Lord, and this made *Coligni* ſuſpected, as conſcious of the Deſign. From thence he went to the Duke of *Guiſe* his Quarters, and contracted an Acquaintance with his Servants, and this day after a Prayer to God to direct him, lying in wait, Shot him as he was returning home in the Evening. *Poltrot* fled into the next Wood, and they who purſued him could not find him; and when he had rode all night, and quite tired his Horſe, next morning he came to *Pont Olivet* by *Orleans*; which being unknown to him, and therefore thought by him to be very diſtant from the place he fled from, he laid him down to ſleep, and was taken upon ſuſpicion by the Searchers, and being known, was brought to the Queen to St. *Ilario*, and Examined concerning the Fact, and by whoſe Procurement he did it. He ſaid, he had been twice ſolicited to it by *Coligni*, and had at laſt conſented to it upon the perſwaſion of *Beza* and another Miniſter, but he ſaid, the Prince of *Conde*, *Andelot*, and the *Sieur de Soubieze* knew nothing of it. He adviſed the Queen to have a care of her ſelf too, becauſe the Proteſtants were ill affected to her ſince the Battel of *Dreux*, and that *Mompenſier* and *Sanſac* were alſo deſigned to be cut off: An Account of which Confeſſion being ſent to *Cologni* by a *German* Priſoner, the 12th of *March* he publiſhed a Paper in his own defence, in which he call'd God and Man to Witneſs, that he never ſaw nor knew *Poltrot* before the laſt *January*, and he had given him Money and employed him as a *Spie* in the Duke of *Guiſe* his Camp, That when he went into *Normandy*, he had given him 100 Crowns to acquaint *Andelot* with what paſſed there; and that all he had ſaid beſides were lies and falſehoods; That though he was not much concern'd for the death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was an Enemy to the King, and to the Reformation, and all that Embraced it, yet he ever deteſted theſe ways of Proceeding, and had never by himſelf or any other asked any ſuch thing of *Poltrot*, though he had before this diſcovered, and could prove ſuch deſigns were entred into againſt *Conde*, *Andelot*, and himſelf, before the Queen and *Montmorancy*, to whom he had produced good Aſſurances of it. *Beza* alſo in the ſame Paper, ſaid, he never ſaw *Poltrot* in all his Life; and *Rochefocault* ſaid the ſame. *Coligni* ſent the ſame day a Letter to the Queen to intreat her to keep *Poltrot*, that the truth of his innocence might be made out from him, before he were Executed. The Duke of *Guiſe* in the mean time died the 24th of *February*, having purged himſelf of the Maſſacre of *Vaſſay*, and Adviſed the Queen to make a Peace as ſoon as was poſſible. He was a Great Man in the Opinion of his Enemies, a good Soldier, and both fortunate and prudent in his Actions, but falling into a divided Factious State, he was by his Brother *Charles*, a violent Man, miſled, though he often deteſted his Adviſes. Though he had no Command in the Battel of *Dreux*, yet he alone procured the Victory, this made him the ſole General, and being terrible to the Proteſtants, it haſtened his Ruine, but then it had ill Conſequences (though at firſt it occaſioned a ſpeedy Peace) in after times. The Children of the Duke growing up in the Civil Wars which followed, inherited the popularity of their Father, and under the Pretences of Religion, and the Sloath of the Kings of *France*, endeavoured firſt to Revenge their Fathers Death on the Proteſtants, and at laſt turned their Arms againſt the Royal Family, to the great hazard of its Ruine and their own too.

1563.

The Death and Character of the Duke of *Guiſe*.

Soon after the Duke of *Guiſe* was wounded, the Queen ſent *Henry de Cloet*, and the Biſhop of *Limoges*, to the Princeſs of *Conde* and *Andelot*, to treat of a Peace ſeveral times. And when he was dead, ſhe yet more earneſtly deſired it, fearing *Conde* and *Montmorancy*, the Heads of the two Parties. Or, as *Davila* ſaith, being deſirous to drive out the Foreign Forces before they could ſettle themſelves, and above all, the *Engliſh* out of *Havre de Grace*. Beſides ſhe wanted a General to Head the Kings Forces, *Montmorency* being then a Priſoner, and none of the reſt being equal to the Prince of *Conde*, *Coligni*, or *Andelot*; beſides, the Royal Revenues were by the War reduced to ſo low an Ebb, that they were forced to borrow of their Neighbours to ſupport the War. In the mean time *Francis de Briqueville Baron de Columbiers* was employed by *Coligni* to take *Bayeux*, before which he came the 12th of *February*, and though at firſt repulſed, yet upon the bringing four Cannon from *Caen*, he took the City the Fourth of *March*, the Gariſon helping him to plunder it, and many of the Inhabitants, eſpecially of the Clergy, were ſlain, becauſe they were thought to have occaſion'd the reſiſtance which was made. Soon after St. *Lo* was deſerted, and fell into the hands of the Proteſtants, and after it *Auranches*. *Vire* had expell'd the Proteſtants, and pretended to defend it ſelf, but was taken by Storm towards Night, which increaſed the Calamities of the Inhabitants. *Honfleur* was taken by *De Mouy*, the Fourteenth of

The Queen earneſtly deſires a Peace.

1563. of *March*. About this time *Coligni* having made *Montgomery* Governor of *Normandy*, went from *Caen* with a gallant Army towards *Liſieux*, where he was excluded by the Gariſon, and from thence to *Bernay*, which preſuming to do ſo too, he took the Town and made a great ſlaughter of the Inhabitants, deſtroying all their Images and Altars, and handling their Prieſts very ſeverely. The 7th of *March* the Prince of *Conde* and *Montmorancy* were brought to the Iſland *Boaria* near *Orleans* under ſtrong Guards, and a Treaty of Peace was opened: And *Montmorancy* declaring he would never conſent to the Edict of *January*, other Conditions were propoſed, to the great diſſatisfaction of the Proteſtants. *Conde*, upon his promiſe, had leave given him to enter *Orleans*, where he treated with the Proteſtant Miniſters, but finding them reſolved to ſtand to the Edict of *January*, the 12th of *March* he came to an Agreement with the Queen, which was ſubſcribed by the King the 19th of the ſame Month. The Terms of which were, That, 1. All the Nobility ſhould permit what Religion they pleaſed, who had Sovereign Authority, in their Juriſdictions. That all Noblemen ſhould have the free Exerciſe of Religion in their Families, if they did not live in Corporate Towns. That in every Generalite or Prefecture one City ſhould be aſſigned for thoſe of the Religion. And, that wherever they had at this day a Liberty, they ſhould ſtill enjoy it. All Offences were remitted, and the Royal Moneys ſpent in the War; and *Conde* was acknowledged the Kings faithful and Loyal Kinſman; and the Nobility, Captains, and all others who had aſſiſted him, were pronounced to have done all things for the Kings Service, and with a good Intention.

The Treaty of Peace between the Prince of *Conde* and *Montmorancy*.

The Articles agreed on.

Coligni was kept in *Normandy* by the Flattering Proſperity of his Arms, and though he was, by many Letters from the Prince of *Conde*, preſſed to haſten his Journey to *Orleans*, yet he did not arrive there before the 23 of *March*. The next day he could not diſſemble his diſcontent at the Terms of the Treaty of Peace, telling the Prince publickly, *That he wondered, how they could be prevailed upon to clap up a Peace upon ſuch diſadvantageous Conditions, when the Affairs of the Proteſtants were in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate. That they ought to have remembred, that in the beginning of the War, the* Triumvirate *had conſented, that the Edict of* January *ſhould be reſtored, and that now two of them* (the King of *Navar* and the Duke of *Guiſe*) *were ſlain, and* Montmorancy *was their Priſoner, and conſequently a Security for the Prince of* Conde; *Why ſhould not they have had the ſame Terms? That the reſtraint of the Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion to one place in a Province, was to give up that by a daſh of the Pen, which their Sword could never have obtained. That what was granted to the Nobility could not be denied; and they would ſoon ſee it was ſafer to ſerve God in the Suburbs of great Cities, than in their Private Families; and that it was uncertain whether their Children would be at all like them.* But however nothing could refcind an Agreement made by common conſent. Thus ended the firſt Civil War of *France*.

Coligni not pleaſed with the Peace.

I have tranſcribed this whole Account of the firſt Civil War of *France* from the great *Thuanus*, abridging it as much as was poſſible, and purſuing the Actions only of the great Armies; becauſe if I had taken in all he relates of the various Actions between the two Parties in the ſeveral great Cities and Provinces, it would have ſwell'd infinitely beyond the deſign of this Work, or otherwiſe have been ſo dark as not to be eaſily intelligible. And if the Reader compare this ſhort Account with that given by *Davila*, he will ſoon ſee, how little the ſincerity of that Hiſtorian is to be relied on, and how ſmall the Reaſon is, for him to treat the *Huguenots* as Rebels in all the Courſe of this War.

When the War firſt began, the Proteſtants acted purely on the defenſive, but after ſeveral local Maſſacres, they began to pull down Images and Altars in Revenge, for the blood-ſhed of the other Party, and finding, to their coſt, this did but enrage the *Roman* Catholicks againſt them, and made them the more cruel, they fell next upon the *Prieſts* and *Monks*, as the Authors of their Calamities, this more incenſing the *Roman* Catholicks; And they again uſing the moſt horrid barbarities that were ever practiſed by Men, the Proteſtants roſe likewiſe in their Executions on them; ſo that if this War had continued a few years, *France* muſt have been depopulated. Now though in all this the *Roman* Catholicks were the firſt Agreſſors, and forced the Proteſtants to this ſeverity in their own defence, yet their Writers cunningly omitting the Provocation, or ſofting the Actions of their own Party, ſet forth at large the Cruelties of the Hereticks, (as they call them) and many times aggravate them above what is true; but *Thuanus*, though a *Roman* Catholick, was too great a Man to be guilty of ſo falſe a repreſentation, and who ever pleaſeth to conſult him, will find, I have been very favourable to the *Roman* Catholicks in this Abſtract, and have not ſought occaſions to make them odious without cauſe.

A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE Reformation of the Church.

BOOK IV.

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HAVING thus diſpatched what concerns the firſt *French* War, I now return to the Affairs of the Reſt of Chriſtendom in the Year 1562. And here I will firſt begin with the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*. Whilſt the recalling this Council was agitated with great heat, the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, the Pope's Legate in *France* after the Revocation of the Edict of *January*, ſeeing all things there in the ſtate he deſired, he took his leave of the King and returned into *Italy*. Before he went, however, he took care to furniſh the King with Money to carry on the Siege of *Orleans*, which he took up of the Bankers of *Paris*. He had raiſed a vaſt Expectation of this Council in the minds of all thoſe who had yet any Kindneſs left in their Hearts for the *See of Rome*; and the more, becauſe they thought the Edict of *January* which had cauſed the War, would then fall of Courſe, it being made only by way of Proviſion till a Council ſhould determine otherwiſe. As the Cardinal was in his Journey Fifty Horſemen came out of *Orleans*, under the Command of one *Monſieur Dampier*, and ſurprized all his Mules, Horſes, and Treaſures, and when he ſent a Trumpeter to demand them again, the Prince of *Conde* made Anſwer, That this magnificent and warlike Equipage did not befit Paſtors and the Succeſſors of St. *Peter*, but rather Commanders and Generals of War who were in Arms for Religion. Yet if he pleaſed to recal the 200000. Crowns which he had furniſhed

1562.

The Cardinal of *Ferrara* leaves *France*.

1562. niſhed the *Triumvirate* with to carry on the War againſt him, and the *Italian* Forces out of *France*, he would then reſtore all he had taken to his Eminence.

The Cauſes of the Delay of the Council.

The Council which was appointed to meet at *Eaſter* of the former Year, was delay'd to the beginning of this; the Pope putting it off, becauſe he was as much afraid of the *Spaniſh* Biſhops as of the *French National Council*. He had been neceſſitated to grant great Contributions to King *Philip* to be levied upon his Clergy, and he thought the Biſhops would on that ſcore come with exaſperated Minds to the Council; and all his Thoughts were bent on the keeping the Papal Power undiminiſhed, rather than on ſatisfying the juſt Compaints of the Nations. At laſt being forced by an unreſiſtable neceſſity he ſent *Hercules Gonzaga*, *Jerom Seripand*, and *Staniſlaus Hoſio* out of his Boſom, to be his Legates at *Trent*. And not long after he added to them *James Simoneta*, and *Mark Sitico* Biſhop of *Altemberg* in *Tranſylvania*, who had orders to open the Council again the Eighteenth of *January* 1562. *That thoſe things might be therein treated of which the* * *Legates ſhould propoſe, and in the ſame Order, for the taking away the Calamities of theſe Times, the appeaſing the Controverſies of Religion, the Reſtraining deceitful Tongues, the Correcting the Abuſes of depraved Manners, and the obtaining a True and Chriſtian Peace, by ſuch means as the Holy Council ſhould approve of.* The *French* Clergy inſiſted, That mention ſhould be made of a *Free and General Council* to be called for the Quieting of their Differences, becauſe their Proteſtants would never ſubmit to the Determinations of the former Seſſions. On the contrary, the *Spaniards* profeſſed they would only continue the former Council; and therefore they uſed a middle way, and decreed, *A Council ſhould be Celebrated.* The *Spaniſh* Biſhops were as much diſſatisfied becauſe all the Power of propoſing was given to the *Legates*, and taken from the other Biſhops, and complained of it to King *Philip*; who Ordered his *Ambaſſador* to treat the Pope about it, that the Council might be free. The Pope Anſwered the Ambaſſador, *That he was not at leiſure to diſpute about Ablative Caſes Poſitive, and the Genders of Words, and that he had ſomething elſe to do.* And in private he ſpoke of the Calamities and Dangers of *France* with the ſame unconcernedneſs. For when one of the *French* Cardinals deplored the Danger the See of *Rome* was in of loſing that Kingdom, he replied, *What then? if as long as I am Biſhop of this City I ſhall not be forced to abate any thing of the Greatneſs of my Table, and the Magnificence of my Buildings.* And when they inſiſted to have the Manners of Men and the Diſcipline of the Church throughly Reform'd, he ſaid, *In that Particular he would ſatisfie* France *to the full, and take ſuch Care in it, that they ſhould all of them Repent that they had mentioned a Reformation.* Adding, *That he foreſaw that the Kingdom would be divided on the account of Religion, but he did not value the loſs of it a Farthing.* All which Expreſſions ſaith *Thuanus*, *Are in the Letters of the French Ambaſſador that was then at* Rome, *out of which I have faithfully Tranſcribed them; and the Letters are now in my Hands.* The Hiſtory of this Council is ſo well deſcribed by *Petro Soave Polano*, a Venetian, which is in Engliſh, that I need the leſs inſiſt upon it; but I ſhall however remark ſome few things from *Thuanus* and others, for the Enlarging or Confirming the Credit of that Hiſtory, which is much cryed down by the Roman Catholicks; as certainly they have good Reaſon to be offended with that Author, who with ſo much Truth and Impartiality has diſcovered the Artifices of that Aſſembly, for the keeping up the Grandeur of the *Court of Rome*, and the Suppreſſion and Baffling that Reformation, which the moſt Learned of the Church of *Rome* then ſo much deſired and panted after.

The Pope's Legates ſent to *Trent*.

* *Proponentibus Legatis.*

The Prohibition of Books taken into conſideration.

The Second Seſſion was held the Twenty ſixth of *February*, in which a Decree paſs'd againſt Reading Books ſuſpected of Hereſie, and a ſafe Conduct and an Invitation was given to all that would come to the Council. Seventeen Biſhops were by Name appointed to bring in a Catalogue of ſuch Books as were intended or thought fit to be Prohibited. *Polano* obſerves, that they carried this ſo high as to *deprive Men of that Knowledge which was neceſſary to defend them from the Uſurpations of the Court of* Rome, *by which means its Authority was maintained and made Great. For the Books were Prohibited and Condemned, in which the Authority of Princes and Temporal Magiſtrates is defended from the Uſurpations of the Clergy; and of Councils and Biſhops from the Uſurpations of the Court of* Rome, *in which their Hypocriſies or Tyrannies are manifeſted, by which the People, under pretence of Religion are deceived. In ſumm, a better Myſtery was never found out than to uſe Religion to make Men inſenſible.* However this may help to keep thoſe in their Church which they now have; it doth certainly by Experience render them very Contemptible to all others, and

unable

unable to defend their Religion; which is especially true of their Laity.

A debate whether Episcopacy and Residence are of Divine Right.

The Fourth of *March* the business of the Safe Conduct was dispatched in a Congregation; and a Debate was raised and pursued with great Heat by the Spanish Bishops, *That Episcopacy was instituted by God without any Medium; and that Residence and their Pastoral Deligence, in feeding their Flock, was of* Divine Right, *which they desired might be Confirmed by the Decree of the Council.* But because this tended to the Establishing the Authority of the Bishops, and the Abating that of the Pope, his Holiness was much concern'd at it, and having consulted the Cardinals about it, they by common consent Delayed, and by ambiguous Answers deluded the Fathers at *Trent*, and at last totally baffled them in this Point. The Second Session was appointed to be the Twelfth of *April*, which was then prorogued to the Fourth of *June*, and from thence to the Fifteenth of the same Month. In the mean time the King of *France* sent *Lewis de Sanct Gelais Sieur de Lanssac*, *Arnold de Ferrier*, Presidents of *Paris*, and *Guy du Faur Sieur de Pibrac*, his Ambassadors to the Council, who arrived at *Trent* the Nineteenth of *May*. *Lanssac* soon after wrote a Letter to give an Account of their being come to the French Resident at *Rome*, in which he said he thought they ought in the first Place to take care that an Event contrary to their Expectation might not attend the Council; that the Pope should Order his *Legates* to shew great patience to those who spake, proceed slowly in all things, attend the Arrival of those Bishops who were coming, and allow a Liberty without condition to all that were to Vote or Speak, and not fall under the old Reproach of having *the Holy Ghost sent them from* Rome *in a Portmanteau*; and lastly, that they should take care that what was Decreed at *Trent* to the Glory of God, should not be malignantly Interpreted and Traduced; or, it may be, Corrupted at *Rome* by a Company of Idle Men: He desired therefore he would endeavour to obtain these things of the Pope, as he did; but the Pope took this Liberty very ill, and desired, That *no Prejudice might be done to his Authority by the* French *Bishops*. Adding, That *he reserved the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and of the Court of* Rome *to himself; and that he might with greater Convenience attend this and the Transactions at* Trent, *he intended to go to* Bononia. The pretence of this Journey was the Crowning of the Emperor in that City, who was said to be coming thither for that purpose: But the reality was, the Pope was afraid the World should think him more solicitous for the preservation of the Papal Power, than for his Pastoral Cure.

The *French* Ambassadors Arrival.

The Twentieth of *May* the *French* Ambassadors were admitted in a Congregation, where they made an unacceptable Oration, an abstract of which is in *Polano*: *Thuanus* saith, The Speech was made the Fourth of *June*, and that amongst other things they desired, That the *Missals* and Breviaries might be Reformed, and the Lectures which were not taken out of the *Holy* Scriptures might be cut off; That the Sacrament of the Lords Supper might be allowed in both *Kinds* according to the desire of many Nations; And also the Liberty of eating Flesh, and that the Severity of their Fasts might be abated; That Marriage should be allowed to the Clergy of some Countries; That the multitude of Humane Constitutions should be retrenched, and Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue faithfully Translated, mixed with the Latin Hymns. Before this the Ambassador of the Duke of *Bavaria* had also demanded the giving of the Cup in the Lords Supper to the Laity as absolutely necessary for the Preserving those who had not yet separated themselves from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, but were much offended with this denial, and for the Recovery of those who had left it. And accordingly there were about Fifty of the most Learned of the Fathers of the Council who were for granting it, and amongst them *Gonzaga* President of the Council, though all his Collegues dissented. But the *Spanish* Bishops opposed it, and others thought it was fit first to send Legates into *Germany* who should see and report it to the Council whether it were necessary, and how it might be done. This was debated in a Congregation the Twenty eighth of *August*; but in the Twenty second Session held the Seventeenth of *September* it was rejected, and all were Anathematized, *That did not allow the Church to have taken away the Cup from the Laity*, &c. *upon just Grounds*. When the *Germans* still insisted that it might be granted again to some People; the Council to free themselves from their importunity, turned them over to the Pope, who according to his Prudence was to do what he thought Useful and Salutary. Before this the Pope being press'd to Grant the *Cup* by the French Ambassador about a Year since, had referred it to the Conclave of Cardinals, and they and he had referred it to the Council; and now the Council sends it back to the Pope. *Oh the stupid Patience of these Men!*

The Demands of the *French* Ambassadors in the Council.

1562. The *French* Kings Reflections on the Proceedings of the Council.

When *Lanſſac* gave the King of *France* an Account of what had been done, he ſaid in his Anſwer, That he liked what had been done as yet at *Trent*; but could not but obſerve that they went very ſlowly about the Reforming of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and the Manners of the Clergy; and in the mean time were in great haſte to Eſtabliſh the Points of Doctrine; That therefore it was ſuſpected when this was with Levity enough perform'd, there would be an end put to the Council, and no care be taken for the former, that ſo this procedure would afford no Benefit to the Church in this diſtracted State of Chriſtendom, and eſpecially to *France*. That about Thirty Years ſince, when Fire and Sword had ſo unſucceſsfully been imployed to Cure the Diſeaſe, all Men looked upon a General Council as the Sheet-Anchor: That he wiſhed nothing had been done in the beginning of this Council for the Alienating the Minds of the Churches Enemies, but rather that they had by all means been allured, and invited to it; and if any had been prevail'd upon to come, that they ſhould have been treated by the Fathers of the Council with Kindneſs and Humanity as Children. For to what end were all theſe careful and diligent Diſquiſitions and Diſputations concerning the Doctrine, ſeeing there was no debate but between the Catholick and Proteſtant in theſe Points? And as to the Proteſtants their Definitions ſignified nothing, but only gave them Occaſion to ſay their Opinions were condemned by the Council without hearing what they had to ſay for them: That therefore it ſeemed more adviſable to have endeavoured to have brought them into the Council; for fear they ſhould in time withdraw all thoſe who adhere to the Church: For it was a vain ſurmiſe that the Proteſtants would ever ſubmit to thoſe Decrees which were made when they were abſent. That therefore he was of Opinion, That the Reforming the Manners of the Church-men, and the Diſcipline ought to be their firſt and greateſt Care, and the other to be for a time ſuſpended; for this would be acceptable to all Men. And laſtly, *Lanſſac* was ordered to get the next Seſſion Prorogued to the latter end of *October*, 1563. that the *French* Clergy might be preſent at it; or at leaſt that the publiſhing of the Canons might be deferred till then. When *Lanſſac* had repreſented all this to the Council, he deſired in the King's Name, *That ſeeing in the former Seſſions ſome things had been decreed to the prejudice of the Liberties of the* Gallicane Church, *it being an ancient Privilege belonging to them to repreſent by their Kings, or their Ambaſſadors, what they thought uſeful or neceſſary for them, that this Liberty ſhould for the future be preſerved; and that if any thing were Acted to the contrary of it, it might be recalled.* In the mean time, the Thirteenth of *November*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and about Forty of the *French* Biſhops came to *Trent* with ſome Divines, who were met without that *City* by the Pope's Legates, and ſome of the other Biſhops, and of the Ambaſſadors. In this Journey the Cardinal of *Lorrain* went to *Inſpruck* to meet the Emperor before he went to the *Diet* at *Francfort* where he had ſome Conferences in private with that Prince about the Affairs of Religion.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the *French* Clergy arrive at *Trent*.

The Pope alarm'd at it, as if ſo many Enemies had invaded him.

The Pope and the Cardinals at *Rome* were alarm'd at this coming of the *French* Clergy, as if ſo many Enemies had invaded them, and all things were in an Hurry to make Preparations againſt them. There were new Legates, and a new Squadron of *Italian* Biſhops, who might out number the *French*, preſently to be ſent to *Trent*. And the Pope wrote to King *Philip* to Order the Biſhops of his Dominions to unite their Counſels and Votes with the *Italian* Biſhops, that neither the Reaſons nor the Votes of the *Ultramontane* Biſhops might prevail againſt them. And in his private Audience with *L' Iſle* the *French* Reſident at *Rome*, he ridicul'd the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, by calling him, *The other Pope who had Three hundred thouſand Pounds the Year Revenue, out of ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, when he* (good Man) *was content with the ſingle Biſhoprick of* Rome; *and it is an eaſie thing* (ſaith he) *for the Cardinal with his belly full to praiſe Faſting, and admoniſh others to be content with one Benefice.* The *French* King had ſent *Francis de Bolliers, Sieur de Manes*, to diſſipate and remove this Jealouſie of the Pope's, at the approach of the *French* Biſhops, and to acquaint his *Holineſs* with his Intentions. For that it was commonly ſaid, That the Cardinal was ſent to get the Tranſactions in the Conference of *Poiſey* laſt Year confirm'd by the *Synod*, That the Cup might be granted to the Laity, That the Clergy might be allowed Matrimony, That the Liturgy might be in the Vulgar Tongue, That the Biſhops might have but one Dioceſs, and that none ſhould be Elected to that Dignity who could not Preach to the People. As to the firſt *Manes* excuſed the Conference of *Poiſey*, and ſaid, It was appointed by the Queen and the Cardinal for the gaining time, and the retarding or keeping back

back thoſe inteſtine Commotions they foreſaw, and for the ſtopping the Mouths of the Sectaries, who complained every where that their Reaſons had never been heard; *That they deſigned in the Interim to levy Forces ſo, that if they could not convince the Sectaries by Reaſon, they might by force reduce them to their Duty.* That nothing was done in that Conference. And as to the other Points the Cardinal and *French* Clergy had no other Inſtructions than what had been ſent to the Ambaſſadors of *France*, and that they brought no prejudged Opinions with them to the Council. The Pope was much concern'd upon the Account of a Report that the Biſhops of *France* had moved their King to ſtop the Payment of *Firſt Fruits* by the Clergy of *France* to the See of *Rome*. And he ſaid this was contrary to their Pacts and Agreements with him; which was, That this Affair ſhould be tranſacted with the Pope only in a friendly way. But then after all, nothing ſo much ſtartled the holy Man as a Report, that a Peace was treating ſecretly with the Proteſtants, and that they would have Liberty given them to Preach and he foreſaw, that if *France* were once quieted, the Council could not be hurried to a Concluſion, but things would be well conſidered, and perhaps the Proteſtants muſt be heard in it, and amongſt them Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, which he feared beyond Expreſſion. For he thought the Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Ferrara* were ſo Uſeful and Neceſſary to the King of *France*, that he could never have ſpared them to attend the Council, where there was no need of them if he had not had ſome ſuch peſtilent Deſigns to promote. Whereupon he muſtered up all the Prelates he could poſſibly, not admitting any Excuſe, and ſent many alſo who had reſigned their Benefices to the Council, together with the Coadjutors of other Biſhops, that ſo he might have the more Votes, believing he was now in the utmoſt degree of Danger; and as if he had not had enough of his own he borrowed ſome Prelates of his Friends too: And amongſt them he got leave of the Duke of *Savoy* that *Anthony Bobba* Biſhop of *Caſſale*, who was then that Princes Ambaſſador in the Court of *Rome*; and *Lewis Vanini de Teodolis* Biſhop *de Bertinoro*, a Perſon of great Learning and Eloquence, who had excuſed his Attendance in the Council upon his want of Health, ſhould now forthwith be diſpatched to *Trent*. When this laſt was going thither, he is ſaid to have conſolated and ſtrengthened the good Pope in his Anxiety and Fears of the Event, with an Aſſurance, *That he would certainly get the Victory over the Council*, which was a very Acceptable Saying to the Pope; and that he for that good News Kiſs'd the Biſhop of *Bertinoro*, when he took his Leave to go to *Trent*, bidding him *be careful to get the Victory he had promiſed him*. And when after this ſome flying Reports came to *Rome*, that ſome Queſtions were moved in the Council to the prejudice of the Papal Authority by the Biſhops, he was ſo moved at it, that in the Conſiſtory before all the Cardinals, he cried out, *he and the Romans were betrayed, whileſt he maintained an Army of Enemies at* Trent *with great expence*. By which expreſſion he aimed at the *Italian* Biſhops, who were his Penſioners, and kept there by him in great numbers. And *Jo. Baptiſta Adrian* writes, He was juſt upon the Point of inhibiting the Council, and had done it if *Coſmus* Duke of *Florence* had not averted him from that dangerous and ſhameful project. 1562.

The Popes fears of the *French* Biſhops never to be ſtopp'd.

The 8*th*. day of *September Maximilian* the Eldeſt Son of *Ferdinand* the Emperor was choſen King of the *Romans* at *Francfort* upon the *Maine*, in a Diet there aſſembled for that purpoſe. *Stroſchen* a *Polander* by birth, who was then Ambaſſador for *Solyman* the Emperor of the *Turks*, was preſent at *Francfort*, and ſaw this Ceremony, being ſent to ſettle a Truce for eight years between thoſe Princes, which had been a long time ſought by *Busbequius* at *Conſtantinople*. The Emperor was by this League to pay Thirty Millions of *Hungarian* Duckets for a Tribute by the year. In this Diet the Princes of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*, and their Allies gave in their opinion concerning the Council in Writing, as they promiſed they would in the Convention at *Naumburg*. They ſaid they could not come to this Impious Council which was Indicted by Pope *Pius* the Fourth, becauſe not ſo aſſembled as was preſcribed in their Appeals to a pious, free and lawful Council, given in heretofore in ſeveral Diets of *Germany*. This Diet ended about the end of *December*, and the Emperor went by *Worms*, *Spire*, *Weiſſemburg*, *Strasburg*, *Schleſtat*, and *Baſil*, to *Friburg* in *Briſgow*, being in all places received with great Honour; and in the laſt of theſe places he held a Diet for *Alſatia*, and then by *Conſtance* he went in *February* to *Inſpruck*, where he ſtaid ſome time on the account of the Council of *Trent*, which he hoped might be ended in the leſs time if he were near it.

Maximilian Son of *Ferdinand* choſen King of the *Romans*.. *Polano* in his Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, ſaith the Election was made the 24*th*. of *November*. So that the firſt date ſeems to be the day of the opening of the Diet.

The

1562. The *French* Ambaſſadors when they came to the Council of *Trent* were furniſhed with certain Inſtructions what they were to ask, but had Orders to ſuppreſs them till they had conferr'd with the Emperors Ambaſſadors, which happened to have much what the ſame demands. But by this time the Court of *France* ſeeing there was no care taken to ſatisfie the Emperor, and that things were carried with great ſlowneſs, ordered their Ambaſſador to open their Grievances, which were contain'd in Thirty four Articles, and were accordingly unfolded to the Council the 4*th.* of *January*; 1563. as they may be ſeen at large in *Polano* his Hiſtory, *Pag.* 609. I ſhall not here trouble the Reader with them. The 10*th.* of *January* the King of *France* ordered his Ambaſſador to aſſure the Pope that the *Annals* which were taken away in the Aſſembly of the States of *France*, lately held at *Orleans*, ſhould for the future be paid to the Pope; he hoping by this means to have him more ready to grant his deſires, tending to the peace of the Church, which the Pope's Ambaſſador largely promiſed. On the 14*th.* of *February* a Decree was made concerning the Reſidence of Biſhops and Paſtors with great difficulty and oppoſition, which all tended to the obtaining the Judgment of the Council, *That the Pope has full power to feed, and govern the Univerſal Church.* The *French* who hold that a Council is above the Pope, were contented to conceal their opinion in this point, for fear the Pope ſhould take that opportunity to diſſolve the Council, without any good done by it. But then they were reſolved to defend their ſaid opinion if it were oppoſed whatever happened, and upon no terms to loſe or yield it. King *Philip* alſo laboured very hard that the power of the Biſhops ſhould be raiſed, and that of the Pope and the Conclave brought lower; which they of the Pope's party interpreted as a deſign to diminiſh the *Spaniſh* Liberties, becauſe the Biſhops and Chapters of *Spain* would be more ſubjected to the will of the King than the Court of *Rome* would. By which means they at laſt prevailed ſo far upon that jealous Nation, that the power of the Biſhops in the end was very much abated, and that of the Pope was enlarged and exalted; and the Biſhops were contented to act as the Popes Delegates, and by his Authority, and in his Name to exerciſe their Functions. About this time it was that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* went again to the Emperor to *Inſpruck*, which cauſed a great fear in the Pope's party in the Council, for that they ſuſpected he went to adjuſt with that Prince the ways to bring the Papal power under.

The Emperor diſlikes the Proceedings of the Council.

In the beginning of *March* the Emperor wrote a Letter to the Pope (after he had conſulted the Biſhops of *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, who went to *Inſpruck* to him) wherein he ſignified to his Holineſs, 'That after his Son in the laſt Diet was Elected King of 'the *Romans*, and Crown'd, and that he had viſited his Cities upon the *Rhine*, he 'was come to *Inſpruck* to promote the Affairs of the Church in the Council as be'came the Supreme Advocate and Procurator of the Church; but that to his great 'grief he underſtood that things were ſo far from going as was to be deſired, and 'as the publick State of Affairs required, that it was to be feared, if ſpee'dy remedies were not applied, the Council would be ended in ſuch manner, as 'it would give offence to all *Chriſtendom*, and become ridiculous to all thoſe who 'had made a defection from the Church of *Rome*, and fix them more obſtinately in 'thoſe opinions they had embraced, tho' very differing from the Orthodox Faith. 'That there had not been any Seſſion celebrated for a long time, and that it was 'commonly given out, the Fathers and Doctors in the Council, had contentions 'and differences amongſt themſelves, which were unworthy of that moderation 'which they ought to have, and tended very much to the detriment of that con'cord which was hoped for from them; and yet theſe conteſts frequently broke 'out to the great ſatisfaction of their Adverſaries: That there was a report, That 'the Pope intended to diſſolve or ſuſpend the Council; and he adviſed him not 'to do it, becauſe nothing could be more ſhameful or damageable; and which, be'ſides, would certainly cauſe a great defection from the Church, and bring a great 'hatred on the Papacy, and from thence cauſe an equal contempt of all the Clergy; 'That this diſſolution or ſuſpenſion would certainly procure the Aſſembling of Na'tional Councils, which the Popes have ever oppoſed as contrary to the Unity 'of the Church, and which thoſe Princes which were well affected to the See of '*Rome*, had hitherto hindred in their Dominions; but after this they could find no 'pretence to deny or delay them any longer. Therefore he deſired the Pope to lay 'aſide that thought, and to apply himſelf ſeriouſly to the celebration of the Coun'cil, allowing the Ancient Liberty to all in its full extent, that all things might be 'diſpatched rightly, lawfully, and in order, and thereby the mouths of their Ad'verſaries, who ſought an opportunity to calumniate, might be ſtopp'd. That it

'would

'would become his Holineſs to attend the Council in perſon if his health would per- 1563.
'mit it; and he earneſtly deſired he would, That he (the Emperor) if the Pope
'thought fit, would alſo come thither, that they both by their preſence might
'promote the Publick buſineſs. That the Pope might compoſe and decide many
'difficulties which had ariſen from his abſence. The Emperor ſent a Copy of this
Letter to the Cardinal of *Lorrain* alſo, and deſired he would promote thoſe things
which tended to the Glory of God, and the good of *Chriſtendom*.

The 21*th*. of *May* the *Count de Luna*, Ambaſſador for the King of *Spain*, was re- The Ambaſſa-
ceived in a Congregation; and there was a Speech made in the behalf of that Prince dor of *Spain*
in the Aſſembly, by one *Pedro Fomidonio de Segovia* a Divine, who extoll'd above received in
meaſure the care of his Maſter in the affairs of Religion, and eſpecially his ſeve- the Council.
rity ſhewn towards Sectaries; he ſaid this Prince Married *Mary* of *England*, only
to the end he might reſtore the Catholick Religion in that flouriſhing Kingdom. He
Reproached the *French* and *German* Nations, for thinking that much was to be in-
dulged to the Hereticks, that being won by theſe Conceſſions they might be reduced
into the boſom of the Church. At laſt he ſaid, That they ought ſo to conſult the
Salvation of Hereticks, and the Majeſty of the Church, that all things might be
done for the promoting the latter, rather than for gratifying the former. And he
exhorted all Princes to imitate the ſeverity of his Maſter in bridling Hereticks, that
the Church might be delivered from ſo many Miſeries, and the Fathers of *Trent*
from the care of celebrating Councils.

A little before this time the news of the Peace made with the Proteſtants of The Fathers
France, came firſt in Generals, and ſoon after the particular Articles. This was at *Trent* much
"blamed by the greater part of the Fathers in that Council, who ſaid it was to diſſatisfied
"prefer the things of the world before the things of God; yea to ruin both the one with the
"and the other. For the Foundation of a State, which is Religion, being removed, Peace made in
"it is neceſſary that the Temporal ſhould come to deſolation; whereof the Edict *France*.
"made before was an example, which did not cauſe Peace and Tranquility, as was
"hoped, but a greater War than before. The truth is, theſe men would have all
the world fight out their quarrel to the laſt man, and then if their Catholicks periſh,
they are as inconcerned as for the Hereticks; and accordingly ever ſince that time
they have made it their buſineſs firſt to hinder all Treaties of Peace, wherein any li-
berty was granted to the Proteſtants; and when they could not gain that point,
to make them be broken as ſoon as was poſſible; tho this too has for the moſt part
turn'd in the end to their great loſs and ſhame. The *French* Court perceiving The *French*
how the Fathers of *Trent* took the Peace, Ordered the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to Court ſhew
ſhew the great Dangers which from the Civil War threatned that Kingdom; their Reaſons
and to aſſure the Council that it was the intention of the King to diſſipate the for it.
Factions of France *by a Peace*, *that he might be at leiſure to attend ſeriouſly the reſtitution of the Peace of the Church.* But when this would not be allowed
'neither, the Queen ſent *Renate de Birague*, Preſident of *Dauphine*, to aſſure the
'Fathers, That their Intentions were not to ſettle a New Religion in *France*,
'nor to ſuffer it to grow up and encreaſe, but that having diſarmed their Sub-
'jects, and quieted the Tumults, they might with the leſs trouble return to
'the Methods uſed by their Anceſtors, for the reducing their people into the
'way, and the Unity of the ſame Catholick Religion. That this could never be
'done but by the Authority of a lawful and free, either General or National
'Council: that a General Council ſeemed the ſafer way, but then it was ne-
'ceſſary that a liberty and ſecurity ſhould be given to all that would to come.
'That tho' this had been done by the Pope and the Fathers; yet the place
'was ſuch; and ſo ſituate, that being rather in *Italy* than *Germany*, the Proteſtants
'could not think themſelves ſufficiently ſecure. For they deſired a Council in
'*Germany*, and thought they were not ſafe if it were any where elſe: That
'not only they of *Germany*, but the *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, *Danes* and *Swedes*, were of the
'ſame mind, and it was very unjuſt to condemn ſo many Nations unheard, and
'beſides it was unprofitable too, for whereas all good men hoped that this
'Council would procure an Unity, on the contrary it would cauſe a greater op-
'poſition and enmity, when theſe Nations ſaw themſelves neglected; and by
'the inconvenience of the place, as it were excluded out of the Council. For it
'was fit for none but weak and credulous men to think they would ever ſub-
'mit to the Decrees of a Council in which they had never been admitted, nor
'heard; but it was to be feared on the other ſide that their minds being exaſperated,
'their patience would turn to fury, and they would traduce to Poſterity the.

'Decrees

1563. 'Decrees of the Council; and in the preſent age treat them with a virulent 'ſharpneſs in their Writings. Therefore *Birague* was Ordered to deſire the 'Council might by the conſent of the Fathers and Pope be transferr'd into Ger-'*many*, to *Worms*, *Spire*, *Baſil* or *Conſtance*. This Diſcourſe would not edifie at '*Trent*, and he was ſent on the ſame Errand to *Inſpruck* to the Emperor, and 'to *Vienna* to his Son *Maximilian*. There were two others ſent at the ſame time, 'one into *Spain*, and another to *Rome*; but this latter found the Pope enraged 'to the utmoſt with the Peace, ſo that he was reſolved to treat *France* without 'any favour.

The Pope's Bull to the Inquiſitors.

In order to this, the Pope puts out a Bull dated the 7*th*. of *April*, by which 'he grants power to the *Cardinals*, appointed *Inquiſitors General for all Chriſten-'dom*, to proceed ſmartly and extrajudicially, as ſhall ſeem convenient to them 'againſt all and ſingular the Hereticks, and their Abettors and Receivers, and 'thoſe who are ſuſpected to be ſuch abiding in the Provinces and places in which 'the filth of the *Lutheran* Hereſie hath prevailed; and to which it is notorious, 'there is not a ſafe and free entrance; tho' the ſaid perſons are adorn'd with 'the Epiſcopal, Archiepiſcopal, Patriarchal Dignity, or Cardinalate, without any 'other proof to be made of the ſafety or freedom of the Acceſs. But ſo that 'Information be firſt made, and that they be cited by an Edict by them to be af-'fixed to the Doors of the Palace of the Holy Inquiſition, *&c.* admoniſhing and 'requiring them to appear perſonally, and not by their Proctors, before the ſaid 'Inquiſition, within a certain and limited time, as the ſaid *Inquiſition ſhall think* 'fit, upon pain of Excommunication denounced, Suſpenſion, and other lawful 'pains. And if they ſhall not ſo appear, they ſhall be proceeded againſt in the 'ſecret Conſiſtory, and a ſentence decreed againſt them (tho' abſent) as convict, 'and confirm'd with a clauſe of Derogation. Tho' this Bull was contrary to all Laws, yet the Inquiſitors preſumed upon it to cite ſome Biſhops of *France*,

Several *French* Cardinals and Biſhops cited to *Rome*;

and with them *Odet de Coligni Cardinal de Chaſtillon*, who had embraced the Opini-ons of the Proteſtants, and was now call'd Count *de Beauvais*, he having been formerly Biſhop of that City; *St. Roman Archbiſhop d'Aix*, *John Monluck* Biſhop of *Valence*, *Jean Anthony Caracciolo* Son of the Prince *de Melphe*; *Jean Brahanſon* Biſhop of *Pamiez*, *Charles Guillart* Biſhop of *Chartres*. And as if this had been inten-

And the Queen of *Navarr* alſo.

ded but for a ſtep to her; the Princeſs *Joan Labrett Queen of Navarr*, Relict of *An-thony* late King of *Navarr*. All which I ſay, by a Bull dated the 28*th*. of *September*, and affixed at *Rome*, were cited to appear before the Inquiſition, within ſix Months, and the Queen was told, *That if ſhe did not, ſhe ſhould be deprived of her Royal Dignity, Kingdom or Principality, and Dominions, as one convicted: and the ſame ſhould be pronounced to belong to whoſoever ſhould invade it.* The King and Queen of *France*, and all the Nobility were extremely exaſperated with theſe proceed-ings of the Pope; and the Bull being read in the Council of State, *D'Oiſel* the then Ordinary Ambaſſador in the Court of *Rome*, was ordered to acquaint the Pope, That

The *French* King declares againſt theſe Proceedings againſt the Queen of *Navarr*.

the King could ſcarce give any credit to the firſt reports which were ſpread in ſeveral Pamphlets in *France*, till the Citation which was fixed up in ſeveral places 'in *Rome*, was read to him; at which he was much troubled, becauſe the Queen of '*Navarr* was in Majeſty and Dignity equal to any other Prince in *Chriſtendom*; and 'had from them the Title of *Siſter*. 2. That the danger which threatned her was of 'ill example, and might in time be extended to any of them, and therefore they 'were all bound to aſſiſt and defend her in this common cauſe, and the more be-'cauſe ſhe was a Widow. 3. But the King of *France* above all other, becauſe 'nearly related to her, and her late Husband, who was one of the princi-'pal Princes of the Blood Royal, and had loſt his Life in his ſervice in the 'laſt War againſt the *Proteſtants*; leaving his Children Orphans, the Eldeſt of 'which was now in the King's Court, and under his care: That the King could 'not neglect the cauſe of this ſorrowful Widow, and her Orphan and Children, 'who appeal'd to his fidelity, and the Memory of his Anceſtors; who had in 'all times of affliction ſuccoured the Princes of *Germany*, *Spain*, and *England*. That '*Philip* the *Bold*, the Son of St. *Lewis*, had with a potent Army defended an Or-'phan-Queen of *Navarr*, and brought her into *France*, where ſhe was after 'Married to *Philip the Fair*, from whom *Joan* the preſent Queen of *Navarr* was 'lineally deſcended. And that *John Labrett* the Grandfather of this Queen being 'in like manner perſecuted by one of the Popes, and driven out of a part of his 'Kingdom; the reſt had been defended and preſerved by *Lewis* the Twelfth, and 'his Succeſſors. That the Popes themſelves have heretofore fled to the *French*

'for

for protection when they have been expelled out of their Sees, who had often restored them, defended and enriched them with the grant of many Territories: That this Queen was so near a Neighbour, and such an Allie to the Crown of *France*, that no War could be made upon her without the great damage of *France*: That all Princes were Interested in the Friendship and Peace of their Neighbours, and obliged to keep all Wars at a distance from them for the preservation of their own quiet and security. Since therefore his Majesty saw by this Bull that there was a design to deprive his Ancient Allies of their Dominions, and at pleasure to set up others in their stead, he had just reason to fear that as the *Spaniards* had heretofore on such pretences possess'd themselves of all the Countries to the *Pyrenæan Hills*, so that in time they might pass them too, and descend into the Plains of *France*, and so a dismal and destructive War might be rekindled between these powerful Princes, to the great hazard and ruin of *Christendom*. Lastly, the Queen of *Navarr* being a Feuditary of the Crown of *France*, and having great Possessions in that Kingdom, was under the Protection of the Laws of it, and could not be drawn out of it to *Rome*, either in Person, or by Proxy; no Subject of *France* being bound to go to *Rome*; but if the Pope had any cause against them, he was obliged to send Judges to determine upon the place even in those Cases that came before him by Appeal. That therefore this Citation was against the Majesty, Law, and Security of the Crown of *France*; and tended to the diminishing of the esteem of that King and Kingdom. That if the Form of this Proceeding were considered, what could be more contrary to the Civil Law than to force a man out of his proper Court, and condemn him in another without any hearing? For there are Laws, That no accused person shall be cited out of the Limits of the Jurisdiction in which he lives, and that the Citation shall not be obscure and perfunctory, but declared to the proper person, or to his family. And the Constitution of Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, That Citations set up in certain places of *Rome* should be of force, was recall'd by *Clement* the Fifth, and the Council of *Venna*, as hard and unjust, or at least mitigated; and it was decreed that they should not be used, but when there was no safe coming to the person accused: But in *France*, where the Queen of *Navarr* resides, it cannot be pretended that there is no safe coming to her. And what can be more contrary to Natural Equity than to condemn unheard? It is forbidden by the Canons and Decrees of Councils, and there is a noble example of this in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, where Pope *Liberius*, being urged by *Constantius* to condemn *Athanasius*, chose rather to be banished, than to sentence him without hearing. And in the Judgment against *Sixtus* the Third, who was accused of Incest, *Valentinian* the Emperor observed the same method, and made him appear and answer in a *Synod* before Fifty Bishops. For the same reason the Sentence of *Nicholas* the First, against *Lotharius* the Son of St. *Lewis*, for having two Wives, was thought void and null. Nor was this Sentence against the Queen of *Navarr* of better force, because she was absent and unheard. That the Popes have always shewn that respect to Crown'd heads, as to admonish them by their Legates, before they decreed ought against them. So *Alexander* the Third sent two Cardinals to *Henry* the Second into *England*, when he was accused of the Death of *Thomas a Becket* A.B. of *Canterbury*, That he might purge himself before them of this crime. So of late *Clement* the Seventh, did the like in the case of *Henry* the Eighth, to whom he sent Cardinal *Campeius*. And if it were granted that the Judgment were rightly passed, how could the Dominions of the Queen be exposed for a prey, and given to the first Invader, they belonging to the King as Lord of the Fee? Therefore the King believes that the Pope is deceived by false reports, and instigated by the craft of his Ministers, who not regarding the publick peace, have drawn him from his natural goodness, to Counsels which are dishonourable to his Holiness, and destructive to his Authority, and to that of the See of *Rome*, tending to the alienating of the hearts of his friends from him, and the disturbing of the Peace of *Christendom*. And his Majesty is the more perswaded of the truth of this, because his Holiness so earnestly espoused the Interest of *Anthony* the Husband of this Queen in his life-time; and endeavoured to perswade King *Philip* to restore to him the Kingdom of *Navarr*, or at least to give him the Island of *Sardinia* as an *Equivalent*. But then there is nothing more offends the King than the considering that whereas so many Kings, Princes, and Free States above Forty years since have defected from the See of *Rome*, and committed the offence charged upon the Queen, and so by the rule of Justice ought to be first punished as first offending; yet the Pope has

1563.

1563. 'not proceeded in the ſame way, or with equal ſeverity againſt any of them; ſo that 'from hence it is clear that an occaſion is ſought by her enemies to oppreſs and ruin 'her by ſurprize, whileſt ſhe is a Widow, her Children Orphans, the King of '*France* who ought to protect her being a Minor, and diſturbed by Civil Wars; and 'for this reaſon the King is the more obliged to defend her from injury, and him-'ſelf from contempt, ſeeing without acquainting him with it, they have begun this 'Proceſs againſt a Queen ſo nearly related to him. That if this Accuſation had 'been made on the account of Religion, and for the Glory of God, the Pope 'ought in the firſt place to have ſhewn his care of her ſoul, and from the *Word of* '*God* to have adminiſtred fitting Remedies, and not to have proſcribed her King-

The Depoſing of Princes, and diſpoſing of their Dominions, the cauſe of great Calamities.

'doms and Dominions, and given them for a prey to the firſt Invader. The Pope 'has a Supremacy given him, That he may conſult the Salvation of Souls, and the 'repoſe of *Chriſtendom*, and not that he may deprive Princes of their Kingdoms, 'and diſpoſe of their poſſeſſions at his pleaſure; which the former Popes have ne-'ver been able to do in *Germany* and other places, without bringing great reproach 'and diſhonour on the Church, and diſturbances upon the World. That therefore 'the King deſired with the greateſt humility that he could or ought, that the Sen-'tence againſt the Q. of *Navarr* ſhould be revok'd, and all the Pope's Miniſters ſhould 'be inhibited from proceeding in this cauſe by a publick Act; and if this were 'not done, the King ſhould be forced againſt his will to make uſe of the ſame reme-'dies his Anceſtors had imployed in the like caſes, according to the Laws and 'Rights of his Kingdom. But before all things he proteſted he ſhould do this un-'willingly, and therefore they only ſhould bear the blame who by their raſhneſs 'had forced him to uſe the power God had given him, in ſo juſt a cauſe, and to im-'plore the aſſiſtance of his friends againſt them.

The Biſhops defended by the King alſo.

There was at the ſame time diſtinct Memorials, and larger Inſtructions ſent to the *French* Ambaſſador for the Defence of the Biſhops, and *D'Oyſel* who was an active Miniſter, prevail'd upon the Pope to have the Proceedings againſt the Biſhops ſtopt, and the Sentence againſt the Queen of *Navarr* revok'd and aboliſhed. So that at this day it is not to be found amongſt the Conſtitutions of Pope *Pius* the Fourth. The 18*th.* of *May* there having been no conſideration had of the XXXIII. Articles put into the Council the 4*th.* of *January*, the Queen wrote to *Lanſſac* her

The Queen complains of the Proceedings of the Council.

Ambaſſador, complaining very bitterly of the delays and ſhifts which had been made in this buſineſs, and ſaid that the hope good men had hitherto had of the ſucceſs of this Council, and the opinion of their ſincerity who met in it, would both vaniſh without any fruit, and their diſſimulation and connivance would more and more inflame the wrath of God againſt us, who had now made it manifeſt unto all men that the affairs of the Church needed a Reformation, and a ſevere correction; and to that purpoſe had invited and brought together from all parts of the Earth, ſo many men famous for their Piety and Learning to this Council; and if after all 'this he ſhall ſee us ſtill ſtubbornly reſiſt his will; he will be neceſſitated to puniſh 'thoſe men who have hindred ſo good a work, and ſo neceſſary to the peace of the 'Church: That therefore the King had wrote to the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to aſſem-'ble a Congregation of the *French* Clergy, and after a mature deliberation had 'amongſt themſelves to demand earneſtly of the Fathers of the Council that theſe 'things might be conſidered and determin'd as ſoon as was poſſible. But the Cardinal

The Pope gained the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to his ſide,

was by this time won over to the Pope's ſide, and was willing to ſacrifice the ſafety of *France*, and the King's Will, to the Intereſt of the former. In order to this he delayed the Execution of his Orders from day to day; and at laſt that he might totally diſappoint them, asked leave of the King to go to *Rome*, believing the Kings Ambaſſadors would do nothing in his abſence. And not long after *Lanſſac* obtained leave to return into *France*. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* went from *Trent* to-

Who went to *Rome*.

wards *Rome* the 18*th* of *September*, and with him five of the *French* Biſhops: But the other *French* Ambaſſadors did nevertheleſs inſiſt ſtoutly to have the Articles conſidered by the Council; who, that they might elude this purſuit, made ſome Decrees which had ſome reſpect to thoſe things the *French* had deſired, but which aimed at the granting a Liberty and Immunity to the Clergy againſt all the Laws, Privileges, Liberties, and Juriſdictions, and Lawful Authorities of all Kingdoms, States and Princes; which being ſeen by *La Ferriere* and *Du Faur* the King's Ambaſſadors at '*Trent* they by their Maſter's Order oppoſed the ſaid Decrees. The 27*th.* of *Sep-*''*tember*, the King by a Letter having commanded his Ambaſſadors to inſiſt upon 'their firſt Demands; and to aſſure the Council, that as none of the Chriſtian 'Princes ſhould exceed him in the fervor of true Piety, and a deſire to promote the

'Affairs

'Affairs of the Council, ſo if they ſtill went on to cure the deſperate wounds of 1563.
'the Church with a light hand, or rather to plaſter them over, and conceal, than
'cure them, whileſt they omitted the proper and moſt neceſſary remedies, and in-
'ſtead of conſidering the Reformation of the Church, turn'd the edge of their Au-
'thority againſt the Power of Princes, and the Decrees of Councils, he would not
'have the Preſence of his Ambaſſadors add Authority to ſuch unjuſt Decrees to the
'great prejudice of his Royal Dignity, and to the Damage of the Liberties of his
'Kingdom. He ſaid alſo that he had been informed that the Council had enter-
'tain'd a deſign to declare the Marriage of *Anthony de Bourbon* King of *Navarr*, and
'*Joan* his Queen unlawful, and to declare *Henry* his Son a Baſtard; and he commanded
'them not to be preſent at any ſuch Act. Laſtly, he commanded them to repeat
'their former demands; and if the Fathers of the Council would not grant them,
'then to leave *Trent*, and go to *Venice*, and ſtay there till they had further Orders
'from him. He told them alſo that his principal deſire was by a ſerious Reforma-
'tion of Church-affairs and manners, (the corruptions in which had cauſed ſo many
'to make defection from the Church of *Rome*) by the Authority of a General Coun-
'cil, to unite the divided minds of men in the matters of Religion. That his
'Ambaſſadors and Proctors had often treated with the Pope, and the Fathers of
'the Council about this; and to that end had exhibited the ſaid XXXIV. Articles,
'to which no ſatisfactory return had been made, but on the contrary, they having
'lightly touched the buſineſs of Reformation, had exerciſed an Authority which
'belonged *not* to them, againſt the Rights, Liberties and Power of Soveraign
'Princes. That they neither could nor ought to inquire into the Civil Adminiſtra-
'tion, which was not ſubject to their Court, nor to derogate from thoſe Conſtitu-
'tions and Cuſtoms which had been long enjoyed by Princes; nor to Anathematize
'Kings; all which things tended to Sedition, and the interruption of the publick
'Peace: That he would not ſuffer that Authority which he had received from his
'Anceſtors to be weakned by their unjuſt cenſures. Yea, he commanded them to
'tell the Fathers, That if they preſumed any more to undermine the Authority of
'Kings, and the *Prerogatives of their Betters*, that they ſhould then alſo proteſt a-
'gainſt their proceeding, and leave *Trent*: Adviſing the Biſhops and Divines of
'*France*, who were in the Council to promote the Reformation of Religion as much
'as was poſſible for the good of his divided Kingdom, and to that end to ſtay ſtill
'at *Trent*. But then the King did truſt to their wiſdom and conſcience, that they
'would not approve of by their preſence, or conſent to any thing which was preju-
'dicial to the Royal Authority, Prerogative or Dignity of the King or Kingdom
'of *France*. But however the Council ſtill perſiſting in their former Methods, *La
Ferriere* came into the Council, and made a ſharp Oration againſt the Pope and the
Council. *Polano* * in his Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, has the ſum of this Ora- * Pag. 721.
tion; and *Thuanus* ſaith it was pronounced the 22d. of *September*. But however,
I will not trouble the Reader with it here, becauſe of its great length; this Ora-
tion pleaſed none of the Fathers; the *French* themſelves not excepted, becauſe he
ſet Princes as the *Miniſters* of God, above the *Anathema's* of the Clergy, and made
both their perſons and revenues ſubject to the Laws and Authority of Kings; telling
them too plainly of their great prevarications, obſtinacy and unwillingneſs to re-
form, or be reformed.

The Council has no Authority over Princes.

But however, all the Fathers could do, was to bring the Faith of the Ambaſſadors
in queſtion, which they ſoon diſcuſs'd by producing their Inſtructions. This failing,
they cavell'd at the parts of the Oration, and endeavoured to pervert the ſenſe and
meaning of it; ſo that *Ferriere* was forced to publiſh an *Apology* for it. And ſoon
after this they mended the matter by a ſharper Oration, in which amongſt other
things they told the Council plainly, *That* Hadrian *the Sixth was in the right when
he told the world, That what care ſoever was taken of the lower members of the Church,
that body could not be reſtored to its health, if the Head alſo (the Pope) were not reformed:*
Towards the end they ſaid, *They proteſted only againſt* Pius *the Fourth*; *They Vene-
rated the Apoſtolick See, the great* Pontiff, *the Holy Church of* Rome, *for the increaſe
of whoſe Dignity their Anceſtors had ſo often ſhed their blood, and of late had fought in*
France; *but it was againſt the Soveraignty of* Pius *the Fourth, that they proteſted; all whoſe
Decrees and Sentences they refuſed and deſpiſed; and ſeeing there was nothing done at* Trent,
but all was diſpatched at Rome; *and what was here publiſhed, was rather the Dictates of*
Pius *the Fourth, than the Decrees of a General Council; they denounced and teſtified,
That whatever was decreed in that Convention, or ſhould hereafter be decreed or publiſhed,
they being only the Decrees moved by* Pius *the Fourth, they ſhould not be approved by the*

The Ambaſſadors of *France* put a ſeverer Proteſtation into the Council.

1563. *Moſt Chriſtian King, nor the* French, *nor be taken for the Acts of a General Council. And then commanded all their Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and Divines to return into* France *till God ſhould reſtore to the Catholick Church the ancient form and liberty belonging of right to General Councils, and to the Moſt Chriſtian King his juſt Rights.* *Thuanus* ſaith, he can hardly believe this Oration was made, tho' he finds it Printed in the Commentaries of *Jacques de Bourdin* Secretary of State. But however it ſhews the ſenſe great men had of the Council of *Trent*, at that time when it was beſt underſtood.

The Emperor oppoſeth the intended Proceedings of the Council againſt Queen *Elizabeth.*

A little before this time the Emperor being about leaving *Inſpruck*, diſcovered that they conſulted at *Rome* and *Trent* about proceeding againſt Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*; and he wrote to the Pope and the Legates, that if the Council would not yield that fruit which was deſired that they might ſee an Union of Catholicks to reform the Church; yet at leaſt they ſhould not give occaſion to Hereticks to unite themſelves more, which they would do in caſe they proceeded againſt the Queen of *England.* For undoubtedly they would then make a General League againſt the Catholicks, which would be the cauſe of great Inconveniences. We may ſee by this how hardly this Holy Council was kept from giving the world a Caſt of its office in depoſing Princes, and diſpoſing of their Dominions, and abſolving their Subjects from their Allegiance; tho' we are now told, this is none of the Doctrines of that Church; but however, it is undoubtedly her practice. This Admonition was ſo effectual that the Pope deſiſted at *Rome*, and revoked the Commiſſion given to that purpoſe to the Legates at *Trent.*

The *French* Ambaſſadors leave *Trent*, and go to *Venice.*

When the *French* Ambaſſadors had put theſe two Rubs in the way of the Council, they retired, as the King their Maſter had before commanded them, to *Venice*; and gave an account of what they had done to the Cardinal of *Lorrain* at *Rome*, and to the King of *France*; this laſt approved it, but the former having made his private Market with the Pope, who extremely flattered this proud, turbulent, vainglorious Prelate, was very much diſpleaſed with what the *French* Ambaſſadors had done in his abſence at *Trent.* But when he came there and found the Ambaſſadors were ſupported by the King, and that there was no fetching them back from *Venice* till the things propoſed by the Council were revoked, he perſwaded the Legates to compound the difference, and the Infallible Council laid by theſe Decrees which diſpleaſed the Crown of *France*, and paſſed only a general Decree againſt the Violaters of the Eccleſiaſtical privileges and Immunities in the Twenty fifth Seſſion.

The laſt Seſſion of the Council of *Trent.*

This was the laſt Seſſion of this Council, and was held the fifth and ſixth of *December.* In it was determin'd the points concerning Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, the Worſhip of Images and Reliques, the Prohibition of Duels, and all that pertain'd to the Reformation of the Manners of the Clergy. All that had been done under *Paul* the Third, *Julius* the Third, and two Years before this, in this Convention were then alſo ratified and confirmed. And the Pope was deſired to approve the ſame, and ſo the Council was diſmiſſed with Acclamations. The Pope made a grave Oration in a Conclave of the Cardinals, and giving God unfeigned thanks that the Council was ended, he commended the Emperor, the Apoſtolick Legates and the Biſhops; and ſaid, *Tho' he was free from the obligation of all Laws, yet he would cauſe theſe to be exactly and inviolably preſerved, and if any thing was omitted he would ſupply it.* The Proteſtant Miniſters of *Germany* at the ſame time put out a Proteſtation againſt this Council, ſubſcribed by many of them.

The cenſure of the Council.

Thus ended the Council of *Trent*, which was deſired and procured by *Godly men* to reunite the Church which began to be *divided, but hath ſo eſtabliſhed the Schiſm, and made the parties ſo obſtinate, that the diſcords are become irreconcileable. And being intended by Princes for the reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, hath cauſed the greateſt corruption and deformation that ever was ſince Chriſtianity began: The Biſhops hoped to regain the Epiſcopal Authority, uſurped for the moſt part by the Pope; and it hath made them loſe it altogether, bringing them into greater ſervitude. On the contrary it was feared and avoided by the See of* Rome *as a potent means to moderate their exorbitant power, which from ſmall beginnings mounted by divers degrees to an unlimited exceſs; and it hath ſo eſtabliſhed and confirm'd the ſame over that part which remains ſubject unto it; that it was never ſo great, nor ſo ſoundly rooted.* Thus far *Polano.*

The Emperor goes from *Inſpruck* before the Council was ended.

The Emperor who was come as far as *Inſpruck* to promote the Council, finding that his being there did not only no good, as he thought it would, but rather the contrary; the Popiſh Prelates ſuſpecting his deſigns were againſt the Authority of the Court of *Rome*, and were accordingly afraid of every thing, ſo that the Difficulties and Suſpicions did turn into bitterneſs, and encreaſe in number. Therefore having

ving other buſineſs which would turn more to his Advantage, he left that place and returned home; but he wrote firſt to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, *That the Impoſſibility of doing good in the Council being palpable, he thought it was the duty of a Chriſtian and wiſe Prince, rather to ſupport the preſent evil with patience, than by labouring to cure it, to cauſe a greater.* By which he ſeems to mean that any enormities were to be endured from the See of *Rome* rather than to forſake it, and ſo correct them. 1563. His ſenſe of the Council.

The Catholick Princes being blinded and miſled by their Education, and not underſtanding that the right of calling Councils was in themſelves, as it was of old in the Chriſtian Emperors, who call'd all the Ancient General Councils, thought that they ſhould by force of Arguments and modeſty, extort ſome Reformation from them, but when they ſaw they could not agree amongſt themſelves what was abſolutely neceſſary, *France* and the Empire asking more than King *Philip* was willing to admit, and the Pope being as ſtoutly reſolved whatever happened not to ſuffer his Power, Grandeur or Wealth to be abated. Laſtly, when they all ſaw that the Proteſtants would never ſubmit to any Council that was call'd and managed by the Pope or his Legates, they all became weary of it, and deſired it might be ended as ſoon as was poſſible, and any way to deliver themſelves from the charge, trouble, and vexation of this unprofitable, or rather miſchievous Conventicle. The Reaſons why the Council had no better ſucceſs.

But then as to the *Roman* Catholicks of this Age, who would fain perſwade us that nothing was amiſs; that there was no need of any Reformation; that all the differences aroſe from miſrepreſenting the Doctrines and Practices of the Church of *Rome*; and that this Council was one of the moſt holy Aſſemblies of Learned, Impartial and Religious men that ever ſate. Theſe I ſay are a a pleaſant parcel of Gentlemen, and preſume that we are as ignorant of, and unconcern'd for the Hiſtories of former times, as thoſe who profeſs to be led by an implicite faith in all they have the confidence to teach them; which is a great miſtake.

From this day forward the Proteſtants renounced all commerce and friendſhip with the Church of *Rome*; and ſhe has by this Council put her ſelf out of the power of a Reconciliation; ſo that now the Quarrel is put intirely into the hands of God, and all humane wiſdom is baffl'd for ever. Time, the Sword, or the Providence of God may perhaps at laſt put an end to it, but no Counſel or Device of men ever ſhall.

I ſhould here have ended this Continuation, but that I have been forced to leave ſome things unſpoken to continue the thread of my Relation, which I will now go back to and gather up, that the Story may be the more compleat and perfect. Whileſt the Council was ſitting, the Cardinal of *Ferrara* travelling through *Piedmont* and *Savoy*, found the Affairs of that Country as to Religion not much other than in *France*. In divers places of the *Marquiſate of Saluzza*, all the Prieſts were hunted away; and in *Cherie* and *Cuni*, places belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, and in many other Cities near unto them, many were of the ſame opinions with the *Hugonots*, and many even in the Duke's Court alſo did profeſs them, and more were diſcovered every day. And however the Duke had ſet forth a Proclamation a Month before; *That all that followed thoſe opinions ſhould within eight days depart out of the Country*, and ſome did thereupon depart, yet afterwards he commanded there ſhould be no proceedings againſt them, and pardon'd many who were condemn'd by the *Inquiſition*, and made their Proceſs void, as alſo thoſe who were in the *Inquiſition*, and not condemn'd; and gave leave to ſome that were departed to return. The State of Religion in *Piedmont*.

About the ſame time there hapned a great tumult, and popular commotion in *Bavaria*, becauſe the Cup was not allowed, nor Married men ſuffered to preach; which diſorder proceeded ſo far, that to appeaſe them, the *Duke* promiſed in the *Diet*, That if in all the Month of *June* a reſolution were not made in the Council of *Trent*, or by the Pope, to give them ſatisfaction, he himſelf would grant both the one and the other. The news of this coming to the Council, the Legates diſpatched *Nicholas Ormonet* to perſwade the Duke not to make that Grant. To whom the Duke replied, That to ſhew his obedience to the Apoſtolick See, he would uſe all means to entertain his people as long as he could, expecting and hoping that the Council would reſolve that which they ſaw to be neceſſary, notwithſtanding the Reſolution made before by it. But the Council had good reaſon to deny this laſt, becauſe (ſay they) it is plain that Married Prieſts will turn their affections and love to their Wives and Children; and by conſequence to their Houſe and Country, and ſo that ſtrict dependance which the Clergy hath on the Apoſtolick *See*, would ceaſe; and to grant A Tumult in *Bavaria* for the Cup. Reaſons againſt granting Marriage to the Clergy.

Marriage

1563. Marriage to Prieſts would deſtroy the Eccleſiaſtical *Hierarchy*, and make the Pope to be a Biſhop of *Rome* only. And in another place they tell us that having Houſe, Wife and Children, they (the Clergy) will not depend on the *Pope*, but on their *Prince*; and their love to their Children, will make them yield to any prejudice of the Church; and they will ſeek to make the Benefices Hereditary, and ſo in a ſhort ſpace the Authority of the Apoſtolick *See* will be confined within *Rome*. Before Single Life was inſtituted, the See of *Rome* received no profit from other Nations and Cities; and by it, is made Patron of many Benefices, of which the Marriage of the Clergy would quickly deprive her: And that all would become Hereticks if the Cup were granted to the Laity, and ſo a gap would be opened to demand the Abrogation of all poſitive Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, by which only the Prerogative given by Chriſt to the Church of *Rome*, is preſerved; for by thoſe which are of Divine appointment, no profit doth ariſe, but that which is ſpiritual: *So that the Princes who expected any redreſs from them were in a fine caſe.*

And the Cup to the Laity.

The *French* Affairs after the Peace till the end of the Council.

Camden in his Hiſtory of Queen *Elizabeth* aſſures us, the true reaſon why the Prince of *Conde* clapt up this Peace upon ſuch eaſie and diſadvantageous terms, was becauſe he had been deluded by the Queen with the vain hopes of ſucceeding his Brother the King of *Navarr*, as General of all the Forces of *France*; and that he ſhould marry the Queen of *Scotland* too; which he afterwards refuſed.

The Siege of *Havre de Grace.*

The *Engliſh* were then poſſeſs'd of *Havre de Grace*, and had a Garriſon in it; and now both the Proteſtants and the *Roman* Catholicks united their Forces to deprive them of it, without repaying any of the Money the Queen had expended in the War, or conſidering what need they might after have of that Princeſs's protection and aſſiſtance. Both parties on the contrary proteſt, That if the *Engliſh* do not forthwith reſtore that place, they ſhould forfeit their Right to *Calais*, which was reſerved to them by the Treaty of *Cambray*; and when this would not do, they proclaimed a War againſt the *Engliſh* in *France* the *7th.* of *July*; which was return'd them by the *Engliſh* till they ſhould reſtore *Calais*. The Earl of *Warwick* who was then Governour of *Havre de Grace*, finding the *French* well diſpoſed to betray the *Engliſh* in that Town into the hands of their Country-men, and that they had entered into a Conſpiracy to that purpoſe with the *Rhinegrave*, who lay not far off with ſome *German* Forces: He thereupon turn'd all the *French* both Proteſtants and Papiſts out of the Town without any difference, and ſeized upon all their Ships. The *French* thereupon (without ever reflecting on their own Conſpiracy againſt the *Engliſh*) began a loud complaint, That the *Engliſh* came not to protect the *French* in their diſtreſſes, but to get the poſſeſſion of the Town, dealing with them not as with Brethren, but as Foreigners. And hereupon the *French* reſolved to take this place upon any terms from the *Engliſh*; and the King ſent a Trumpet to the Governour to demand the Town; who returned for an Anſwer, *That if the King of* Spain *would paſs his word that* Calais *ſhould be reſtored according to the Treaty of* Cambray, *at the time by it appointed; and that the King of* France, *the Queen-Mother, and the Princes of the Blood Royal, would confirm the ſame by their Oaths, and Regiſter it in all the Parliaments of* France, *and then give them Hoſtages of the Prime Nobility of* France, *he would then deliver up the Town.* This being rejected, the *22d.* of *July*, *Montmorency* the *Conſtable* took the field, all things being by that time prepared to reduce it by force. The next day they ſummon'd the Town again. *Warwick* replied, he would ſuffer death rather than deliver up the place without the Queen's knowledge. His Meſſenger whom he ſent with this Anſwer happened to meet one *Monie* a Proteſtant *French* Captain, with whom he had been familiarly acquainted in the Siege of *Roan*, to whom he ſaid, *He much wondred to ſee the Proteſtants of* France, *who were of the ſame Religion with the* Engliſh, *and for whoſe relief they came into* France, *in the Camp againſt them.* *Le Monie* replied, *As you fight for your Queen ſo we for our King; the conteſt is now for our Country, and Religion is no way concern'd. The buſineſs of Religion is now determin'd and ſetled by the King's Edict once for all; and therefore you, Sir, are not to wonder if of Friends we are ſuddenly become your Enemies, and reſolved to deſtroy you if you do not deliver up the place to the King.* When the Earl of *Warwick* heard this he ſent preſently into *England* for Supplies. There was then a Plague in the Town which diſcouraged the *Engliſh* more than all their Enemies without. There came ſome Ships with Relief from *England*, but the Plague continuing, the Queen to preſerve ſo many brave men, gave order to the Earl of *Warwick*

The Proteſtants fight againſt the *Engliſh.*

wick to ſurrender the place, upon as Honourable Terms as he could get. The 28*th.* of *July* the Articles were Signed; the next day there came ſixty Ships, and 1800 men to the Relief of the place, but it was too late; ſo the *Engliſh* that remain'd, were ſent on Board the Fleet, who had the misfortune to carry this Plague with them into *England*, and within one year there died in *London* only, 21530 perſons of this Diſeaſe. There was ſo much joy in *France* for the recovery of this ſmall place, that the Chancellor of *France* ſaid openly, That now the moſt malicious muſt needs confeſs, That the granting Liberty of Conſcience had at once delivered *France* from a moſt deſtructive Civil War, united the Princes of the Blood Royal, and enabled them to recover too what had been ſeized by their Enemies during the War, and that chiefly by the help of the Proteſtants, who before were ſo dreadful to them, whileſt they fought for their Religion. 1563.

Havre de Grace ſurrendred to the *French.*

A Plague in *London.*

The Queen, to cut off all pretences to the Guardianſhip of the King, by the advice of the Chancellor, reſolved to have him declared out of his Minority by the Parliament of *Roan*; purſuant to a Conſtitution of *Charles* the Fifth King of *France*, made in the year 1373; tho' he had then entered only into the Fourteenth year of his age; which was accordingly done the 19*th.* of *Auguſt*; when he declared again, That he was reſolved not to ſuffer his Edicts to be diſputed by his Subjects, as had been done during his Minority; and eſpecially the laſt, for the peace of Religion, which he was reſolved to make all his Subjects obey, till it was otherwiſe ſetled by a Council. This Decree met with ſome oppoſition from the Parliament of *Paris*, which pretends to be the Supreme Court of that Kingdom; and ſaid, they ought to have had the honour of declaring the King of Age, and no other, which was ſoon over-rul'd.

Charles the Ninth declared out of His Minority by the Parliament of *Roan.*

The deſire I had to proſecute the Affairs of *France*, and the Story of the Council of *Trent*, has kept me from mentioning *Scotland*, and its Affairs; ſo that I am behind hand with that Kingdom two years. In the beginning of the year 1562, *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, took her Progreſs towards the North: At *Sterling* ſhe was Petition'd by certain Commiſſioners of the Church for the Aboliſhing of the Maſs, and other Superſtitious Rites of the *Roman* Religion, the puniſhing Blaſphemy, the contempt of the Word of God, the Profanation of the Sacraments, the Violation of the Sabbath, Adultery, Fornication, and other like Vices condemn'd by the Word of God, but not puniſhable by the Laws of *Scotland.* That all Suits for Divorce ſhould be remitted to the Judgment of the Church; or at leaſt, truſted to men of good knowledge and converſation; and that Popiſh Church-men might be excluded from places in the *Seſſion* and Council. This Petition being read by the Queen, ſhe replied, *That ſhe would do nothing to the prejudice of the Religion ſhe profeſſed, and that ſhe hoped before a year was expired to have the Maſs and Catholick Profeſſion reſtored through the whole Kingdom.* And ſo in a rage turn'd her back and left them.

The *Scotch* Affairs in 1562.

In *January* 1563. *John Hamilton* Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews* was committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, for ſaying and hearing Maſs; the Abbot alſo of *Corſragnal*, and Prior of *Withern*, had the ſame treatment; and divers Prieſts and Monks were cenſured for the ſame cauſe. The *Scots* thought by theſe Severities to terrifie the Queen into a compliance with their Religion. And it is certain that in a Parliament held at *Edinburgh* in *May* this year ſhe paſſed many Acts in favour of the Reformation. However certain it is, ſome of the Proteſtants made her an ill requital: For in *Auguſt* following, certain of the Queens Family remaining in the Palace of *Edinburgh* call'd **Holy-Rood Houſe**, and having a Prieſt to attend them, and perform the *Roniſh* Service in the Chapel, divers of the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, out of curioſity or devotion reſorting thither, great offence was taken at it, and the Preacher began to complain of it as a diſorder. Whereupon ſome of the Citizens went thither to ſee if it were ſo; theſe being denied Admittance, they forced the Gates of the Queens Palace; took ſeveral of thoſe who were there aſſembled and carried them to priſon; the Prieſt and ſome few others eſcaping by a Poſtern, or Back-door. This Uproar was very great, and yet it was related to the beſt advantage to the Queen, who was then out of Town; ſhe was very much incenſed, as ſhe had good reaſon, againſt theſe Zealots; and ſwore ſhe would ſhortly make them Examples of her Royal Indignation. The Earls of *Murray* and *Glencarne* however wiſely interpoſed and appeaſed her anger for the preſent. Soon after *John Knox* was call'd before the Council, and charged as the only Author of this Inſolent Sedition, and likewiſe for ſtirring up the people by his Circular Letters to Tumults, whenever he thought fit. He anſwered, *That he was never a Preacher*

And 1563.

John Hamilton Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews* committed for hearing *Maſs.*

John Knox call'd before the Council for Sedition.

1563. *Preacher of Rebellion, nor loved to ſtir up Tumults; contrariwiſe he always taught the People to obey their Magiſtrates and Princes in God. As to the Convocation of the Subjects, he had received from the Church a Command to adverti ſe his Brethren when he ſaw a neceſſity of their Meeting, eſpecially if he ſaw Religion to be in peril: And had often deſired to be diſcharged of that burthen, but ſtill was refuſed.* Then ſpeaking to the Queen with wonderful boldneſs: *He charged her in the name of Almighty God, as ſhe deſired to eſcape his heavy wrath and indignation, to forſake that Idolatrous Religion which ſhe profeſs'd, and by her power maintain'd againſt all the Statutes of the Realm.* He was going on when the Earl of *Morton*, then Chancellor of *Scotland*, fearing the Queen might be yet more exaſperated againſt all the Proteſtants of her Kingdom, by his indiſcreet zeal, commanded him to hold his peace and go away. After this, things were carried more peaceably between the Queen and the Church, the Earl of *Murray* making it his buſineſs to propound their Petitions to her, and to return her Anſwers to them.

His bold Anſwer.

FINIS.

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on 02 July, 2018